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## THE CULT OF BLACK

BY

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I have often wondered why *Sri Krishna*, (who is adored of all classes, sects and sections of Hindoos, whatever their particular and peculiar phase of personal faith be) was, of choice, Black



SIE D. P. SARVADHIKARY.

and Dark. Time and Eternity are indeed symbolised as deep-dark, inscrutable, limitless, unfathomed and unfathomable—more than the deepest of Dark-Blue Oceans. By the devotees of another phase of faith, such also, was conceived to be the hue of the Great Mother, *Kali*. How was it that *Krishna* and *Kali*, at least according to

the myriads of their devotees, delighted in assuming hues seemingly repugnant to the fair Aryan, all shades of which equally adored and revered so contrary conceptions

“Black and White” questions now agitating all quarters of the globe, be it in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, will soon be assuming proportions hitherto unknown and unconceived. “Self-consciousness and self-determination” can not and will not, at the politicians’ sweet will and option, be the monopoly of the Western civilized races. Statesmanship will have to look beyond and ahead of an English speaking Commonwealth and a White League of Nations, if they are to be for the lasting good and solid advancement of civilization as a whole. Black and Brown and Yellow, in time, will be content with nothing short of Unity of Human aims, aspirations and programmes; servants of India, nay servants of the Empire will therefore no longer answer and they will not answer long. The need for Servants of the World, as Servants of Humanity, has long been manifest.

Will it be up to the League of Nations—advanced amplified to its uttermost fruition—to take up this unprecedented heavy burden—not merely the white man’s—this supremely onerous task. Let it try at all events and fail if that must be. But it cannot be true to its ideals and aims, without honestly, doggedly and prayerfully trying to the uttermost.

The *Krishna* cult, that involved the ideal to be pictured to the fair devotee as the darkest of the dark, was such an effort towards the ‘Salvage of



civilizations, as the fairest of the devotees was the peerless and the selfless *Radhā*—adoration personified.

Hindoo India does not believe in and admit the failure of the great cult and the true *Vaishnavā's* faith and ambition are that world Vaishnavism will be its salvation. The ideal is left in suspense and is ~~dis~~ invisible, possibly tarnished for the time being. That was Asia's great and life-giving message two thousand years ago to Europe and through Europe, that was to rise to ample fruition, to the civilizing world. The unknown and persecuted wanderer from Galilee's classic shores brought back from Indian plateau-frontiers this message westward and ennobled and sanctified all the land to which it spread, though his mortal life had to be yielded up by way of a high lesson in sacrifice, on the cross of suffering. Who that is *Tapashā* as the *Gita* calls it—the devotee with concentration,—that studies that immortal work and the Bible and *Imitatio Christi* side by side, that can have a moment's honest doubt? It is out of abused Christianity or of abused Krishna cult, abused and abused beyond recognition, out of shape and sign, that does one talk of, in connection with the great message of the East to the West. Rammohan Ray, Vivekananda Swami, Keshab Chandra Sen, Rabindranath Tagore brought from time to time westward renewed faint echoes of the message, in one shape or another and the West has profited and been grateful and shown its gratitude like thirsty parched sand does to dew drops.

There is, therefore, no room for despair but much room for hope, if only the "human" in Statesmanship, differentiated from Expediency for the time, will rise superior to the occasion. The Black, the Brown, the Yellow and the White must all yield to a "Merger of Sovereignty" as Wells would call it in another concern. But it must be sovereignty of the Sovereign and of no pretender. The Black are—the dark inscrutable,

unfathomable, but all good, of whom it has ever been acclaimed:—

NA DEBHĀ SRISHTINASHAKYĀ

He destroyeth not His own.

This thought came back to me with redoubled force and vigour when I had quite casually, nay almost accidentally, sometime ago an opportunity of attending an afternoon session, sparsely attended indeed but eventful, nay fateful sessions of the Pan-African Congress or League in one of the many public halls in the city of Westminster. The woes and trials and sufferings of the black races in Africa and America were vividly portrayed by dark-visaged, thick lipped, curly-haired men and women, from all quarters of the globe; they had delivered their message in New York and after delivering it in the World's heart-centre, London, were proceeding on to Brussels. Their language, logic, facts and moreover, their eloquence, earnestness and devotion would have done honour to the great and historic chamber in another part of the City of Westminster, which I had been recently privileged to attend. If one was listening with one's eyes shut, one would have found it difficult to believe, but for the prevailing sentiment and tales of outrage and woe, that one was not attending a white assembly. The illusion would of course disappear when one heard of deliberate withholding from man and brother of all economic, educational and political facilities, even of ordinary banking and traffic facilities; in fact with regard to every one of the phases of human existence, there was unthinkable differentiation between black and white was their one theme and burden. These noble heroes of the Cross however did not mind the differentiation, but bore their suffering manfully by their organisation and devoted strength of purpose; they have been steadily bearing down difficulties and winning their way. That was the other and the brighter side of the picture. It is an object-lesson by which

flaming Indian zeal may well profit, in not very dissimilar predicaments. Incidentally the meeting was a rude shock to Indian vanity, for in spite of contemptuous sneer in certain quarters, the Indian is believed to speak and write English as well as, nay better than, those whose neglected language it happens to be. Chaste diction, interspersed with sillies of bright wit and humour was the pervading feature of this remarkable Negro-Kafir assemblage.

And in such incongruous and uncongenial surroundings did the nearly lost glory of Krishna cult come back to my mind. Why? Let one try and summarise some salient features, that some day a scholar and devotee that knows both the cults, may profitably try to reconcile.

A rapid bird's eye review of some notable points in Krishna's life may be helpful in appreciation. Crushing tyranny—political, social and religious—was dominating the situation, and Princes, among themselves, were at war. So were they with the people. And peoples were at war with one another. Faiths and practices were many and so were the contending states. Common solidarity was utterly lacking and the world was at war, when the great one chose to appear on the scene, in compliance with oft repeated and oft redeemed pledge.

He was born of a kingly *Kshatriya* race and his mother's brother *Kansa* was a tyrant of the blackest dye. To compass *Kansa*'s confusion was the mission of the eighth child of the marriage between *Basudev* of the royal house of *Yadus* in distant sea-girt *Dwarka* and *Devaki* of *Mathura*—*Kansa*'s sister. Such was the message of the heavenly voice delivered on the day following the marriage and *Kansa*, who was a great tormentor of non-fair races, over whom he ruled, was for immediate slaying of the couple from whose progeny he had so much to fear. "Conversations" followed and the sister and brother-in-law were thrown into life-long imprisonment under

his own ever circumspect eyes, upon the terms that every child born to them, would have to be made over to him for slaughter. Seven perished on the fatal stone and when the eighth was expected, the prison-guard was doubled. The divine child according to the author of *Srimat Bhagbat*—appeared to the mother, resplendent in jewels of glory, such as no human child could wear at birth—the mother who by trial, suffering, penance and tribulation had fitted herself for such appearance. The expression deliberately used by the devout author in this connection was *appearance* not birth.

The night—the eighth on the dark side of the moon in the month of *Bhadra*—the Hindu's cherished *Janmashtami*—was dark and tempestuous. The *Junna* was in torrents; the prison-guards were laid to sleep, the shackles slipped off *Basudev*'s limbs and with the aid of the jackal and the great serpent—*Ananta Nag*—the foundation of the world (or society)—according to Hindoo belief, the river was forded and the divine child was left with cowherds on the other shore and was lost to *Kansa*'s sight for fifteen years. Vengefully, the infuriated and baffled tyrant ordered the indiscriminate massacre of innocents all round, in the blind hope of accidentally killing the object of his wrath. Much of *Sree Krishna*'s early life was a series of miracles for protection of child-life so unconscionably threatened. But into the details of these there is now no time or occasion to go.

The cowherd King and Queen and all their following—who were of another and a much lowlier caste, idolised the changeling and he was Att to all of them. To some a child, to some a friend and comrade and a lover to others. Beautiful and romantic idylls have sprung round these uneventful fifteen years of perfect child life, much of which have been naturally misunderstood. The immediate point of it however is that *Krishna* was the friend, brother, comrade of all

of his age in *Brāja* and the *Kshatriya* king's son would inter-dine with them and eat food part of which had been eaten by his lowly comrades. This scandalised society and enraged Brahminism and angered the great Gods *Indra* and *Brahma* most of all. Against their worship—as being against that of His Heavenly Father—the child had lodged violent and practical protests. The infuriated Brahman chased him and his comrades stick in hand, because of their temerity in asking for food before the Brahman had been fed. He received the Brahman sage's terrific kick on his chest the mark of which he cherished as a valued jewel all life and in return for this the washing of the Brahman guests' feet at King *Yudhishtira's* *Rajshuya Yaga*; much later, was the office of honour which he sought.

*Indra*, the Rain-God, essayed to deluge the tracts inhabited by him and his adopted people because he protested against *Indra's* worship and by much skill and patient toil the Boy-Architect succeeded in saving *Gobordhan* from the floods so wrathfully created. *Brahma*, the four-faced white God, responsible for creation and the promulgation of the *Vedas*, from whose four limbs the four major castes had been created, was very angry because of his dallying and caste sacrificing pastorals. How *Brahma* was punished in the Presence is to be studied in detail in one of the most beautiful of chapters in *Sriemad Bhagbat* known as *Brahma Mohan*.

Thus went on the Dark One's mission of love and rescue and uplifting of the depressed, the lowly and untouchable, till at the appointed time the tyrant was slain in single combat. But he took not the throne thus vacated but rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and returned the throne of Mathura to the dynasty from which the tyrant had wrested it. He went back to his people in the distant *Dwarka* home by the sea, and was there the model father, the model householder, the model brother and the

model general and the model ruler and the model friend who connived at his far cousin *Subhadra's* runaway marriage with his friend and disciple *Arjuna*, to whom he propounded the great lesson of the *Bhagabat Gita*, much later on the battle field of *Kurukshetra*, while facing the hostile ranks. And here was he *Partha Sarothi* beloved of thousands of devotees in Madras. He tried to play the diplomat to perfection when *Duryodhan* declined to "part with land that would rest on a needle's point" without war. No League of Nations could prevent the war of Mahabharat—that which was to give Greater India. *Krishna* sided with the righteous-loving *Yudhishtira*, upon the unalterable condition that he would touch no weapon. *Yudhishtira* accepted this condition and the fair minded *Krishna* helped the other combatant, who had also approached him, with a million soldiers, who were his own equals in prowess. Though white in complexion, *Yudhishtira* and his brother, the much oppressed and tyrannised, had, indeed, very black prospects and it thus became the Black One's role therefore to help them, unarmed, with his moral support and counsel, and they triumphed.

And thus did the Redeemer make good his pledge and promise:—

"Wherever, oh, great son of Bharat, is there triumph of wickedness and confusion of righteousness, I create myself and make myself manifest for the succour of the good, the confusion of the wicked and for enthronement of righteousness."

That was his pledge, that his mission which from age to age and from time to time he is to and does fulfil. None too black to be denied his pity or to forfeit his succour.

Mayhap therefore he chose himself to assume the hue of degradation to give promise of relief and hope to the fallen, the degraded, the black and the forlorn.

When the appointed time came and when after and as a result of the internecine wars of the *Yadus*, he yielded up his mortal life, impaled by the unbeliever's arrows, against the bitter *neem* tree (margosa than which few are more bitter in India) his followers cut the ill-fated but consecrated tree, into three blocks. The timber upon which the Great One and the Black one had paid life's forfeit floated all the way from Dwarka, above Bombay, down the western Malabar coast, up the Madras coast and found lodgment near the *Duri* sands. The King and Queen had a beautiful dream about the Lord being at their door. When earthly tools failed to make their impress on this stubborn timber, the Divine One appeared again in the guise of an old carpenter, to console the sovereign couple and undertook to fashion beautiful images out of the blocks, provided impatient curiosity did not interrupt his work. But woman-like, the queen broke open the workshop door before time and three uncouth figures yet unfashioned and incomplete, *Jagannath*, *Subhadra* and *Balaram*—caught the bewildered gaze of the half believer; and they stand to-day, as they were then revealed, commanding universal homage from Hindoo India. Abnormally flat nose, thick unshapen lips, shapeless limbs and darkest of dark complexion—that is the image of *Jagannath* amidst people who are master iconographers. They have preferred to let him be as he chose to manifest himself, all for his own purpose and in his own fashion.

And within the precincts of the Temple of *Jagannath* or the Lord of the universe and in the Lord's presence, kitchen religion disappears and the highest Brahmin takes cooked food half-eaten by the blackest Sudra to this day. All religious strifes are at rest. For says not he in the Gita:—

Leave ye all the lesser cults alone and come unto me and I shall accord thee relief from all sin and burden.

The Black one has chosen to take all the burden of blackness upon himself and is thus Eternally Black. His White Brother *Balaram*—whose Weapon and Emblem is the plough—joined by the sisterly love of the golden-hued *Subhadra* who stands between them, complete the Image. Dallying *Radha* has no place here but the sisterly and philanthropic *Subhadra* prevails. It is a trinity—of Wisdom, Work and Bliss, the Trinity, as the Buddhist claimed later of Righteousness, Knowledge and Commity. Read it as you may, in spite of the tenth-rate British penny-a-liner's unknowing, unthinking sneer at the chariot-car of *Jagannath*, he reigns supreme and will reign supreme for ever more.

I shall not stop to investigate the poetic or historic imagery, as one may be inclined to call it, for which our great poet Nabin Chunder Sen was prepared to make himself responsible, namely, whether out of the dying white *Balaram's* mouth a thousand white serpents made their way upwards along the western sea shore or whether the *Yadus* took ship at *Sourashtra* or *Surat* and became *Yudeas* of the East Mediterranean coast, whether *Hercules* and *Harikulesh* were mere phonetic resemblances, are quite another theme. Three hundred years before Christ, Hindoo peripatetic philosophers whether accompanying Alexander the Great or not, were familiar figures on the Caspian shores, where they established temples and rites of their own. And Kings of Mesopotamia corresponding with some of the Ptolemies invoked the name of Vaidik Gods, *Mitra* and *Baruna* are facts known to History and deserve capable and worthy of investigation.

Be that as it may, *Krishna*, the Dark One, the brother of the white one, attracted sinners whose Redeemer He has been in ages untold.

# THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY

A BRITISH JOURNALIST.

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IT is almost a year ago since the great hope, born of the Treaty of Versailles and the creation of the League of Nations, that future wars might be made impossible by a compact among the nations of the earth, began definitely to crystallise into proposals of disarmament, and the world to look again to Washington, as it had once before, in those critical days of 1917-18, as the source of hope for future peace. After the election of Mr. Harding as President of the United States of America, there followed much talk on the subject of disarmament and the possibility of arriving at an agreement on this all-important subject by means of a conference of the Powers. The new President was known to favour such a plan and the war-weary peoples welcomed it but, at first, it must be confessed, without much belief in its success, for the League of Nations had done few of the great things hoped for it and America had shown by her policy since the war very little sympathy with Europe and her problems. As the year advanced, however, the disarmament idea began to take more definite shape. It was discussed at the Conference of British Premiers in August, but long before that the public had come to a general realisation of the possibilities such a conference offered and also of the great difficulties it would have to face. It was in connection with these latter that Australia and other countries having a special interest in the Pacific, asked for a preliminary discussion of their special problems, before the Disarmament Conference—the Washington Conference it was coming to be called—should meet, but America could not agree to such a course and possibly it may prove to have been unnecessary, in view of the long and anxious deliberations on

these very problems which have taken place among the delegates themselves.

In August, definite invitations were issued and accepted, Japan raising a number of preliminary points which were finally adjusted to her satisfaction. This was a great step forward, for it must not be forgotten that a settlement of the Pacific question is an indispensable preliminary to disarmament. Mr. W. M. Hughes, the Premier of Australia, interviewed after the Imperial Conference, said in regard to this aspect of disarmament:

"The Washington Conference cannot achieve the purpose for which it has been called, which is the limitation of naval armaments, unless and until the problems of the Pacific have been settled. That means a *modus vivendi* in the Pacific acceptable to the British Empire, Japan, America, and China. Clearly it is useless to speak of limitation of naval armaments until one has removed the reasons for naval rivalry. What these are is perfectly well known. They arise out of the circumstances of the nations in the Pacific. They are in their nature not easy of settlement, but I do not say they are insoluble."

These words have since been proved prophetic for, while the proposals of the limitation of naval armaments have been agreed to in principle the Pacific deadlock is yet unsolved and will require very delicate handling.

The Conference was opened by President Harding in the Pan-American Building, Washington, on Saturday, November 12, in the presence of representatives of all the great Powers and many of the smaller States. The principal delegates were—

*United States.*—Mr. Charles E. Hughes (Secretary of State), Senators Lodge, Elihu Root, and Underwood.

*British Empire.*—Mr. Balfour, Lord Lee of Fareham (First Lord of the Admiralty), Sir Auckland Geddes (the Ambassador), Sir Robert Borden (Canada), Senator G. F. Pearce (Australia), Sir John Salmend (New Zealand), Mr Srinivasa Sastri (India).



THE RT. HON. MR. V. S. SASTRI.

*Japan.*—Prince Tokugawa (President of the House of Peers), Admiral Baron Kato (Minister of Marine), Baron Shidehara (Ambassador at Washington).

*France.*—M. Briand (Prime Minister), M. Viviani, M. Sarraut (Minister for the Colonies).

*China.*—Mr. Wellington Koo (Minister in London), Mr. Alfred Eze (Minister in Washington).

*Italy.*—Senator Schantzler, Signor Meda.

*The Netherlands.*—Jonkheer van Karnebeek (Foreign Minister).

Each delegation had its staff of experts, technical advisers, and secretaries, the whole number amounting to several hundreds—Britain's was 93.

America with characteristic promptness came straight to business. At the opening meeting, Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State and head of the United States Delegation, proposed a definite 10 years' holiday scheme for the limitation of naval armaments by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. The United States is willing, he said, to scrap all capital ships now under construction and certain of the older battleships.

Great Britain and Japan, if the proposal were accepted, would take similar action in accordance with plans set forth in the proposal. The total number of capital ships scrapped by the three Powers would be 66, with a tonnage of 1,878,043.

Within three months after the signing of the agreement the navies of the three Powers would consist of capital ships with the following aggregate tonnage:—United States, 500,650 tons; Great Britain, 604,450 tons; Japan, 299,700 tons.

There would be no replacement for 10 years; at the end of that period replacement would be limited by an agreed maximum of ship tonnage as follows:—For the United States, 500,000 tons; for Great Britain, 500,000 tons; for Japan, 300,000 tons.

The proposals were well received and form the basis of negotiations which are still in progress. A cable published a few days ago on this side of the Conference's work says "Naval experts are making progress in the direction of securing an agreement over the question of replacements and scrapping of capital ships and legal experts are busily engaged in drafting a Naval Treaty." There is a large measure of agreement, but, as has been stated above, the Pacific difficulty will need to be solved before anything definite can be done.

The problems of the Pacific include:

China, which with its several governments is in a state of chaos. The traditional United States,

policy is an "Open Door" providing for equal opportunity for all nations. Japan claims special privileges and holds Shantung, the former German province in the country.

Allied to the Chinese problem is that of Japan's surplus population and the question of Japanese immigration into the United States, Canada, and Australia. The view has been put forward in the United States that these millions should be allowed to expand "on the uninhabited, undeveloped mainland of Asia adjacent to Japanese waters."

A further complication arises when it is remembered that the Anglo-Japanese Treaty is intimately concerned with policies in the Pacific and that this year's Imperial Conference was strongly in favour of its maintenance. This Treaty has played a great part in preserving a just balance in the East, but it is not popular with the United States, who would be very willing to see it determined. It could only be replaced by a tripartite understanding between Britain and her Dominions, America and Japan, possibly with China as an assenting party if not an actual signatory. This is the position as it stands at the time of writing. And there seems a good prospect of an agreement on the lines indicated, but whether it will include China is at present doubtful. Very delicate negotiations will be needed, for Japan's position is exceptionally difficult and with the best of intentions she may create something very like a deadlock. As soon as the Conference opened, the press was flooded with the most optimistic reports, but since then—with the exception of a Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States which does undoubtedly make for peace but which leaves the major part of the problem unsettled—it is becoming increasingly evident that a long road must be traversed before a complete understanding is reached.

A few weeks ago it seemed that Japan would not consent to the rates of tonnage in capital

ships that the Conference approved, but since then she has come into line with her colleagues. Negotiations have also been complicated by the discovery of what has been described as an "amazing flaw" in the proposals for the replacement of obsolete ships. It was generally assumed that after the ten-year naval holiday, these replacements would be on a very modest scale and then only of ships which had attained their twentieth year. Owing to the loose wording of the draft agreement, however, this was not made plain and a radical modification will be needed if an undesirable or even dangerous situation is not to be created in the future.

The most recent phases of the Washington debates were complicated by the French policy regarding submarines. France claimed the right to build a submarine fleet so large that it would have imperilled the whole of the naval agreement. Tension was at one time so acute that there was serious talk of America demanding the repayment of her war loans from those debtor nations which were making a disarmament treaty impossible by proposing the construction of armaments on a scale quite out of proportion to their ability to meet their liabilities. Fortunately France was brought into line with the other Powers, but the final form of the submarine resolution adopted by the Plenary Naval Committee contains a clause, inserted on the motion of the French delegation, which, referring to the impossibility of the use of submarines against merchantmen without violating the requirements of civilised nations, says "as they were violated during the late war". This specific French repudiation of the entire German theory and practice with regard to submarines has closed the incident arising out of the earlier French attitude when the question of the limitation of submarine tonnage was discussed.

The Naval Treaty which is now practically completed, besides provisions dealing with the

limitation of the tonnage and guns of capital ships, replacement of capital ships, limitation of aircraft carriers, light cruisers and other matters, will also deal with the use of torpedo tubes in aircraft, rules regulating the building in private shipyards of vessels for other foreign Powers, regulations affecting the conduct of the signatory Powers in future wars, especially war with non-signatory Powers whose methods of warfare would not be limited by the provisions of the Treaty, the renewal of guns on capital ships, the re-armouring of old vessels, regulation governing fortifications in the Pacific zone, and the provision for the summoning of periodical conferences to deal with necessary modifications to the Treaty.

This, however, by no means disposes of all the difficulties of the Conference, although its main object was the limitation of naval armaments. There is the military problem as well as the effort to regulate certain methods of warfare, besides the submarine. Poison gas is a case in point, and in this it is satisfactory to note that five of the Great Powers have approved the proposal to prohibit the use of poison gas in future wars. Aeroplanes present greater difficulties and the Conference Sub-Committee has reported that "it was impossible to limit the size and use of aeroplanes in war time."

Another recent development in European politics may well exercise a profound effect on the disarmament situation, although it does not come strictly within the purview of my article. This is the proposed Anglo-French pact for mutual defence against aggression. At present (I am writing in the middle of January), this agreement is quite in the air and the political upheaval in France, which led to the resignation of M. Briand, may well have a prejudicial effect in the negotiations. The British point of view is that what is wanted is a European agreement guaranteeing peace on the lines of the Pacific Pact, but France

seeks in addition definite guarantees against German aggression. She also fears that French foreign policy might be subordinated to that of Great Britain should an agreement be entered upon and is generally suspicious and unwilling to take any steps until she sees her way clear.

As at present drafted the Pact will be limited to ten years, but may be renewed without further notice. It consists of four or five precise unambiguous articles and maintains intact French rights under the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain undertaking to give military assistance to France if she is attacked by Germany without provocation. Demobilisation clauses with regard to the Rhineland are reinforced as both Powers undertake to intervene if Germany violates the military clauses of the Treaty. The Pact does not refer to the reparations question or sanctions. Belgium will be invited to join the Pact by the conclusion of an analogous Anglo-Belgian Treaty reinforcing a defensive Anglo-Belgian Convention.

## Warship

BY

MR. D. G. DAVIES, I.C.S.

- Go the wide radiance in the eastern sky  
Where the gold moon will come. So have I seen  
Proud city streets where great ones will pass by  
Blow bright with banners and breathe the words,  
"The queen."
- And on the gathered peoples falls the awe  
The hush of waiting; so on plain and hill  
In the dark ways the many creatures draw  
Down to their adoration and are still.
- And still the far clear calls, for reverence done  
To her as from her ancient hermitage  
She comes, the Moon of Heaven, the Golden One,  
Queen of the generations, age on age,



# IMPRESSIONS OF THE NEW COUNCILS

*In this number we publish an other instalment of Impressions of the New Councils. Members of different Councils have kindly responded to our invitation, but we print in this issue the Impressions of three members of the Legislative Assembly and of two of the Provincial Councils received earliest. Further Impressions of the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be continued in our next.—[Editor, "Indian Review."]*

## RAO BAHADUR C. S. SUBRAHMANIAM.

**I**T is difficult to say much about an infant which is just sprawling and looks healthy. Taking it as it stands he would be a bold prophet who asserts one way or the other. So far both the



MR. C. S. SUBRAHMANIAM.

Government and the Assembly have acted well and chivalrously towards each other. The members composing the Assembly come from all corners of the Empire. All interests and communities are fairly represented. The men are all above the average in knowledge and abilities and public spirit. They are all mostly men who have succeeded in life. Commerce is well represented, Bombay and Calcutta being strong. The landholders of various kinds are undoubtedly represented. The law as usual is strong, probably strongest. Education has contributed a few. The European element is fair in its dealing with the questions that arise and as a body well informed. One characteristic of the Assembly is

it cannot, owing to the lengthy sessions and the distance from anywhere except the Punjab and Sind, attract men in active harness. Whoever enters its portals must forego some of his earnings. It has told on a few who find it hard to attend the entire period and already one has retired. One great disadvantage under which the Assembly labours is the absence of full reports of its doings day by day in the Press. "Neither of the capitals has a daily which can afford to find the paper and ink for reporting the proceedings. Telegraphic summaries are necessarily not full and often misleading owing to head lines. The Local Councils have the inestimable advantage of placing before the electorate their daily doings. The electorate of the Assembly unfortunately is not furnished with full or even partial information of what actually occurs day by day. It would enhance the value of the Assembly and Government would also rise in the estimation of the public if some means could be found to publish the proceedings day by day in all the provincial dailies. The official publication, quick enough, is belated and is too costly for the ordinary reader to buy.

It is a new weapon the Assembly has been furnished with regarding the budget. A judicious use and a certain amount of concentration and massing of forces on important questions would tell. There is a good deal of firing, but in the air, and in an aimless manner. It requires skill and training and discipline and organization to shoot effectually. It is not difficult to choose a leader. Madras can supply one who is respected by all the Provinces and who by the positions he has held and his sobriety and erudition fulfils all the essentials that may be required of a leader. But the tendency here as elsewhere is to prescribe qualifications of an impossible nature and then say we have not one competent to be a leader.

Everyone wants to be a leader—a very legitimate ambition, one might say. Some are too fast, some are too slow: some are timid, some are too bold—they don't fear to tread where angels fear to do so. The Assembly has in its short period of existence accomplished a considerable amount of tangible work. The Finance Committee has done useful work. Offhand criticism that the expenditure has not been reduced substantially does not deserve much notice. Every department of the Government of India, except the Military, is passed in review and only when necessary the Committee accords its assent. We have none in the Assembly, at any rate if there are they have hid their lights under the bushel, who can be pointed out as an expert or specialist in any subject dealt by the Government of India. The military budget is a sealed book. With inside knowledge it might be cut down very much. But not possessing such knowledge and not being allowed to acquire such, our only course is to organise a flank attack and thereby force the Government to cut down its military expenditure and balance the budget. I think the powers the Assembly possesses are enough to persuade Government to change not only its angle of vision but also its methods and prejudices. Concentration and a spirit of give and take, if sincerely practised, would make the Assembly an effective power. One thing that strikes us all is that all the departments of the Government of India are manned by Europeans. There is a very thin element of Indians. It is absolutely necessary that there should be a much stronger Indian element in the various departments of Government. No doubt the highest seats are at present equally divided. That would not do. The Secretariats must soon be Indianised. Then only the present wooden and immobile system would change. It must be done soon and rapidly. Take the Railway Board for instance. So long as it is constituted as at present, you can never hope for any improvement. Speaking generally and taking

human nature as it is, it is not surprising that there is an indication to agree with or acquiesce in one another's doings among the various departments. This does not make for improvement. Criticism and scrutiny are necessary for improvement. The Government of India departments are a happy contented family, self-contained, self-sufficient and wooden. The Assembly might succeed in breaking this monopoly if it exercised its powers judiciously and with vigour.

MOHAMMED YAMIN KHAN, BAR-AT-LAW.

IT would not be prudent on my part to venture to express an opinion on the Legislative Assembly after a short experience of two sessions only, and I feel the hesitation all the more on account of my young age, but I can safely say that I found the Assembly and working therein far more satisfactory than I expected when I stood for my election.

When I went to the Assembly, I had before me all that had happened during the debates on the passing of the so called Rowlatt Act and I thought that Government members and non-official members will have to go in different lobbies and division will be called on each and every point.

I have, however, found it different. The Government members are ever ready to accede to sensible suggestions of the non-official members and non-official members are, in return, quite willing to understand the Government view-point. They are not mere critics of each other but both sides are ready and do their best to try to understand and co-operate with each other for the betterment of the country. The working had been on the whole very smooth although we had divisions in the Assembly several times when a majority of non-official members went against the Government.

The tone and general behaviour of the executive councillors and secretaries towards the non-official members in the Assembly and outside had been satisfactory, but there had been a great

drawback in the fact that neither the official nor the non-official members had been seeking to meet each other socially so often as one would think necessary for bringing about an absolute understanding. •

The character of an Englishman to adapt himself to all kinds of conditions and the general desire of the Government to show its willingness to work on the advice of non-official members have had a great deal of effect on the successful working of the reforms, but it would be premature for me to give any decided opinion before the end of the present Assembly.

The Assembly has done and achieved a great deal in a brief space of time which it had at its disposal for the non-official work and it has received good certificates from Lord Chelmsford and the Hon'ble Sir A. F. Whyte, the President.

However it is a pity that we had a good many unnecessary resolutions and questionings on the list which should never have been sent, to waste the precious time of the Assembly which could have been better utilized in discussing important resolutions having a bearing on the general uplift of the country. I think it was due to the natural desire of members to have some resolution against their names and also to lack of experience. We hope that the experience of the last two sessions has taught us quite sufficient to utilize this short time which is left in bringing about urgent legislation and moving such resolutions which will do good to the country.

The Assembly possesses great powers and the reforms have made it practically impossible for the Government to misuse its powers as it did during the martial law regime in the Punjab without the support of the non-official members, but I think we have always to depend on the goodwill of the Government for the real advancement of the country until we have absolute control over the purse. This year brought the country to face a huge army budget which was justified by the Government only

on account of disturbed condition of the North-Western frontier.

We have the Afghan question settled to a great relief of the Government and the people, and the Bolshevik menace is also averted.

This change in the political condition on the frontier gives strength to the non-official members to ask the Government to reduce its military budget to an extent which can be easily borne by this impoverished country. The Assembly will have to direct its efforts in the coming sessions on the army. Without having the Indian army officered by Indians only the country cannot be fit to govern itself.

I am one of those who would never shirk their support to the Government in keeping law and preserving order but at the same time do not believe in giving a sort of free passport to individual officials to misuse their powers.

I do not think it necessary to hazard any opinion in these lines on the present situation caused by the application of Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908 nor do I like to discuss the responsibility of the dangerous situation existing to-day.

The Assembly has justified, by its smooth working and sharing of responsibility, a necessity for further reforms before long.

One feels doubtful as to whether the Assembly, which is a constitutional body, can or cannot extend its powers by its own legislation just after the example of the English Parliament. It is also a contested point whether the Assembly has to depend on the English Parliament for all its powers although it has been created by its statute.

In 1858 the Crown of India passed from the Moghul Emperor to the Queen of England whom India recognised and accepted as her sovereign, but India did not accept the British Parliament as the sole authority to govern over her. All law had been flowing from the Governor-General, who is also Viceroy, as the King's representative and not the representative of the King in Parliament. This is a question of constitutional law and can be discussed separately.

DR. H. S. GOUR, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE first question that agitates the public is whether the Assembly is an advance upon its predecessor—the Imperial Legislative Council. The answer must largely depend upon what advance we expected. That it is an advance no one can deny. It has received the power of voting on many items of the Budget which the late Council did not possess, and it has a clear and even a substantial non-official majority which, if adroitly marshalled, would make its power felt even in the decision of matters and the control of a policy which do not legally fall within the scope of its authority.



DR. H. S. GOUR.

The question is: Has the Assembly been organized? Frankly speaking—No. And the reason is not far to seek. It contains many members

who are distinguished ornaments of their provinces and professions, but it also contains a few members who have crept into it by reason of the general boycott of the Councils. But on the whole it has done its work well and the fact that its work has been appreciated even in quarters by no means friendly to Indian aspirations shows that the praise bestowed on it is well deserved.

A cursory perusal of the voluminous reports of its last two sessions will show how far-reaching has been its influence and how solid its actual achievement. Thanks to its businesslike activity India is not to-day what it was before the Assembly was inaugurated, and the cry then heard that no political reform is possible unless men can be found to efficiently discharge their responsibilities is no longer made. That such men exist is now recognized. The cry now heard is that the electorate must take time to be educated and this was the sole objection raised at the Assembly debate for further reforms. And it is the objection wired to this country by Reuter in his summary of the Secretary of State's despatch on the Assembly Resolution.

That further reforms are not far distant can admit of no doubt. The Government themselves now clearly see the illogical position into which the recent reforms have driven them. They are nominally irresponsible to and irremovable by the Assembly, and yet it is the Assembly that controls their policy. If they defied the Assembly there is the fear of a deadlock, and a deadlock means a grave constitutional crisis which the Government are naturally anxious to avoid. The Assembly is equally anxious to save the Government from such a grave situation. The mutual desire to carry on has led to a practical coalition Government of India—but with this weakness in the system that the Assembly is free to criticize the Government, well knowing that it will never be called upon to shoulder

their responsibility. The Government on the other hand, know that the whole system is in a state of transition and by compromises they create no precedents of which their successors need have any fear. Such in short is the situation. It is anomalous, but it was not unforeseen, though in practice it looks a little more than anomalous—it is bizarre. Neither the Assembly nor the Government have the constitutional practice of any part of the world to guide them. We make precedents, we unmake them—for do we not all know that it is only an interlude which must soon close and draw up the curtain to a more real Parliament.

SIR M. DE P. WEBB, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E.

SO far the doings of the reformed Bombay Legislative Council have been wholly admirable. The new Council contains many members who have not before had experience of Council work. On the other hand, the new Council includes many warriors who have for long served their country in the Council halls of Bombay and Poona. The new body therefore enjoys the advantage of having many wise heads, and can be relied upon to treat all problems that come before it safely and with moderation.

The outstanding features of the new Council are the energy, the marked sense of personal responsibility, the determination to prove their capacity, and the obvious anxiety to give of their best, exhibited both by the new Ministers and by all Members of the Legislative Council. Imbued by this spirit, the Council has perhaps inclined in the direction of overdoing the right thing. Thus, the necessity for great economy this year is axiomatic in every legislature in the world. The members of the Bombay Legislative Council with this fact in mind, have shown a desire to cut down all expenditure in all directions, even on Public Works items, whose omission from the

Budget must cause difficulty, hardship and possibly actual monetary loss, rather than make any inroad on the opening balance in their possession. Indeed, some Indian Members desired to reduce the new Ministers' proposed salaries, or ask the Ministers to serve on no salaries at all, rather than expose themselves to the criticism that they had been too free with the public's money.

This error (if error it can be called) is on the right side. In money matters, the public are hardly likely to blame their representatives on Council for being over-cautious. The only fear is lest over-anxiety to act safely and wisely leads to a disinclination to impose taxation, and therefore to a slowing down—possibly to an actual stoppage—of the very moderate rate of progress which an autocratic Government thought good for the people before the reformed Council came into existence.

Be this as it may, it is impossible to withhold admiration from the excellent spirit, the fine sense of duty, and the determination to make the most and the best of the opportunity, exhibited by the members of the new Bombay Legislative Council in their first efforts at legislative government. That some mistakes—some errors of judgment—may have been made, need cause no one any anxiety. The man who never made a mistake certainly never made anything else worth talking about. Members of the new Council do not claim to be perfect. Much has yet to be learnt by experience. In the meantime, good work has been done, and satisfactory progress has been made. All augurs well for the future, and we can wish the new Council every possible success.

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RAI BAHADUR T. A. RAMALINGAM  
CHETTIAR, M. L. C.

THE general feeling of one in the new Provincial Council is that of a bird in a cage struggling to get free. The Council has vast possibilities but in actual practice one feels impatient at the smallness of work one can do in it. The Government of India Act has given vast powers to the Councils and it is possible to make the Provincial Government responsible to the Council completely. But the rules made under the Act have introduced limitations, which nullify the powers of the Council in many matters and they also enable a Governor, not in sympathy with the popular view of things, to ride roughshod over rights which have to be gained as matters of convention and exercise powers given to him for use in cases of emergency in ordinary matters and thus set at nought the vote of the Council. Much depends on the Governor and the Members of the Government. If they choose they can make the Council a real parliament on the British model. They can also make it a mere debating society.

The power given to vote on the budget is the real advance made over the powers of the old Council. When we framed our programme of reforms to be demanded by the non-Brahmins at the first Non-Brahmin Conference held at Coimbatore, I thought the responsibility of the Ministers to the Council was more important and gave more powers to the popular representatives than the right of voting on the budget, and I agreed to the deletion of the right to vote on the budget when the general opinion was in favour of asking for only one of the two reforms. I now find, after a year's working of the new Council, that I was wrong and that the real power of the Council can be exercised only in voting on the grants. The right of the Council to vote on the grants is very much restricted by the Act and the rules and these restrictions are very much widened by

the interpretation placed on them by His Excellency the Governor. A very large number of items are marked as non-votable. It is very doubtful whether several of these items come under the rules, but the decision of His Excellency the Governor is final and it cannot be questioned. The salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council need not be submitted to the vote of the Council under Section 78 (d) of the Government of India Act. All sorts of allowances (duty allowance, personal allowance, local allowance, overseas allowance, etc.) are given to Imperial Service Officers. It is ruled by His Excellency the Governor of Madras that these allowances are not subject to the vote of the Council. It has also been ruled that the Council has no power to vote or withhold the pay of an office sanctioned by the Secretary of State but not filled up. In this way, the Secretary of State can create, on the advice of the Local Government, any number of new departments and any number of new offices in the Imperial Service without consulting the Council and without submitting the pay and allowances of these offices to the vote of the Council. In the last budget discussion I gave notice of a resolution to abolish the Department of the Commissioner of Labour. (This was long before the troubles in the mills arose.) But when the agenda came I found that the discussion had to be confined to the votable items alone and the pay of the office of the Commissioner cannot be voted on. The reinstating of the item relating to the Russell-konda Saw Mill Scheme showed the way in which the vote of the Council can be set at nought and the language in which the order reinstating the grant was couched showed the regard His Excellency the Governor had for the Members of the Legislative Council. The Member whose speech opposing the grant chiefly influenced the House is now a Minister of His Excellency the Governor.

and still His Excellency chose to attribute motives to the Members. But for the fact and good humour of the Finance Member the budget discussions of this year could not have passed off as pleasantly as they did. The restrictions placed on the voting powers of the Council and on the effect of the voting should be removed, otherwise the power of the Council will not be real.

His Excellency the Governor has been exercising his power to disallow resolutions too freely. Many of his orders in this respect are of very doubtful legality. But then his orders are final. In important matters it always takes some time before His Excellency allows the resolutions of Members and very often a protracted correspondence is necessary. My resolution to reduce the number of Executive Councillors was disallowed twice and allowed the third time, only because a similar resolution regarding Bejar was allowed and discussed in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. He first disallowed my resolution regarding the amendment of the Religious Endowment Act. When I pointed out that the ruling was not correct, he objected to the form of my resolution and suggested another form. When I insisted on the resolution as drafted by me and pointed out that His Excellency had no power to dictate in what form a resolution should be framed, the resolution as drafted by me was allowed. I sent a resolution some months back recommending to the Secretary of State the alteration of rules so as to transfer the Departments of Forests and Irrigation to the control of the Ministers in Madras at once, and the Department of Land Revenue as soon as the Land Revenue Act was passed. This was disallowed on the ground that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Local Government. I pointed out that the list of transferred subjects is not the same for all the Provinces in India, that the Department of Forests is already a transferred subject in Bombay,

that the rules laying down the list of transferred subjects have therefore to be altered at the instance of Provincial Governments and Councils as it suits their conditions and the initiative with regard to each Province has to be taken by its Government and its Council. His Excellency declined to revise his decision. These are only a few of the very many cases in which the power to disallow resolutions has been exercised by His Excellency. The resolutions are not binding. They only express the opinion of the Council. By disallowing resolutions, the Council is denied an opportunity even to express its opinion on important matters.

The Council is on the whole a fairly representative Council. It is a pity that the non-cooperators did not contest the elections to the Council. If they had contested, about a dozen of them could have got in and they would have given expression to their views in the Council. As it is the progressives in the Council are considered as men of extreme views. Advance has to be made in several directions by compromises and the want of the extreme view puts the progressive view at a disadvantage. The average of the Council is probably as good as it was in the old Councils and given some time, the members will prepare themselves and take an intelligent and useful part in the work of the Council. There is at present a tendency to send too many questions and too many resolutions and not concentrate attention on important issues. This is due to the fact that there is no organisation and each member wants to play off his own bat. This will disappear as we proceed.

The holding of a meeting every month causes inconvenience to many members and it adds to the expenditure on the Council in the shape of travelling allowance bills. It also makes people take a less serious view of the meetings than they would otherwise do. As one member puts it, some members have already begun to think of the Council Meeting as a District Board Meeting.

# MR. GANDHI'S LATEST

16a

By MR. G. A. NATESAN

From the very beginning Mr. Gandhi has not been anxious about any conference with Government. According to him and some of his followers "the time is not ripe for it." "There has not been enough sacrifice and suffering." Evidently they must assume such a character as will stagger not only the British Government but civilised humanity as well. Pandit Madan Mohan and his good friends, the members of the Liberal or Moderate party as it is called, the Indian Christian Conference and even the Non Brahmin Federation of Madras—all alike deplore the indiscriminate and wholesale arrests recently made by the Government, but Mr. Gandhi, every time a well known leader is arrested and sent to gaol, sends a message of congratulation and urges others to follow suit. He would be glad if many more thousands of his followers were arrested and locked up, for that would, according to him, hasten the advent of Swaraj. He rejoices over the blunders of the bureaucracy, for thereby, the authorities, "beautifully shape the situation" for the non co operators. In the closing week of the year, the Viceroy assured Pandit Malaviya that he would withdraw the notifications under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act and release all those sentenced under them and agree to a Round Table Conference if only the hartal and other activities were called off. His Excellency even assured him that, if any action is taken by Government or non-co-operators preparatory to the holding of the conference, "no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other," and he rightly went on to add: "I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage which may be derived from discussion and consultation with others who see from different

angles and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us."

Yet Mr Gandhi distinctly refused to call off the hartal. At the conference of Leaders in Bombay Mr Gandhi solemnly declared:

The Conference should remember that I do not propose to be a party to the resolutions of this Conference and so far as I am concerned, the Non-Co-operators also will not become parties. (Hear, hear) They will not take part in the discussion either.

He would only be an adviser. His minimum demands must be accepted if he and his party were to agree at all to a Round Table Conference. And what are his minimum demands? They may be set forth in his own words.

(1) Full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople, Anatolia including Smyrna and Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Muslim influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria and therefore, withdrawal of British troops, whether English or Indian, from these territories.

(2) Full enforcement of the report of the Congress Sub-Committee and, therefore, stopping of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers named in the report for dismissal.

(3) Swaraj means, in the event of the foregoing demands being granted, full Dominion status. The scheme of such Swaraj shall be framed by representatives duly elected in terms of the Congress constitution.

But these are not the only terms on which his presence in the conference could be secured.

Government must prove that it is penitent. Liberals and others will have little or no share in determining how India should obtain Dominion status. Only he and his followers of "the four-anna franchise" will determine what is to be the country's future. And this he urges in the face of his own admission "I know also, I feel keenly that this country is not really ready for making a demand of that character." Even if one should, perchance, agree to all these terms, Mr. Gandhi proclaims: "I will not on any account stop the preparation for civil disobedience" for "civil disobedience being an indefeasible right, the preparation for it will



continue even if the conference comes off." Nor does he hesitate to avow :

I am here to confess that we are fully able to take charge of all military dispositions of the country and that we are fully able to deal with all foreign complications. The worst that may happen is that we may be blotted out from the face of the earth. I am quite willing to be blotted out from the face of the earth as long as I can breathe the free atmosphere of India.

Mr. Gandhi declares that "There is no open mind about the Khilafat. There is no open mind about the Punjab. The irreducible minimum has been before the country for a long time." And yet he claims that the Congressmen or non-co-operators "are as reasonable beings as may be found on earth or in India."

Is it any wonder that after this Pandit Kunzru and others refused to serve on the committee and Sir Sankaran Nair whose patience seems to have been sorely tried walked out of the Conference? Is it any wonder that the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State threw out the proposal for a Round Table Conference? Surely Mr. Gandhi by his conduct is plunging the country into a career of disaster. For, only a few hours after the Conference he himself confesses in an article in the *Navajivan*, his own paper :

I do not know what is the best course at this moment. I am positively shaking with fear. If a settlement were to be made, then where are we to go? Although I will miss no opportunity of a settlement, still, after having come to know the strength of India, I am afraid of a settlement.

He does not hesitate to confess that the conditions for Swaraj which he has long been proclaiming have not been satisfactorily fulfilled to his expectation, for he says distinctly :

We have not yet evolved that degree of strength and discipline which are necessary for conducting a successful campaign of non-payment of taxes. Not a single *tahsil* in India is yet ready, except perhaps Bardoli and, to a lesser degree, Anand. More than fifty per cent. of the population of such *tahsil* has to rid itself of the curse of untouchability, must be dressed in Khadi manufactured in the *tahsil*, must be non-violent in thought, word and deed, and must be living in perfect friendliness with all whether co-operator or non-co-operator. Non-payment of taxes without the necessary discipline will be an act of unpardonable madness. Instead of leading to Swaraj it is likely to lead to No-Raj.

And yet he, the Dictator, appointed by the Congress "quivering and shaking with fear" proposes to plunge the country into civil disobedience after the 31st of January. To the terrible gloom and poverty which have followed the economic depression caused by the recent war, Mr. Gandhi wishes to add to his country the horrors of civil disobedience and with that its necessary concomitant, civil war. To aggravate the situation still further we have the extreme Khilafatists proclaiming principles which are a menace not only to Government but to Non-Mahomedans as well.

It is certainly difficult for ordinary mortals to even presume to understand Mr. Gandhi's mentality or appreciate the light-heartedness with which he ignores the bitter lessons of his previous campaigns in a similar direction. May we remind him of the confession—a manly and honourable confession indeed—made at Ahmedabad on Monday, the 14th April, 1919, soon after the tragedy that followed his Satyagraha campaign then?

The events that have happened in the course of the last few days have been most disgraceful to Ahmedabad, and as all these things have happened in my name, I am ashamed of them, and those who have been responsible for them have thereby not honoured me but disgraced me. A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more. I have said times without number that Satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses.... I am sorry, when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil.

And again on the 24th of November last, writing in *Young India* about the riots and murders that accompanied the hartal in connection with the Prince of Wales' arrival in Bombay :

It is not possible to describe to you the agony I have suffered during the past two days. I am writing this now at 3-30 A.M., in perfect peace. After two hours' prayer and meditation I have found it.

I must refuse to eat or drink anything but water till the Hindus and Musalmans of Bombay have made peace with the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews, and till the non-co-operators have made peace with the co-operators.

The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. Hindu-Muslim

unity has been a menace to the handful of Parsis, Christians and Jews. The non-violence of non-co-operators has been worse than the violence of co-operators. For with non-violence on our lips we have terrorized those who have differed from us and in so doing we have denied our God.

I invite my fellow workers not to waste a single word of sympathy for me. I need or deserve none. But I invite them to make a ceaseless effort to regain control over the turbulent elements. This is a terribly true struggle. There is no room for sham or humbug in it. Before we can make any further progress with our struggle, we must cleanse our hearts.

• Does Mr. Gandhi seriously mean to suggest that within the short space of two months he has



MR. GANDHI.

succeeded in the miracle of "cleansing the hearts" of those and the like of them who were responsible for the blood of their innocent countrymen?

No one can afford to contemplate on this situation but with horror and dismay. It to us the only course left to all who love order and peace—not only the Moderates and the Govern-

ment as some would like to say, but the independent nationalists, like Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Jinnah and others of his persuasion as well—is to fight the movement for civil disobedience which, if allowed to grow, will not only undermine all respect for law and authority, but would produce disastrous and disruptive influences in the social and economic life of the people. To those who trifle with the situation and chuckle over the difficulties of the present Government, we can only say that this spirit of disobedience and lawlessness, once allowed to grow, will spread from generation to generation and when Swaraj becomes an accomplished fact, it is the country that will have to reap with compound interest the evils of the campaign of lawlessness and disorder.

And yet, one is bound to add it would be a grievous mistake on the part of the authorities to suppose that their duty ends with fighting and suppressing the non-co-operators. There could be no greater folly than that. We are now face to face with a new spirit. Repression has failed everywhere. It has failed in Egypt, and the situation there is growing from bad to worse. After years of repression, after shedding so much of blood in Ireland, British statesmanship has solved the Irish problem by conciliation and a wise policy of give and take. As the first step in that direction, Government must withdraw the recent notifications and release those sentenced under them. And the bureaucracy which has often been blind in the past and which is in no small measure responsible for the gravity of the present situation, must forthwith apply itself to the task of examining the causes of the present unrest with a determination to make a very honest endeavour to ease the situation and pursue without faltering or fear the further advance towards constitutional reform—a problem which could no longer with safety be left to be decided by the ten-years' limit imposed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Act.

# THE CONFERENCE AND AFTER

## THE DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY.

ON December '21 a deputation consisting of several leading persons from different provinces presented an address to H. E. the Viceroy at Calcutta, reviewing the present political situation and urging His Excellency to call a Conference to make practical suggestions and recommendations to allay the present discontent. The deputation, headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in the course of their address, pointed out the causes of the present unrest and regretted that the agitation had coincided with the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and marred the national welcome. They urged His Excellency to call a Conference of representatives of the people of all shades of opinion.

With mutual forbearance and goodwill we firmly believe that it is possible to find such a solution and to replace the present unrest by peace and harmony based on a guarantee of ordered healthy national progress. In the meanwhile it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 and the Seditious Meetings Act, which have stirred up so much feeling and unrest in the country, should be withdrawn, and all persons imprisoned as a result of their operation immediately released.

The deputation appealed to His Excellency to meet the situation in a generous spirit of broad-minded sympathy and conciliation.

H. E. the Viceroy replied at some length and defined the attitude of the Government in regard to the proposal for a Round Table Conference. His Excellency then went on to say:—

The tenor of your address implies your recognition, in which I cordially agree, of the need of a calm and serene atmosphere for a Conference. Indeed, in my judgment, it is impossible even to consider the convening of a Conference if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued. Unfortunately, I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you is in a position to give an assurance to this effect, for none of you have been authorized to make it. I hope that I shall not be misinterpreted. I am not suggesting any reproach to anyone concerned. All I mean is that whatever hopes may have been entertained have not been realized and that, therefore, when we are meeting

to-day necessarily rather hurriedly, in view of the circumstances, the assurance for which I confess I had been looking as a necessary part of this discussion is not forthcoming.

The "assurance" referred to was "calling off the hartal" to which Mr. Gandhi did not agree. There was a general regret on all sides that Mr. Gandhi had refused a golden opportunity for a truce.

In the meanwhile, the Congress and other Conferences had come off. Pandit Malaviya also attended the session at Ahmedabad. The Congress rejected the motion for independence, but countenanced the early adoption of aggressive civil disobedience. The Liberal Federation voiced the general feeling of the country when it passed a resolution at the Allahabad session urging the withdrawal of the repressive measures by Government. There was a general feeling that civil disobedience, if resorted to, was ruinous to the people, and this was endorsed by the Federation.

## • THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

In the first week of this month Pandit Malaviya and a few others addressed a letter to prominent politicians all over the country calling a Conference at Bombay on the 14th instant. They urged in their letter:—

A considerable body of opinion in the country is anxious to see a settlement effected which would make it possible to secure the redress of political grievances and the satisfaction of national aspirations in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

The Ahmedabad Congress, in rejecting the proposal for severing India's connection with the British Empire, has reflected the opinion still retained by the bulk of thoughtful people in the country, that it is possible to achieve full national development within the orbit of the British Commonwealth.

It is therefore necessary at this juncture for all those who realise the disastrous consequences bound to ensue on a continuance of the present deadlock to confer together and devise means whereby it will be possible to open wide the door to an honourable settlement.

Accordingly the Conference was held at Bombay on the 14th and was attended by over two hundred leading men from different provinces.

## PANDIT MALAVIYA.

Pandit Malaviya at the outset made a speech, in which he said the non-co-operation movement had developed, step by step, owing to the mistakes made by the Government and averred that the policy of wholesale repression was utterly unjustifiable. He dwelt upon the conditions under which a round table conference could be brought about in order to reach an honourable settlement on the issues of the Punjab, Khilafat and *Swaraj* with the Government and proposed Sir Sankaran Nair to the Chair.

Sir Sankaran called upon Mr. Jinnah to explain what the conveners had in mind in calling the Conference.

## MR. JINNAH.

Mr. Jinnah explained their object and read out a resolution which, he said, had been drafted after a long discussion amongst themselves and strongly urged the desirability of a round table conference under conditions acceptable to Mr. Gandhi and the Government, the idea being to put a stop to certain activities on both sides. The object of the present conference, he said, was to settle the terms of the truce and added that there could be no conference until the Viceroy gave an assurance that he had the sanction of the British Government behind him for carrying into effect whatever decision might be reached by such a conference.

## MR. GANDHI.

Mr. Gandhi in his reply made it clear that "neither he nor his party propose to be a party to the resolutions of the conference." In any case "preparation for civil disobedience will not stop;" and he said, "I would not stop the enlistment of volunteers even for a single moment," though, he added, "the preparation will not be of an offensive character nor of a hostile character." He then outlined what he called his minimum demands, and said:

The irreducible minimum has been before the country for a long time. All that can be discussed

is, how to give effect to the Khilafat terms that are demanded, how to give effect to the Punjab terms that are demanded (Hear, hear). I do want to appreciate all the difficulties that face the Government, but the vital principle of these demands is *full dominion status*. How is that to be arrived at? At the round table conference also my emphatic submission to the Viceroy will be for a scheme in accordance with the spirit of this demand for full dominion status that will be evolved by duly elected representatives of the people of this country. I mean by the expression "duly elected representatives" all those elected representatives—elected under the Congress constitution, that is to say, under the four anna franchise. That is those who pay four annas each will be duly registered as voters and they will elect representatives. These representatives will evolve a scheme for full dominion status.

Indeed, as Mr. Gandhi has explained in his latest *Young India*, he "laid all the cards on the table and reiterated the claims regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and *Swaraj*" and he urged "the full enforcement of the report of the Congress Sub-Committee and therefore the stopping of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers named in the report for dismissal." Mr. Gandhi concluded by saying that "a proper declaration of penitence on the part of the Government" was necessary to create the favourable atmosphere for the conference.

## • SIR HORMUSJI WADIA.

Sir Hormasji Wadia then made a very significant speech. Liberals, he said, were for law and order, but there was one price which they could not pay for them, namely, the loss of freedom of speech, press and association. He said that the "last two months' happenings had caused a deep searching of hearts amongst Liberals. As to the reforms, which were shown to be quite illusory, they gave them no security whatsoever in spite of three Indian members in the Executive Council of the Government of India and popular ministers, besides Indian Councillors, in the provinces. He spoke strongly against civil disobedience and was anxious to see a settlement arrived at.

This speech was followed by a general discussion, in which Messrs. S. R. Bomanji, J. A. Wadia,

Jehangir Petit, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Satyamurti and others took part.

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of the debate, said that the non-co-operators not identifying themselves with the resolutions of the Conference was in the best interests of the country.

#### APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE.

The Conference appointed a committee to frame proposals in the light of the discussions to be placed before it. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru was one of the members elected to serve on the committee, but he subsequently withdrew from it. It is stated that Mr. Purushothamdas Thakurdas also declined to serve on the committee.

The committee met the next day with Sir Sankaran Nair in the chair, but, towards the end Sir Sankaran left saying that he could not continue to lead the deliberations as he thought Mr. Gandhi wanted to humiliate Government and was insisting on impossible conditions. On Sir Sankaran Nair vacating the chair, Pandit Malaviya proposed Sir M. Visweswarya, who conducted the proceedings for the rest of the session.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

A common agreement was arrived at regarding the draft resolutions which were placed before the Conference the next day and adopted. Five resolutions were passed in all; the first criticised the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act as an unwarranted encroachment on the freedom of speech and association. The second urged that, until it was clear beyond any doubt that no other means would serve to redress the grievances, civil disobedience ought not to be resorted to. The third supported the proposal for a Round Table Conference and in order to provide a favourable atmosphere urged the withdrawal of the receipt notifications, the release of all prisoners convicted under these notifications, as also of the ~~felon~~ prisoners, and of those other prisoners to be recommended by a committee

to be appointed in consultation with Government, and that, pending the results of the proposed conference, all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease. The fourth resolution urged that His Majesty's Government should clothe H. E. the Viceroy with the authority necessary for the purpose of arriving at a settlement. The last resolution appointed a committee to carry on negotiations with the Government and important political organisations in the country with a view to the holding of the Round Table Conference.

#### CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S ACTION.

On the 17th Mr. Gandhi called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress, and the resolutions passed at the Malaviya Conference were endorsed.

The Working Committee in its resolutions thanked the conveners of the Malaviya Conference for their efforts to bring the various political parties to a conference. It also resolved to suspend offensive civil disobedience till the 31st January pending the result of negotiations for the round table conference and the items enumerated in the resolutions of the Malaviya Conference. The last resolution runs as follows:—

In order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands, the Working Committee desires to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya Conference to the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj claims as stated publicly from time to time from the Congress platforms, and to state that, therefore, the Congress and Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full settlement of these claims.

#### SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S STATEMENT.

Sir Sankaran Nair wrote a letter to the *Times of India* in which he explained the reasons why he left the Conference. He wrote:—

I have come to the conclusion, along with many others, that any further conference with Mr. Gandhi and his followers is useless, and that he will not be a party to what I consider any honourable settlement, or that any settlement will be faithfully carried out.

The signatories to the manifesto placed certain proposals before the Conference yesterday. Mr. Gandhi did not accept those resolutions. This morning a committee appointed by the Conference, which, at his own request, did not contain himself or any of his followers, framed, however, in consultation with him,

resolutions to meet his wishes as far as possible. They also were not accepted by him.

Mr. Gandhi does not want a conference or a settlement except on his own impossible terms, and any stray observations made by him amid a cloud of statements supporting any other view are only calculated to mislead. That the Government should be penitent for their so-called misdeeds is, of course, an impossible condition and would never have been put forward by anyone wishing for any amicable settlement.

After reviewing Mr. Gandhi's conditions regarding the Punjab, Khilafat and Swaraj and the unconditional demand for the release of all political prisoners, Sir Sankaran Nair wrote —

It seems to me there is no good of any Government conference with Mr. Gandhi and his party, and it would not be right to request a Round Table Conference to discuss these terms, which the Government will not accept.

To this letter there have been many rejoinders from several gentlemen who attended the Conference. Mr. Gandhi also replied to the letter while the Secretaries of the Committee issued a statement contradicting some portions of Sir Sankaran's letter. They say "that the Committee was practically unanimous in the proposals embodied in the several resolutions passed at the Conference."

It appears, however, from a paragraph in the *Servant of India* that, when it came to the taking of votes, no more than a minute fraction of persons who attended the Conference recorded their votes. This is confirmed by the following observation of a correspondent in the *Times of India*:

The Liberals who went to the Conference abstained from voting, maintaining that their party cannot be committed to them. And there were demurrers even among the signatories, and in the committee which took nearly eight hours to come to a decision, which decision, after all, was not unanimous.

#### THE DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY.

The Round Table Conference was also the subject of a lengthy debate both in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State. In the Assembly Mr. Iswar Saran moved the following resolution on January 18:

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council the immediate abandonment of the policy of repression inaugurated in the country.

In moving his resolution Mr. Iswar Saran said that it was not his object to add to the

complexity of the present situation by bringing forward a resolution of this kind. He held that the decision of non-co-operators to call out hartals and the violence resorted to in Bombay and on other occasions must be condemned. Equally strongly they must condemn the Government's repressive policy, which had alienated all sympathy with the Government which had aggravated the evil it was intended to remove, and which if persisted in, was bound to lead to disaster.

He then condemned the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act and pointed out how repression has failed.

No wonder, therefore, that non-co-operators had accepted the challenge to their freedom of speech and freedom of association. Jails were no longer the places of terror rather they were considered as places of pilgrimage.

He therefore urged the Government to change that policy now, and at once. He appealed to the Government to bear in mind that non-co-operation was not a disease but a symptom. It could never die. Time should not, therefore, be lost to retrace their steps, and to adopt a constructive scheme to meet the causes leading to non co-operation.

When Mr. Iswar Saran concluded his speech, the President said that he proposed to allow Dr. Gour to move his comprehensive amendment which covered the substance of almost all other amendments. Dr. Gour then moved his amendment which, he said, he had been deputed to move by the Democratic Party of the House. The amendment was as follows. —

Whilst strongly deprecating the aggressive form of non-co-operation manifested by some non-co-operators and resort to violence by them in some places, as also the menace of mass civil disobedience, this Assembly strongly disapproves of the recourse, by Government, to a general policy of repression without previously consulting this House, and recommends to the Governor-General in Council, the immediate abandonment of the policy of repression inaugurated in the country and the reversion to the policy announced in this House on the 23rd March 1921, the release of all persons in detention in pursuance of that policy, and the convening of a conference, comprising of the representatives of all shades of opinion, with a view to concert a practical plan for the restoration of peace in the country, and for assuring its political progress in consonance with its national aspirations.

Dr. Gour in moving his amendment commended the action of the Bombay Government which had kept its head cool despite all the occurrences of violence and bloodshed. He appealed for the release of all prisoners which would act as a palliative followed by summoning a Conference to suggest the cure of the present crisis.

Mr. Jamnadas strongly opposed both the resolution and the amendment and in doing so made a long speech. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar deprecated his attitude and said they should not say a word which would injure the prospects of a Round Table Conference. Sir William Vincent, in his speech, asked if the Council was going to encourage violence and disorder by countenancing civil disobedience. Dr. Sapru made statements on behalf of Government, in which he said that the Government was carefully considering "if it was possible to find an alternative form of legislation which should meet with less criticism and be more effective than the Criminal Law Amendment Act." (Applause.) Concluding Dr. Sapru appealed to those who believed in the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire to remember that Self-Government would never be achieved by the methods of non-co-operation.

Several members took part in the discussion including Sir Montagu Webb, Mr. Samarth, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and others. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar pointed out that

Government had exercised great patience and forbearance and had allowed greater freedom of speech than any other Government could have tolerated. (Hear, Hear.) When intimidation and violence had been practised, there was no other policy open to Government than the one they had resorted to. Of course, Local Governments had committed blunders in launching upon a general policy of indiscriminate arrests. They ought to have arrested only those who had actually, and not merely technically committed an offence. He wanted that Local Governments should show a little less zeal in such prosecutions and see that excesses were not committed. All those who had been arrested for mere technical as distinct from actual offence by way of violence or intimidation, etc., should be released.

Sir Sivaswami proposed an amendment on the lines of his speech which was, however, not allowed

because the Home Member pointed out that it involved a censure of the action of the Local Governments on which matter he had not consulted his other colleagues. Sir Sivaswami Iyer's amendment therefore did not come up.

Sir William Vincent, replying to the debate, said Government was ready to see that no undue severity was shown to those prosecuted and sentenced, and they had already issued instructions to that effect. Moreover, they were already examining the possibility of framing a legislation which should meet with less criticism and be more effective in dealing with systematic attempts at intimidation, violence and other unlawful activities.

But we cannot and will not have the authority of the law defied. That is the duty before every one of us, before every civilised Government, to maintain law and order and I want this Assembly to support us in so doing. We have no desire to see anything except justice done.

Dr. Gour's amendment was then put to vote and declared lost by 52 to 36. Munshi Iqbal Saran's original motion was rejected by 53 to 33.

#### DEBATE IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE

In the Council of State the Hon. Mr. Pheroze Sethna moved a resolution to the effect that

the Governor-General-in-Council should convene immediately an informal joint sitting of both Houses of Legislature excluding the Press representatives and visitors to settle on what lines a Round Table Conference of all party leaders should be held.

Several members took part in the discussion. Sir Alexander Murray opposed and Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Mr. Bhurgri supported the resolution.

Mr. Khaparde moved an amendment to the effect that a Round Table Conference be convened consisting of representatives of both Chambers to consider the present position and make recommendations. Another amendment was brought forward by Lala Sukbir Sinha. Sir M. Shafi opposed the amendment as impracticable and made a long speech condemning the attitude of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Raza Ali spoke in favour of the resolution as also Lala Sukbir Sinha, Mr. Kala and Mr. Jaffer and others. Mr. Khaparde's amendment was also lost. Mr. Sethna's motion was then put to vote and declared lost, 10 voting for and 23 against. Thus the two Central Legislatures rejected the motion for a Round Table Conference.

# RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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BY MR. C. W. STEWART.

**M**R. Thompson's introduction to the study of Rabindranath Tagore \* is admirably done. He writes with intense sympathy, based on personal intimacy with the poet and a thorough acquaintance with his works in the original Bengali, but his appreciation is always sane. Indeed he is so conscientious in holding his enthusiasm within the bounds of judicious criticism, that the general tone of his book is slightly austere. There is no concession to those weaker spirits who prefer reading a book *about* an author to reading the author's own writings, because the former method involves less labour and provides the reader with ready-made phrases that enable him to appear intelligent when the author is under discussion. On the contrary, Mr. Thompson's book makes you eager to read, or to re-read, Rabindranath Tagore, confident that fuller enjoyment is in store.

It is consoling to learn from this book that a reader of the poet's English works may confess, unashamed, to a vague bewilderment, a tantalizing sense that, if the poems were seen in the proper focus, scattered fragments of beauty would coalesce into harmonious, intelligible designs. This sensation of disappointment was largely responsible for the rapid decline in reputation that followed Rabindranath Tagore's sudden leap into world-wide fame. The decline was, of course, only temporary, though it is doubtful whether, even now, he is appreciated at his true worth. But, at that time, "book after book was hurried out, almost fortuitously, and flung at the public.....The word had gone round that he was a 'mystic.' 'Mysticism' was the current catchword in the circles that think they make and understand literature, and the most unexpected people were talking of it." The poet himself contributed to the calamity. "In translating, he more and more felt along one stratum only of his work, the wistful-mystical one. His boldest, strongest poems he avoided, or else watered down to prettiness. There came never a word of explanation."

Poetry is sometimes described as "thought overheard," a poet's reflections, viewed in detachment from the trains of thought that preceded them, and the influences directing his outlook, are like single lines of a poem separated from their context; the latter either have no meaning or are far less significant than they were in their original setting. In the case of Rabindranath Tagore, the marked individuality of his poems makes explanation particularly necessary. Mr. Thompson, by presenting in close relation the events of Dr. Tagore's life and the sequence of his writings, provides many clues to the real significance of the latter: his book is, as it were, a genealogical tree of Rabindranath Tagore's literary work, in which the reader of a particular book can trace the influences that engendered it.

As an example of the thoroughness of Mr. Thompson's methods, take his treatment of Dr. Tagore's poetry. He describes the three principal phases, Rabindranath Tagore as love-poet, as nature-poet, and as religious-poet: he explains the principal influences that affected him,—the intellectual activity of his home, the example of classical Sanskrit literature, the life and thought of 19th century Europe, his love for music, the Brahmo Samaj, his *jibanadebata* (Life-God) doctrine; and he shows how these influences, and other subsidiary ones besides, worked with the circumstances of Rabindranath Tagore's life to produce the moods in which he wrote his various books.

It would be incorrect to give the impression that Mr. Thompson deals exhaustively with the poems alone. Short story, drama, essay, lyric, journalism, all are studied with the same eager care, and there is also full treatment of Dr. Tagore's part in public life, especially as regards education and politics.

Mr. Thompson has written a book that was needed, and he has written it well. It is good news that he is preparing a larger book on the same subject which will include more of his own versions of Bengali poems by Rabindranath Tagore, hitherto untranslated,

\* *Rabindranath Tagore*, by E. J. Thompson. "Heritage of India Series". (Association Press & Oxford University Press). Rs. 1-8.



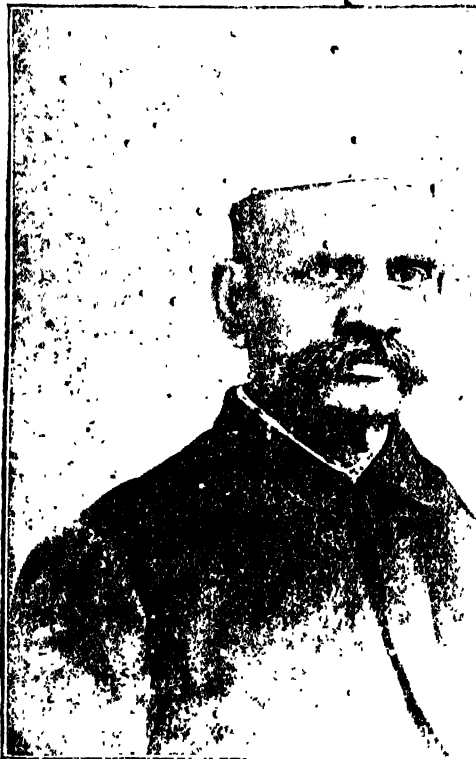
# DR. RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

By

PROF. M. S. RAMASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A.

## EARLY LIFE AND OFFICIAL CAREER

OF all the eminent Indians who adorned the past generation some of whom are happily alive, it would be difficult to name any one who represented what was best in Ancient Indian culture more finely than the veteran educationist, the great Sanskrit savant, reformer and revivalist—Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. 'Those' who are



DR. BHANDARKAR.

privileged to study, amidst the stormy political controversies of the day, the writings and speeches of the venerable sage, may well realise the need of the present generation, to cultivate those traits of character that won for Dr. Bhandarkar a high place in the republic of letters. Accurate in scholarship and always sound in judgment, of pleasant

manners and yet possessed of an indomitable will, Dr. Bhandarkar's early life and career is a source of deep inspiration to young men of India. Thoroughly patriotic in the best sense of the word, Dr. Bhandarkar's life is a living example of what can be achieved by patience, perseverance and singleness of purpose.

Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was born on 6th July, 1837, of poor Maharachtra Brahmin parents. His father was a clerk under the Mamledar of Malwan. Want of facilities prevented young Bhandarkar from receiving a very early education. But when his father was transferred to the District Treasury of Ratnagiri which boasted of an English school, a great career opened itself before him. Young Bhandarkar entered the school at about the same time that some of his illustrious contemporaries such as Mandlik and Barve left it, to prosecute their studies in the Bombay institutions. After completing his education in the Ratnagiri school, Bhandarkar went to Bombay in 1853 and joined the Elphinstone College. There he studied under distinguished professors among whom was our illustrious patriot, the late Dr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, who was the first to perceive the genius in the boy. He was very assiduous in the college, devoting the day-time to discussions of Western ideas with his fellow-students while "he cheated sleep of a portion of its natural period, by the boyish expedient of tying his hair to the back of his chair as a precaution against an unwary nap." He devoted himself to the study of English literature, History, Natural Science and Mathematics, which last claimed his particular attention. This partiality for Mathematics besides winning for him the admiration of Dr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, gave him a discipline of mind so essential for scholarly pursuits.

Passing his scholarship examinations, Bhandarkar was in due course appointed a Fellow and subsequently transferred to the

Deccan College. It was there that he came in contact with Mr. Howard, the then Director of Public Instruction. Noticing the brilliant academic career of Bhandarkar and full of great hopes in the boy, Howard persuaded him to study Sanskrit. In the midst of his tutorial duties as a college Fellow, Dr. Bhandarkar applied himself diligently to this new task and ere long became very proficient in it. Then came great educational changes. The Bombay University was incorporated and all the Fellows of colleges who underwent the old college course were required to pass the new University tests. He took his B.A. degree in 1862 and his M.A. in 1863, both in English and Sanskrit. A curious mistake is said to have occurred regarding his B. A. results.

"By a mistake the University by the way was even then liable to mistake—the marks assigned to a fellow-candidate were entered against his name and Mr. Bhandarkar was one of those who was found to have failed. He was thereupon ready with his resignation of the Fellowship. Fortunately however, Sir Alexander Grant, who was one of the examiners, was struck with the result, being of opinion that the portion of the answer-paper which he himself examined, entitled Dr. Bhandarkar to more marks than were entered against his name for the whole paper. This led to the discovery of the mistake which was soon corrected."

Immediately after passing his M.A. examination, Dr. Bhandarkar thought of joining the law college. The legal profession has attracted some of its best men in the presidency of Madras. But, fortunately in Bombay, some of the most distinguished of our countrymen such as Dadabhai Nowrojee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and Dinsha Edulji Wacha, have been able to escape the charms of law. While Bhandarkar was thus hesitating, the tempting offer of the head-mastership of a High School at Hyderabad, (Sindh) was made to him. He at once closed with it and his career was shaped.

In 1865 Dr. Bhandarkar was transferred as the head-master of the Ratnagiri English School, his own "*Alma Mater*." His management of the school is characterised by vast administrative improvements which practically saved the institution from dissolution. By this time, he had acquired fame by the publication of his first and second books in

Sanskrit, text books which have since rendered the study of that language an easy one.

In recognition of his scholarship, the Bombay University first appointed Bhandarkar as one of its examiners in Sanskrit. It was as an examiner that he came to know that talented scholar and antiquarian, Dr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang.

In 1868, Colonel Waddington, the then Acting Director of Public Instruction, on the advice of Dr. Buhler, the great Orientalist, appointed Dr. Bhandarkar temporarily to the Sanskrit chair at Elphinstone College. His method of teaching and his masterly exposition of the subject soon brought crowded classes. The study of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages was by no means easy in those days and the "dry as dust" method of second-rate teachers had done everything to smother all interest in that branch of learning. But the analytical and synthetical methods pursued by the learned Doctor as well as his mastery of the subject soon gave a fresh impetus to the advancement of Sanskrit education on new lines. The lecture hours flew away rapidly, nobody knew how. Unlike the professors of the present day, Dr. Bhandarkar lived with his pupils as they lived with him. This intimate and personal contact with his students soon brought to the field of Oriental research a group of learned scholars.

Thus from November 1867 to 1872, he was acting as Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College, Bombay. In 1872 the Sanskrit chair fell permanently vacant. And contrary to all expectations Dr. Bhandarkar was superseded and the professorship was given to Dr. Peterson, comparatively a junior. This was a great blow to him and any other in the same position would have felt the ignominy and retired into oblivion. But the revered professor had faith in himself and knew that, by patient waiting, the injustice rendered by the Government would be righted. That, however, he felt and long remembered this incident, this injustice due to colour prejudice, is evident from the following extract of a speech which he delivered in a meeting of the Bombay

branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held in 1899, to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the death of its President, Dr. P. Peterson.

"Dr Peterson was brought out in January 1873 to supersede me. I had been Acting Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College for four years from the beginning of 1867 to the end of 1872. Dr. Peterson was a young man of 25 and was junior to me by ten years. For 15 years before, I had been learning and teaching Sanskrit, while Dr. Peterson could have been studying it only for about 5 years before. Under the ordinary operation of our sinful human nature one would expect that distrust, suspicion and jealousy would have sprung up between us. But such feelings never for a moment took possession of his heart nor mine and a cordial friendship grew between us. \* \* \* Doctor Peterson was Professor and I his assistant and we worked harmoniously together."

Thus Dr. Bhandarkar continued as assistant to Dr. Peterson. In 1879, Dr. Bhandarkar acted for Professor Keilhorn as Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona, and on his retirement from service towards the close of 1881, Dr. Bhandarkar was made a 'pucca' professor and entered the graded service of the Bombay Education Department. The whole circumstance thus set forth by the Doctor himself will be of great interest.

Dr. Keilhorn of Poona was about to retire on that occasion and the idea had been conceived of getting out a new man from Germany to succeed him there; but since it was considered unfair that I should be passed over another time especially after the literary work I had done, it was arranged that I should be made Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College and Dr. Peterson appointed Professor of English Literature. Had this plan succeeded, the world would not have heard of Dr. Peterson as a great scholar. But having deliberately chosen Sanskrit studies as the work of his life, this proposal was not liked by him. He saw the members of Government and personally protested against it in a strong manner and the result was that the orders for a new professor from Germany were countermanded by a special telegram and I was appointed to the Deccan College and Dr. Peterson remained Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College.

Thus as Professor, Dr. Bhandarkar retired from Government service in 1893. Both as Professor and as University Examiner his services were indispensable to the University and as a member of the Syndicate (1873-1882) he took a leading part in regulating the affairs of the Bombay University. After his retirement, he was appointed as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, a just and generous

recognition by the Government of the great services rendered by the Doctor to the cause of education in general and of Sanskrit learning in particular.

### LITERARY ACTIVITY.

The literary activity of Dr. Bhandarkar is almost coeval with the starting of the '*Indian Antiquary*'. That journal, as is well known, was started by James Burgess in 1872 with a view to bring together the results of the researches of Oriental scholars and Dr. Bhandarkar was one of those mainly relied upon to fill the columns of this journal. Nor did he fail to justify the expectations formed of him. Besides the *Antiquary* various research journals and organisations claimed his attention. He was for a long time member of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and identified himself entirely with it. Dr. Bhandarkar and K. T. Telang belong to the third generation of the members of the Society. This Society was started in 1804 by that illustrious scholar and statesman, Sir James Mackintosh, and since then, has been doing yeoman service to the cause of Indian historical research. Membership was confined first exclusively to European scholars; but soon, the time came when European scholarship, unaided by Indian talent and erudition, could not go beyond a limited tether. The first Indian member to be admitted was a Parsi gentleman, Mr. Manckjee Cussetjee, in 1840. The first Hindu to gain admission, which, in those days, was considered to be very difficult, was a famous Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Bhaṇu Daji, whose collection of MSS. is one of the treasured possessions of the Society. Thus it was scholarship and sound learning that opened the doors of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. And needless to say Dr. Bhandarkar's scholarship was at once recognised by the society and many were the learned papers that he read before the meeting of scholars.

The writings of Dr. Bhandarkar naturally fall into two sections—those that were contributed to research journals and the more permanent portion of his life-work, the books that he had published.

As has already been stated, Professor Bhandarkar contributed many articles to the earliest numbers of the *Indian Antiquary*. Space forbids the review of all of them. During the years 1872, 1873 and 1874, he was engaged in a spirited controversy with Professor Weber of Berlin on the question of the "Age of Pathanjali" and "Pathanjali's Mahabhashya."

In his article on the *Age of Pathanjali*, he successfully contended that the date of the composition of Pathanjali's *Mahabhashya* was about the middle of the second century B. C., a result arrived at also by Goldstuckér, though for independent reasons. Prof. Weber himself would assign it a date several centuries later. In the same year, 1873, he contributed to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* another learned paper on the "Age of Mahabharata." This was written with a view to correct Colonel Ellis who suggested that the date of *Mahabharata* should be sought for after 1521 A.D.! In another article, Bhandarkar discusses Pathanjali's and Kathiayana's native places and controverts the views of Goldstucker and Weber. According to Bhandarkar, Pathanjali's native place is to be sought somewhere to the north west by west of Oudh, while Prof. Weber thought that he lived to the east of Pataliputra. As regards Kathiayana, Bhandarkar says he was a native of the south. In 1874, there appeared a very interesting article of his in the *Indian Antiquary* entitled "Allusions to Krishna in Pathanjali's Mahabhashya." Taking various passages from the *Mahabhashya* and discussing elaborately the root-meanings of words, Dr. Bhandarkar established the following propositions, that the stories of the death of Kamsa and the subjection of Vali were popular and current in Pathanjali's time, that Krishna or Vasudeva was mentioned in the story as having killed Kamsa, that such stories formed the subject of dramatic representations in the same way as the Puranic stories are still popularly represented in the Hindu stage and that the event of Kamsa's death at the hands of Krishna was in

Pathanjali's time, believed to have occurred at a very remote period. Thus Bhandarkar :

"I have thus brought together seven passages from a work written in the middle of second century B.C., which show that the stories about Krishna and his worship as a god are not so recent as European scholars would make them. And to these I ask the attention of those who find in Christ a prototype of Krishna and in the Bible the original of Bhagavat Gita and who believe our Puranic literature to be merely a later growth. If the stories of Krishna and Bali and others which I shall notice hereafter were current and popular in the second century before Christ, some such works as the Harivamsha and the Puranas must have existed then."

In about the May of the same year, 1874, he contributed a long article on the "*Veda in India*," where he gave a clear and succinct account of the study of the Veda by the Brahminical families and pointed out the services rendered to the cause of Sanskrit learning by the Vedic reciters.

By this time, the fame of Dr. Bhandarkar as a Sanskritist of great eminence had spread far and wide and he was invited to join the International Congress of Orientalists which met in 1874 in London. For domestic reasons, he could not accept the invitation but wrote a paper for the Congress on "*The Nasik Inscriptions*," which considerably enhanced his reputation as a scholar. This brilliant paper was published in the "Transactions of Oriental Congress, 1874" and was at once acclaimed as one of the best treatises throwing a flood of light on the Kings of the Satavahana race. In the next year Dr. Bhandarkar was made an honorary member of the *Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1876, was instituted *Wilson Philology Lectureship* and Dr. Bhandarkar was the first lecturer. His lectures in this connection are of permanent value and interest. They set forth the basis of philological science with its application to Sanskrit and Prakrit lucidly and instructively. It is the opinion of scholars that for fund of information supplied and original ideas set forth they are almost incomparable in their importance. In the same year, he published his edition of *Malathi Madhava*, a Sanskrit play, much admired for critical acumen and scholarship.

It has been previously mentioned that on the retirement of Dr. Kielhorn from Bombay

Educational Service, Dr. Bhandarkar was made a permanent Professor in 1881. Two years previously, however, the Government entrusted him with a very important mission. The Government of Bombay had for several years before been conducting a search for Sanskrit MSS. This task required great learning and vast powers of research. Fortunately for Bombay Government when the scheme was launched, the services of Dr. Buhler were available. And he conducted a vigorous hunt for manuscripts. But after the retirement of that gentleman, the work was entrusted to Dr. Kielhorn mainly and partly to Dr. Bhandarkar. After Prof. Kielhorn's departure, Dr. Peterson claimed to be allowed a portion of it and the whole work was divided equally between Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Peterson. Dr. Peterson issued interesting *Reports* of his search, while Dr. Bhandarkar issued periodically six volumes of reports regarding his operations. It is not possible to give any fair idea of the magnitude of the task entrusted to and patriotically performed by the revered Professor. In general, one might say, that the *Reports* form vast storehouses of historical information on a variety of topics. Unlike the generality of official documents of ephemeral value these records are of permanent interest to the student of Early Indian History. These reports in the words of Dr. Buhler form an important help to every student who has to find his way into the tangled jungle of Sanskrit Literature. They exhibit the most conscientious devotion to the search and are full of instructive and interesting matter. A strong adherent of the critical and historical school of Philology, Dr. Bhandarkar has been able, by supplying correct information, to fill many a lacuna. Old Jaina Bhandars were visited and a large number of Jaina MSS. purchased. The MSS. were carefully edited and Dr. Bhandarkar's own views clearly stated. The editing of these led to resuscitation of the history of the Jaina sect of whom, till then, very little was known. In the course of his search he was able to gather materials which he subsequently utilized for the publication of his

*"Outlines of Vaishnavism, etc."* Many philosophical works were also purchased and Dr. Bhandarkar's commentaries and discussions on these are very interesting, especially his remarks on Ramanuja's system and Kashmerian Saivism. For an account of Jainism, early Vaishnavism, Kashmere Saivism and the early Chalukyas, we are mainly indebted to these reports. Dr. Bhandarkar's reports like his "*Early History of the Deccan*" are quoted with profound respect by all scholars, both European and Indian. As these works were appearing in parts and as their contents were being studied by European Scholars, the University of Gottingen thought that such an eminent scholar as Bhandarkar ought to be honoured and that any honour done to him was honour done to itself. It conferred on him, "in the year 1885, the degree of PH. D. Next year, the Government of India selected Bhandarkar on behalf of the Kathiawar Chiefs to represent the Presidency of Bombay in the great Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna. This brilliant assembly of some of the most distinguished Orientalists met in the last days of September 1886. The Government and the public of the Austrian capital gave a hearty welcome to the delegates who had come from the various parts of the world. The Aryan section of the Congress was presided over by Professor Von Roth, an eminent Sanskritist. It was here that Professor Bhandarkar read a learned and exhaustive report entitled "*Principal results of my last two years' studies in Sanskrit MSS. and literature with particular reference to sacrificial, ritual and the Pancharatra system.*" Dr. Buhler warmly praised the merits of the Professor's paper which created such a deep impression that "the whole section proposed and passed by acclamation a vote of thanks to the political Agent and the Chiefs of Kathiawar and to the Bombay Government to whom the Congress was mainly indebted for the presence of so distinguished a representative of native learning."

At the end of the proceedings, Prof. Bhandarkar recited his complimentary

Sanskrit poem to the section which was, needless to say, much admired. Since this incident in his career, many learned societies in Europe and America vied with each other in honouring him. He was at once elected honorary member of German Oriental Society, American Oriental Society, and the Asiatic Society of Italy. The Government of India were not slow to recognise the special merits of the great Doctor. On his return from Vienna in 1887, he was made a C. I. E. and at the same time nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University. In 1888 he became a member of the Imperial Academy of Science at St. Petersburg.

It is, therefore, plain that even before his retirement from the Educational service in 1873, Dr. Bhandarkar was acknowledged as the leading Sanskritist in India. Nor did his labours for the cause of Indian historical research cease with his retirement. Before giving an account of his activities after 1893, there is one fact to which prominent reference must be made, viz., the publication of his "*Early History of the Deccan*," in 1884. Dr. Bhandarkar's "*Early History of the Deccan*" is to-day the only reference book on the subject. It is the fruit of his labours in connection with his search for Sanskrit MSS. It embodies his considered views on the chronology of the various periods of the Deccan History. Since the publication of that book a good deal has been written on the subject, but the Doctor's conclusions in the main remain unshaken. The book was published for the *Bombay Gazetteer* on behalf of the Government of Bombay. The political history of the Deccan, before the advent of the Mahomedans, was entirely unknown before, and realising the difficulty of ascertaining facts concerning Deccan, Bhandarkar collected all the materials available, most of which he himself furnished in one comprehensive form. He calls the book very modestly "mere congeries of facts." It is not so. It is an inexhaustible fountain of knowledge that continues to fertilize the vast field of Indian historical research. No decent book has been written on the subject in recent times, which does not contain

quotations from Bhandarkar's "*Early History of the Deccan*".

Most Government officials after retirement from service would be thinking of a life of ease and leisure. But Dr. Bhandarkar, every inch a student, has lived only for his studies and, in spite of severe physical strain, continued to evince as much interest and enthusiasm as he did, when comparatively young. He contributed many papers to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Society*, the most prominent among which was a very learned paper on "*The work done by the Society towards the elucidation of Indian History on the study of Inscriptions*," which he contributed to its centenary volume. Dr. Bhandarkar took a very prominent part in the centenary celebrations of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, by presiding over the Sanskrit section of it, throughout.

Before we close this section of our sketch, reference should be made to Prof. Bhandarkar's recent contribution to the realm of Indian religious thought. So recently as 1913, in failing health and advanced age, Sir Ramakrishna has been pleased to give us what has been aptly called his "Magnum-Opus," "*Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects*." This work constitutes, from the Indian point of view, the most useful of the volumes of the Series "*Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*." They were planned and carried out in part by the late G. Buhler and F. Keilhorn. Dr. Bhandarkar's book comprises 170 pages and in spite of the technical nature of the subject, he has striven to give as popular an exposition of it as it will admit of.

#### THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE

From what has hitherto been stated it is clear that, among the Oriental scholars, no name is held in greater veneration than that of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Towards the middle of 1915, the many loving disciples and admirers of the learned Doctor conceived the idea of founding an Oriental institute offering facilities to research workers and at the same time commemorating the name and work of Dr. Bhandarkar. Receiv-

ing the enthusiastic support of the cultured aristocracy of Western India and munificently aided by the merchant princes, Sir Ratan and Sir Dorab Tata, the scheme soon materialised—thanks to the active sympathy shown towards the movement by the Government of Bombay. Thus, named after the old venerable Doctor and conducted by a band of scholars trained up under his influence, this institution has for its object the continuance of the work so dear to Sir Ramakrishna. The Institute was formally inaugurated by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay, on the 6th of July 1917. Circumstances soon arose which tended considerably to enlarge the scope of its activities. In the year 1919, the organisers of the Institute took the bold step of arranging for an All-India Conference of Oriental Scholars. Congresses of Orientalists have regularly been held in the various capital cities of Europe. Though success attended these meetings and the proceedings had attained a high standard of scholarship, yet, in view of the meagre attendance of Indian members and lack of time and facilities to deal with Indian subjects with such fulness and thoroughness that they required, Prof. Vogel put forward the suggestion at a meeting of distinguished Orientalists held in Simla in 1911 under the presidency of Sir Harcourt Butler, that arrangements must be made to hold a similar congress confined to scholars from India, Burma and Ceylon. The Bhandarkar Institute took up the cue. The first great Conference was held in 1919. It was in the fitness of things that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was unanimously elected as its President. Unfortunately owing to acute illness, he could not be present and his speech was read out by Professor V. K. Rajwade.

The learned presidential address of Sir Ramakrishna is an important document, containing, as it does, his mature views on a variety of topics concerning Ancient India. More than this, his speech is to be valued for the wholesome advice that the sage gives to young research scholars, who unfortunately rush to conclusions not based upon a thorough knowledge of the things that they talk or

write about. It conveys a sound warning to those patriotic historians who find nothing in the methods of study pursued by distinguished scholars of the West. To them Sir Ramakrishna says :—

"Between the Western and Indian scholars a spirit of co-operation should prevail and not a spirit of depreciation of each other. We have but one common object, the discovery of the truth. Both, however, have prepossessions and even prejudices, and the same evidence may lead to their arriving at different conclusions. Often, however, when controversies are carried on, the truth comes out prominently, and there is a general acquiescence when it does so. To express the same idea, in other words the angle of vision, if I may use the expression that has become hackneyed, may be and is different. The Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foreign influence on the development of his country's civilization and to claim high antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history. On the other hand, the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events. It is on this account there has been no consensus of opinion as to the approximate period when the most ancient portion of the hymns of the Rig Veda was composed. Some refuse to assign it a higher antiquity than 15 centuries before Christ, while others carry it far to the beginning of Kali Yuga, i.e., to about 3101 B. C. A scholar may have conceived a prejudice against the Indian race and may look down upon the Vedic Rishis. Thus our critical method is unfortunately too often vitiated by extraneous influences. But this, probably, is due to human weakness. A critical scholar should consider his function to be just like that of a judge in a law-court, but even there human weakness operates, and renders a number of appeals necessary, so that one judge differs from another, so does one critical scholar from another."

## LYRIC

BY

WAYNE GARD.

Stars that glow in desert skies  
Lurk, half-hidden, in your eyes.  
Wine as red as prince e'er sips  
Pulses, tempting, through your lips.  
Rosebuds like the May Queen seeks  
Blossom in your full-blown cheeks.  
Springtime breezes, free from care,  
Play upon your flowing hair.  
Laughter sets your face aglow ;  
Lead me, love, and I will go.

# THE ROBBER SAINT.

25

BY

. MR. BAMA PURAN CHAND BEDI.

“ALL terrestrial beauty pales into insignificance before even an image of Lord Krishna”.

Thus said a learned pandit while he was discoursing on the Shrimad Bhagwat before a large gathering of devotees who worshipped the very name of Lord Sri Krishna.

“Lord Shri Krishna with the *Tilak* of musk on His broad forehead, the Bajjanti necklace, formed of the rarest gems, each of them valued at a king's ransom, round His neck, the lustrous pearl hanging, from his aquiline nose, the heavenly flute touching His sweet coral lips, bracelets of the purest gold studded with diamonds and rubies of fabulous price on his beautiful wrists, the whole of his resplendent body annointed with sandal paste, the priceless crown engrusted with the choicest gems adorning—nay much rather being adorned by—His beautiful head and surrounded by the devoted Gopis enraptured by the sweet music of the heavenly flute! Ah! is not the mere description of Lord Krishna's charms sufficient to steal the hearts of his devotees.”

Now it so happened that, attracted by the jewelry worn by some members of the congregation a cruel robber of the most brutal type was also sitting disguised there. On hearing this ecstatic description, given by the learned pandit, of the charms of Lord Krishna and the invaluable gems adorning His sacred person, the robber's mouth began to water. The value of the jewelry worn by the congregation appeared to him to be despicable when compared with the jewels worn by Lord Krishna.

“Where can one find the Lord Krishna” said the robber to the Pandit when all the devotees had left and they were alone together.

“In this Iron age He can only be found by the devoted few and then not till after the greatest

search. One may meet with Him in the lanes of Sri Brindaban, but if one fails there He is always to be found at a crossing between Brindaban and Gokul at the time of midnight” thus replied the Pandit not knowing that the man was not a devotee but a robber attracted by the value of the gems that he had described Lord Krishna as wearing.

With a resolute heart and making a vow that he would neither eat nor drink till he had become possessed of the incomparable crown and necklace, the robber set off towards Brindaban.

On the way he passed through several towns and villages. From every one he met he inquired the way to Brindaban. He had neither eyes nor ears for anything but the search after that bewitching Youth, Lord Krishna and the incomparable jewels, so engrossed was he in this all-absorbing object.

It took him three days to reach Brindaban. When there he was borne up by the hope of seeing the Lord and without delay began to search about the lanes and temples there. He asked everyone he met as to the whereabouts of the Lord. The common herd derided him calling him mad but the saintly encouraged him by saying that though it was not at all easy to find Him, yet any one with a resolute and devout heart would not fail. He wandered about the lanes and visited the temples at Brindaban for another four days. He had become very weak by observing this total fast for a full week, but the hope of gaining his wish and the consequent comfort for the rest of his life had buoyed him up. But now finding his search fruitless he lost heart and then the long pent-up longing took the form of wrath on the Pandit for sending him on this, to him, fool's errand. He was determined now to return home immediately and to break his fast



after he had cut off the head of the Pandit for telling him such cock and bull stories.

When he had proceeded a few paces homewards he remembered that there was still a spot about which the Pandit had told him and which he had not yet visited. Footsore and with a heavy heart he wended his way to the deserted crossing and there lay down hours before the appointed time of midnight.

Now Lord Krishna, the Omniscient, knew with what object the robber had come there; he was also aware of the steadfastness of his purpose, the overwhelming desire that had become the very breath of his life; He knew also that, if the man returned empty-handed to his village, he would murder the Pandit in cold blood.

And Brindaban was His home and it behove Him as a host to see to the comforts of His guests.

Immediately the hour of midnight struck, He appeared at the crossing enveloped in a rough black blanket and asked the robber who he was and why he was there at that lonely place at such an uncanny hour.

"I am a robber" was the truthful reply of the robber whose eyes were dazzled by the sight of the resplendent face of the Lord "and I am here, lying in wait for one, Shri Krishna."

"Why do you wish to see Shri Krishna," enquired the Lord.

"I was told by a Pandit" said the robber "that He always wears an invaluable crown and a very precious necklace and I am here to find him and if successful, to rob him of His jewels. I have taken a vow that I will touch no food or drink till I have succeeded in my quest."

"I am Shri Krishna," said the Lord.

"Impossible!" exclaimed the robber, "you with your dark old blanket could not possibly be the Lord Shri Krishna who, I am told, is very rich and the whole of his beautiful body is bedecked with superb gems."

The Merciful Lord thereupon threw away the blanket and appeared in all His resplendence and glory before the eyes of the adoring robber who, his physical senses being overpowered by the by the splendour of the Lord's Divine Beauty, immediately fell down senseless. The Lord in His unlimited compassion touched his face and lo! in a trice he became conscious, the whole of his nature purified by that Divine touch.

In the robber's heart the greed for the jewels had given place to supreme devotion to the Lotus Feet of the Lord and the unconquerable desire ever to keep that vision of Heavenly Beauty before his eyes. But a man's vow was vow for all time and the robber, though all dress had been washed away from him, could not consistently with his DHARMA give up the vow to rob the Lord of the precious jewels though they had lost their attraction for him.

"I must have the jewels" said the robber to himself "but the difficulty is how to get them. Of course the veriest thought of using force is out of the question. I would sooner cut off my right hand than attempt to injure even a hair of His glorious head and if I am not destined to starve to death I must get these jewels some way or other."

The Lord, divining what was passing in the mind of His newly reformed devotee, with His unfathomable love, smiled a bewitching smile which brightened the whole horizon and unable to bear that His slave should starve on account of the nonfulfilment of his vow said "I was going to the Ras dance and this is the dress that I wear on the occasion but it strikes me that I have still a duty to perform before I go there. Hence take these and guard them for me till I come back and take you to the Ras which, I promise you, you will not hasten to forget once you have seen it."

With these words the Blessed Lord took off his crown and necklace, made them over to the robber, and enveloping himself in the old blanket

went away in the direction from which he had come.

The robber, glad that this pledge had been fulfilled, but heavy at heart at losing sight of the Beauteous Lord, began to ponder what he should do next. The first idea to come to his mind was to wait for the Lord and accompany him to the Ras dance, but then he would have to return the jewels to Him and his vow would be as unfulfilled as ever, and he would lose his life through the pangs of hunger and thirst. He, therefore, made up his mind to take the jewels home and show them to the pandit who had told him how to find them. After putting as much distance as he could between himself and Brindaban, he ate his fill and quenched his thirst at a bright, bubbling little rivulet, but his mind was full of the beauteous Vision he had seen.

He reached his village just as it was *katha* time, and took his seat at the place where he had last sat. He had put the Divine Crown on his own head and the Baijanti Necklace round his neck, the devotee in the garb of the Beloved Lord.

Now it so happened that the crown and the necklace were visible to none save the Pandit who was reciting the scriptures to the congregation. He was astonished at seeing the robber wearing such heavenly, beautiful and resplendent jewelry and his heart was instinctively drawn through the jewelry to its wearer. He blundered through the *katha* for a short time, but at last giving up the attempt, he dismissed the congregation on some pretext and hurried to the place where the whilom robber was seated. "My friend" said he "where have you got hold of such a beautiful crown and necklace; my eyes have been dazzled by them but my soul has been captivated as it had never before been."

The saint—the robber saint—laughed—and his face at that time was a sight for the gods, it shed such a lustre of Divine Glory and Love. "Panditji," cried he, with tears of joy and devotion

streaming down his face, "I prostrate myself at your feet. It is through your kindness that I got these invaluable jewels and what is more I was blessed with a sight of their enchantingly beautiful Wearer. I am heartily ashamed of myself when I remember that once, when I had been fasting for a week and had failed to find the object of my search, I felt enraged and my blindness thought that you had purposely sent me on a wild goose chase, but all my troubles vanished when the Wearer of these jewels threw off the dark old blanket and appeared before my astonished gaze in all his magnificence and glory."

He then related to his astonished listener how he heard the latter's discourse and was struck, not with love for the Lord but with greed for the jewels that He wore. How he had taken a vow not to touch food or water till he had got the jewels, how he had failed to find Him, had lost heart, but remembering the crossing, had gone there and beheld the Lord Who had, with a smile, entrusted him with the jewels.

The Pandit was struck with awe and wonder at what he had heard. He now knew that it was wholly through His Own Grace that any mortal could see His Lotus Feet, and that the Divine Grace called forth by his (the robber saint's) intense desire, itself the fruit of meritorious deeds through countless lives, had led him to the Divine Krishna. His own discourse and conversation he considered as the spark which had fired the train that had destroyed the fortress of illusion and cleared the way for the devoted Soul to its ultimate goal, the Feet of its Beloved and Loving Lord.

With the utmost humility the learned Pandit took the dust of the feet of the whilom robber—now the greatest of living devotees, the beloved of Shri Krishna, and placed it on his head. The great Bhakta, oblivious of his own glory, was thunderstruck at this act of the Pandit

and with the utmost strength that he was capable of exerting, tried to remove his feet where they touched the head of the Brahmin. But the latter clung to them with the desperation of the drowning man, clinging to the proverbial straw. "My Guru, my Saviour" entreated the Pandit without loosening his hold on the feet of the Bhakta "have mercy on me, I beseech you in the name of the Divine Wearer of this Baijanti Necklace. I have wasted my life in mundane matters; your narrative has opened my eyes. I now know that my salvation lies in your blessed hands. Take me to Brindaban, and help me to a sight of the Holy Lotus Feet of the Lord Keshava or I lie at your door without food or drink till you have mercy on me or till I DIE. Consider this as the unshakable vow of a Brahmin"

The Bhaktas, who are merciful as the Divine Lord Himself, cannot bear to see any one in pain. So the saint at once promised the Pandit all he desired and immediately set off with him to Brindaban.

They reached the memorable crossing just at mid-night and lo! the Lord Himself was there waiting for his beloved Bhakta. "How is it" said He in His sweet melodious voice "that I have had

to wait so long for My crown, and necklace which I entrusted to you. Is it thus that you requite the trust reposed in you?"

The Bhakta, in an ecstasy of joy and love, replied "Oh Lord, You have turned the tables on me. I was a robber, and had come to rob You of your jewels; but I find that I have met my match and I acknowledge defeat. Instead of robbing You, I have been robbed myself—by these youthful hands of Yours—robbed even of my heart—which could beat the best diamond not in lustre but in hardness."

While this lover's badinage was going on, the Pandit saw or heard naught but the voice and gestures of his own Guru and falling on his feet supplicated him to intercede for him with the Lord, so that he might also gaze on the Divine Beauty and drink the nectar of the sweet musical voice of the Blessed Lord. And it is related that the whilom robber did intercede for the high caste Brahmin and the Lord in His mercy and to please His beloved Bhakta became visible even to the Pandit.

Truly has He said in the Bhagwad Gita:—

"However men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine O, Partha"

## Temperance Reform and Indian Excise Policy

BY

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THE awakened and awakening political consciousness in India has placed prohibition in the very forefront of our programme of social reconstruction. This is quite in the nature of things, as the last few years' popular acquiescence in the increasing revenue of the Government of India from the licensing of drink was essentially immoral and clearly detrimental to national interests. The example of America, the assiduous, though by no means enthusiastic,

propaganda carried on by Indian temperance societies assisted by brethren-in-arms from America and England, and quite recently the anti-drink campaign carried on by Mr. Gandhi, have hurried the pace of the prohibition movement in our country. The Indian Government too are beginning to realise the impracticality and inefficacy of the favoured excise formula, "the maximum revenue from minimum consumption", and are falling in tune with the popular

will in order to eliminate completely the illicit revenue from the liquor traffic. The Bengal, U. P., and Bombay Governments, have all realised the necessity of reckoning with the moral aspect of prohibition. The undue reliance placed on the financial objection to prohibition is gradually giving way before the insistent demands of public opinion.

The example of America is full of inspiring and noble lessons for our country. In America the prohibition movement was in the beginning fought on grounds of public, national morality; and the campaign was conducted on party lines. But far-seeing prohibition leaders like Mr. J. G. Woolley and Mr. W. E. Johnson later on realised the folly of running prohibition on partisan lines, and began to espouse the non-partisan movement as more in consonance with democratic government and with the new spirit of the times. Prohibition won there mainly because the people were taught by continuous and ceaseless propaganda that liquor-traffic does not pay in the long run and entails a serious loss in national efficiency. The arguments that prohibition means a big saving to the community in many respects, better national health, salutary effects on capital and labour, happier life, lesser crime etc. appealed to the practical minded American. Hence "dry" America became an accomplished fact, despite transitional infractions of the prohibition law. The argument of the prohibition leaders that waste of wealth due to drink would give place to saving of wealth for purposes of taxation had a permanent effect in the United States.

In India where there is a great scope for prohibition movement, the anti-drink campaign must certainly produce similar results. But it must be admitted that it is easier and safer to carry on the movement by appealing to the moral instincts of Indians who have got a long tradition of temperance and moral sobriety and who oppose

drink on religious grounds. The argument of Lord Chesterfield against British excise and license revenue derived from intoxicating drink, viz, that it is a vice and that a tax on vice would be scandalous and wicked as it would imply an indulgence to all those who would pay the tax—this argument is likely to have immense effect. Whereas in America it was once regarded that prohibition was a needless interference with religious practice and the individual liberty of the moderate consumer, in India it is considered obligatory on the part of the ruler to suppress drink as it is forbidden both by Hindu and Moslem religions.

But this advantage which the temperance reformer in India has over America is not the only factor to be considered. If the difficulties in America rose from the people, it also lay with the people to attain complete prohibition by gradual state action and final amendment of the constitution which took place on January 15th, 1920. Legal sanction was given to the constitutionality of this amendment and the Volstead Enforcement Act, by an unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court delivered on June 7, 1920. In India the case is somewhat different. Although the large masses of the people are enjoined strict abstinence by instinct, tradition and religion, the foreign bureaucracy which has no such moral compunctions has imposed an iniquitous excise policy on us in the formation of which we have had no part. The Government have realised the imperative necessity of this liquor traffic as it gives them an annual profit of 17 crores, nearly one-fourth of the whole Indian Revenue. While Government profess loyalty to the temperance cause, and according to Sir William Vincent prosecute temperance preachers only in cases of violence, indirectly Government have been responsible for the negligible, nay, vanishing results of the temperance movement. During the last ten

years, the attempts to make Government conform to enlightened public opinion have only resulted in a gradually increasing excise revenue which was £ 5, 295, 863, in 1904-5 and £ 11, 421, 524, in 1918-19. The examination of the 1919-20 Administration Report of Madras shows that Government have only succeeded in improving sources of revenue but not in lessening consumption. Official statistics tend to show that there is both an increase in duty charged as well as volume of liquor consumed, thus disproving the validity of the formula "maximum revenue from minimum consumption." Indeed the Government's attitude was expressed in the statement of a Governor that the only method for India was "a well-considered excise policy, regulating the control, manufacture, possession and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs. In fact the government have till now only adopted palliatives hardly equal to the popular demand. Their favourite formula, already quoted, is based upon the mistaken idea that mere enhancement of prices will reduce consumption of liquor. Their increased taxation on the unit of intoxicants is a case of the remedy being worse than the disease; and as was said by a famous temperance reformer of Madras; "Craving for liquor is in direct ratio to the increase of prices which again is invariably the effect of the former." All this clearly tends to show the step-motherly treatment of this problem by Government. It is in this divorce between Government and the people, owing to which Government is not amenable to popular will that the difference between the Indian and the American cases lies. As an unhealthy consequence of this fatal excise policy which itself is the result of the present administrative system, the provision of increased and better facilities for education, sanitation, etc, is made dependent on a good proportion of the people being victimised to drink.

These considerations make the work of the temperance reformer well nigh a herculean task. But this general darkness is not without a ray of light. We already referred to the insistent pressure brought, to bear on Government as a result of the cumulative effect of various and powerful currents of thought. The legacy of Montford regime with its by no means negligible concessions to popular will and greater and nearer approximation to representative government assures the prospect of Government agreeing to the demands of popular will. The effect of the changed angle of vision is seen in the report of the U. P. Excise Committee which has recommended a new, in some respects better, though by no means satisfactory, formula of "the minimum of consumption but that the proportion of the profits from that minimum consumption which is to accrue to the State should be as large as possible." The fixed fee system and the auction system of licensing by which Government glutted its ravenous appetite for revenue have been recommended to be abolished as it only gives maximum revenue to Government but does not secure lowest consumption. In its place the U. P. Excise Committee recommends what is called the *rationing* system based on an estimate of the actual minimum requirements of people in the matter of drink. The committee also recommends the adoption of the *Surcharge* system with the prices of retail sale so arranged as to yield a descending scale of profits in proportion as the consumption increases. This plan works successfully in Bengal where it was introduced very recently; and it is also recommended to be gradually introduced in U. P. Its advantage is that it acts as an automatic check upon the money making propensities of the liquor vendor. All this has meant for U. P. a reorganisation of the Licensing Boards and Advisory Committees with more and more non-official representation and greater control over licenses and liquor traffic.

This surcharge system is so popular with some as it is a half-way house before local option and is also a very effective step in clearing the path for absolute prohibition.

A much more radical, much more effective method is that of local option. Mr. Ramachandra Rao's Local Option Bill is in itself a modest measure as it is intended to affect shops vending country liquor as defined in the Madras Abkari Act and entrusts Government with the power to extend its scope to other kinds of liquor. This principle has been applied with success in Western countries. Its main advantages are, it is based on self-determination, also it will enlist the public opinion of the locality in favour of reform. The objection for its application in India is that the peculiar circumstances in our country would render the exercise of local veto almost equivalent to total prohibition. Generally application of local option results in three alternatives viz no license, or a reduction of number of licenses or no change. The Indians ordinarily, except in certain abnormal places, will plump for No License. Financial considerations would not weigh with local optionists as it is not their outlook.

In Madras a proposal has been made which will, to a certain extent, solve the financial problem involved in prohibition. In order to compensate for the effect on revenue and to avoid increased taxation consequent upon prohibition, Dr Slater suggested that palm juice, 'toddy' as drawn from the tree, being full of sugar which was transformed by fermentation into alcohol the fresh juice should be used to produce jaggery, i.e., rough sugar and then refined. Thus production of alcohol from toddy would be anticipated by producing sugar at an earlier stage. Of course the difficulty in India is, that unlike America, alcohol is carried on here under the small-scale pot production. So prevention of illicit production of alcohol would require an immense

army of trained excise officials which would entail the double loss to the government of selling of licenses and the expense of maintaining such staff.

Apart from this particular local remedy, a general scheme of discriminative taxation is the only method by which the Government could raise enough money to compensate for the loss of excise revenue. Tax on luxuries like cigars and cigarettes; attempt to tap gold from the universal betel and nut chewing habit of India; tax on *bilati* luxuries like foreign cloth; an *ad valorem* duty of some 5 or 10 per cent. on umbrellas would yield, according to one writer, an enormous income to the state. Other remedies suggested are retrenchment in public expenditure, the Deccan Liberal Party suggested an increase in the duties of general and court fee stamps, imposition of death duties and a cess on income-tax payers, and a cess on those who pay land-tax above a certain amount. Dr. Mann suggested taxation of land value in the neighbourhood of growing towns. These are some of the tentative suggestions thrown out by many writers and reformers. A wise selection of desirable taxes and a proper re-adjustment of our financial system would go a great way towards reducing the difficulties based on revenue considerations.

Every where we see the consequences of the temperance movement. Especially in Madras a decrease of Rs. 63, 40, 034 is expected in the receipts for 1921-22, toddy accounting for a heavy fall of Rs. 36, 91, 633. The fearful havoc done by drink in the shape of poverty, disease and crime is such that the balancing of revenue considerations against increase of vice with its consequent evils cannot be tolerated. The question is one of national health for which no sacrifice however great, no anticipation however dire, must intimidate us from rising to the height of the present opportunity.

# THE OUDH RENT BILL

BY THAKUR RAJENDRA SINGH, M.L.C.

THE Oudh Rent Bill\* is on the point of passing into the country's permanent statute-book. It has long been debated and discussed, decried and defended, deliberated upon from every point of view. To touch upon its controversial points would merely serve to fan the smouldering embers and cause perhaps a worse blaze than the preceding. Nor need I reopen the question whether this was the proper and opportune moment of introducing such a piece of legislation and bringing about changes in the agrarian situation for the obvious reason that the question is no longer a question but a *fait accompli*.

I am also very unwilling to form surmises and conjectures whether the present political situation of the country was really and sufficiently taken into consideration by the honourable members of the Council supporting or arraigning the Bill. If one were to judge from the impression left on the mind of one who breathed the atmosphere of the council chamber during the heated discussions, one would say that passion ran too high for cold calculation to come in. Now that passion has subsided, if not cooled down, I feel strongly tempted to repeat what I have reiterated so often already, viz, that the cordiality of the relations between the Zemindars and their tenants is a matter that affects the well-being not only of these two classes but the entire country: it lies at the very root of civic peace and security. In respect of providing guarantees for future amenity of relations between landlord and cultivator and thereby ensuring peace and prosperity, the Bill leaves much to desire. And to make matters worse still some astute politicians are teaching the masses to continue the agrarian agitation until some of the clauses alleged to affect the farming class adversely are removed or recast. It is not easy to presage the

result of this continuation of agitation. Some people rest secure in the belief that the matter has now been pushed beyond the pale of practical politics and that further agitation will only drive it further off.

The question of questions is whether the evil which the Bill seeks to remedy has been correctly diagnosed, and whether its provisions are an effective remedy. We must frankly say No. The core of the evil has been left untouched and as long as this is so, it is bound to cause bad blood. The really sore point is the value of the Sanads granted to the Taluqdars who think that, by right of these title deeds, they are masters of their estates, territorial lords of the soil, absolute proprietors, and on them they take their stand as stoutly as they can and do not relish the slightest interference. The representatives of the tenants very much doubt whether the old promise made years ago are binding on the Government now. Government stand as silent spectators, looking first at the Taluqdars and then at the tenants and smiling complacently at both.

To my mind the present value of the Sanads should no longer be left to the decision of "the market" or subject to various interpretations. Let them be scrutinized and appraised and let their worth be publicly proclaimed by an authoritative voice. The present moment seems to me the most fittest for we have at the head of the Government of India an eminent lawyer and a renowned judge in the person of Lord Reading, and we have in our midst His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who will be our future Emperor. If these ancient title deeds are merely a "scrap of paper" no one will grudge them a place in his waste paper basket, but if they are legal documents of full legal value, the Government should make that declaration. The indecision of the authorities has already caused much harm and is likely to cause more.

\*The Bill was passed in the U. P. Council on Nov. 9. [Ed. I. R.]

In accordance with our usual practice we give below for the benefit of the busy reader a bird's eye view of the various Congresses and Conferences which met at Ahmedabad and other places during the Christmas week. The last session of the Indian National Congress was in many ways different from the previous ones and the proceedings reveal the enormous hold that Mr. Gandhi has over that body. In a lengthy resolution on Civil Disobedience Mr. Gandhi has been formally invested with the powers of a dictator. Under his influence the Congress rejected alike the moderate counsels of Pandit Malaviya on the one hand and the reckless radicalism of Hazrat Mohani on the other. It will be seen that the Moslem League and the Khilafat Conference have also followed suit. In contrast with the programme adumbrated by the Ahmedabad gatherings, we draw the attention of the reader to the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation of India, the fourth session of which was held about the same time at Allahabad under the presidency of our esteemed countryman, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer. [Ed. L. R.]

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The 36th session of the Indian National Congress assembled at Ahmedabad on the 27th December. The Congress met under exceptional circumstances in that many of its office-bearers and leaders including the President-elect, Mr. C. R. Das, were in prison. This is the first Congress under the new constitution passed at the Nagpur session and the arrangements for accommodation, the business procedure, the language of the speakers, were everything quite unlike the usual features of the Congress in previous years. Most of the speeches were delivered in Hindi, Urdu or Gujarati and only occasionally was English resorted to. Much of the work was done in the Subjects Committee which was in frequent session from the 24th when at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected President in place of Mr. C. R. Das. The audience was composed of 3,000 members of the Reception Committee and nearly 5,000 from the several Provinces, the United Provinces, Bihar, Punjab, Ajmer and Andhra sending 850, 588, 499, 498 and 381, respectively. A large number of ladies were also present including the members of the families of Messrs. Moti Lal Nehru, C. R. Das and the Ali Brothers. Nearly every one was dressed in Khaddar and the whole city and the specially erected pandal on the banks of the Sabarmatty were of pure home-spun Khadi. It was estimated that the audience numbered over

12,000. Very little was done in the open session of the Congress which more or less ratified the decisions of the Subjects Committee to which all the important discussions and resolutions were confined. Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Andrews also attended; while the whole Congress followed the lead given to it by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of the principal decisions affecting the creed and the programme.

### MR. PATEL'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates made a brief statement of the progress of work. He referred to the triple boycott of schools, courts and councils.

We have a National College and a National University, to which institutions are affiliated. In the affiliated and other National Schools there are 34,000 boys and girls receiving instruction. Whereas two years ago there was hardly a spinning wheel working in our province, to-day there are, at least, 1,00,000 spinning wheels at work. The output of Khaddar during the period under review is no less than two lakhs of pounds. We have spent about 5 lakhs in organising Swadeshi. The use of Khaddar in the construction of the various Pandals and Khadi Nagar is, in my opinion, a striking ocular demonstration of our work in the direction of Swadeshi.

### THE HAKIM'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Hakim Ajmal Khan, in his presidential address, delivered in Urdu, welcomed Government repression, for it had but one effect, viz., the determination of the people to continue with greater vigour their present struggle. He felt proud that Egypt had followed India's example by adopting non-violent Non-Co-operation. The



country was experiencing terrible convulsions, but these were the birth pangs of young India, that would revive the glorious traditions of their ancient country and take its proud place among the nations of the world.

#### MR. C. R. DAS'S MESSAGE

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu read out the messages of Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Das, both of which exhorted all to act now or never by joining the Volunteer Corps and suspending all other normal activities. Says Mr. Das in his message that

the only method of warfare open to them was Non-Co-operation, to which doctrine they were devoted. He agreed that the whole doctrine was in form a doctrine of negation, but maintained that in substance it was one of affirmation. It was a doctrine of hope and confidence and of unbounded faith in its own efficacy.

One had only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they were led to prison to realise that victory was already theirs. It was not for nothing that the Ali Brothers had lived and suffered. It was not for nothing that Lala Lajpat Rai, the bravest of hearts that ever faced the gun, flung the order of the bureaucracy in its face and marched boldly into the prison that awaited him. It was not for nothing that Pandit Motilal Nehru, the prince amongst men, spurned the wealth that was his and defied the order that would have enslaved him, refusing no pain that malice or power could invent.

The students, were at once the hope and glory of the Motherland. Theirs was the inspiration behind the movement. Theirs was the sacrifice and theirs was the victory.

#### MRS. C. R. DAS'S MESSAGE

The following is the text of Mrs. C. R. Das's message:—

Let every man and woman in India ask himself or herself to-day this one supreme question and this question only, "Do I stand for India in her present struggle". Let us search our heart and directly answer it. "Now or never" we must decide and the responsibility for the decision is ours. Our country demands stern and resolute action. If we feel in our heart of hearts that we stand for India in this struggle, then we must act, act and act. We ask for no more and we expect no less. Let, therefore, every delegate of the Congress be sworn in as a Congress Volunteer. Let every member of the Congress be enrolled as a Congress Volunteer. Let every man and woman in India to-day offer himself or herself as a Congress Volunteer. Let the whole country be mobilised for the Congress work. Let all our normal activities be suspended till the struggle in its present form is finished. Men and women of India act, act and directly act when the time is yet.

With the reading of these messages the Congress closed for the day, while the members of

the Subjects Committee assembled in the afternoon to discuss the draft resolutions for the session.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Subjects Committee fought over the main resolution on Civil Disobedience and Volunteering which stood in the name of Mr. Gandhi.

Much animated discussion centred on the resolution, Hazrat Mohani and his friends pressing for amendments.

Mr. Gandhi in speaking against Mr. Mohani's motion for change of creed in favour of complete independence and of method not altogether non-violent, said:—

He wanted to make it clear that to-day his hope of getting the redress of Punjab and Khilafat through the British Government was ever so much greater than it was as any time 15 months ago. Within the the Congress creed there was still chance for two parties, who wanted Swaraj within or without the British Empire, but there could be no room for those who wanted to resort to violence, because the moment any one joined the Congress he must sign a pledge of non-violence in the terms of the creed. Mr. Gandhi emphasised that the attainment of Swaraj would by itself break the Imperialism. India even then was certainly free. Concluding, he warned all against estranging from them the Moderates and all others who were sympathising with them by taking steps which make the present easy task one of great difficulty.

The text of the resolution as finally adopted is as follows:—

Whereas, since the holding of the last National Congress, the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of Non-violent Non-Co-operation the country has made a great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent Non-Co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto, in such a manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established, and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

Whereas, by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of the volunteer corps and forcible prohibition of

public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all the Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended, as far as necessary, and appeals to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations, to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last.

#### MR. GANDHI AS DICTATOR

The resolution further appeals for volunteers chiefly among students of the age of 18 and over to sign the pledge and enrol themselves for national service and finally appoints Mr. Gandhi as dictator in the following terms —

"This Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency."

"This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors, all his aforesaid powers, provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee, to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successor except with the leave of the Congress first obtained."

When the Congress met on the 28th, Mr. Gandhi was called upon to move the resolution which he did in a lengthy speech in Hindi and English. Speaking in Hindi Mr. Gandhi warned all, that if ever non-violence was given up, India could never attain liberty. Mohamedans might think that Afghanistan and Turks were their strong helpers and other minorities might go to seek the help of the British Government.

#### ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

He then referred to the proposal for a Round Table Conference and said that, though the Congress passed the resolution on Civil Disobedience, the door was always open for such a Conference:

God only knows if I could possibly have advised you to go to the Round Table Conference, if I could possibly have advised you not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so. I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone. I do not want the peace that you find in the grave. But I want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world but which is protected from all harm by the Almighty Power of the Almighty God.

#### THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority and the Congress subsequently passed various other resolutions all in line with the determination of the Congress. At this time Mr. Hazrat Mohani sprung upon the Congress a resolution which sought to lay down the object of the Congress as the attainment of Swaraj, complete independence, free from all foreign control, by the people of India, by all legitimate and peaceful means. Speaking in Urdu he urged the claim of India for complete independence at once. He was shocked that even after the lapse of a year Swaraj, which had been promised by Mr. Gandhi, had not materialised. What was the object of waiting any longer for Self Government on Colonial lines, which was no good for India? Let them declare independence, said Mr. Hazrat Mohani who was duly seconded and supported. Mr. Gandhi who first spoke in Hindi and then in English, said in reply that the failure of the promised Swaraj was due to non-fulfilment of the conditions laid down by him.

I want to say to you a few words regarding the proposition and the manner and levity in which it has been taken up by so many. It has grieved me, because it shows lack of responsibility. We should remember what we did only an hour ago. We passed a resolution which actually contemplates the final settlement of Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the transference of power from the hands of the bureaucracy to the hands of the people by certain means. Are you going to rub the whole of that out of your mind by reason of a false issue and by throwing a bombshell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere? I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking up this resolution and voting for it with levity. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we don't know where we are. Let us not be charged with that, let us understand our limitations.

Let Hindus and Mussalmans have absolute indissoluble unity. Who is there here who can say to me with confidence that Hindu-Muslim unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian unity with the Parsees, Christians, Sikhs and Jews and untouchables, about whom you have heard this afternoon? Who is here who will tell me that these very people will not rise against any such ideal. Think fifty times before you take any step which may redound not to your credit, nor to your advantage, but which may cause irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength and sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depth we don't know. This proposition lands you in depths unfathomable. I ask you to reject the proposition if you believe in the one which you passed an hour ago. Creeds are not such simple things, which you can change as your clothes. Are you going to change your creed which you accepted with all deliberation after great debates in Nagpur? There was no limitation of one year at the time. It is an expansive creed; it takes in the weakest and the strongest. You will deny yourself the privileges of clothing the weakest with protection, if you accept the limited creed of Mr. Hazarat Mohani, which does not admit the weakest of your brothers. I ask you to reject this.

It was accordingly rejected.

Mr. Gandhi was supported by Mr. V. J. Patel who endorsed all that the mover had said, adding that Lord Reading forgot in Calcutta that, besides the sword and the British Parliament, there was a third alternative of civil disobedience to attain "Swaraj" and that India had chosen the third course and meant to stick to it to the last.

Maulana Abdul Majid and Suleman Nadavi also supported the resolution exhorting all Moslems to act on it both in its letter and spirit.

It was further supported by the Sri Sankaracharya of Karvir Peeth, Mrs. Naidu and several others and passed with acclamation.

#### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

After the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's resolution five more resolutions were passed in quick succession. These relate to (1) Appeal to the Moderates and others, not believing in Non-Co-operation, to help the movement in respect of Swadeshi, untouchability, prohibition and unity,

(2) Condemning the Government measures for the suppression of the Malabar disturbances, and also condemning the Moplahs responsible for forcible conversions.

(3) Congratulating Keina' Pasha and the Turks on their successes.

(4) Deploing the Bombay riots and assuring all communities of the Congress's earnest desire to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

(5) Making changes in the Congress constitution by reducing the age limit for Congress Membership from 21 to 18, making it incumbent upon all Ex Presidents of the Congress to sign the Creed, if they wanted to remain ex-officio members of the Congress and giving the option on the matter of transferable vote.

Another resolution congratulating Mr. Gurdit Singh of the *Komagata Maru* case was also adopted.

#### OFFICE-BEARERS

Mr. Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari were re-elected as General Secretaries for the next year but, as Mr. Motilal Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari are in jail, Mr. V. J. Patel and Dr. Rajan were appointed to act in their places. Seths Jamanlal Bajaj and Chotani were appointed as Treasurers.

Hakim Ajmal Khan in closing the session asked the delegates to go back to their Provinces with a fixed determination to carry out the programme they had mapped out for themselves. He thanked all who were responsible for the Congress arrangements.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar proposed a vote of thanks for the acting President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, whom he described as a great pillar of Hindu-Muslim unity. Swami Sbraddanand supported and the vote of thanks was carried amidst acclamation.

Mr. Vallabhai Patel, the Chairman, Reception Committee, garlanded Mr. Ajmal Khan amidst cries of "Bande Mataram."

Seth Jamanlal proposed a vote of thanks for the excellent arrangements of the Reception Committee amidst applause.

The session came to a close and the audience dispersed amidst scenes of great enthusiasm.



**MR. C. R. DAS**  
*President-Elect, Ahmedabad Congress*



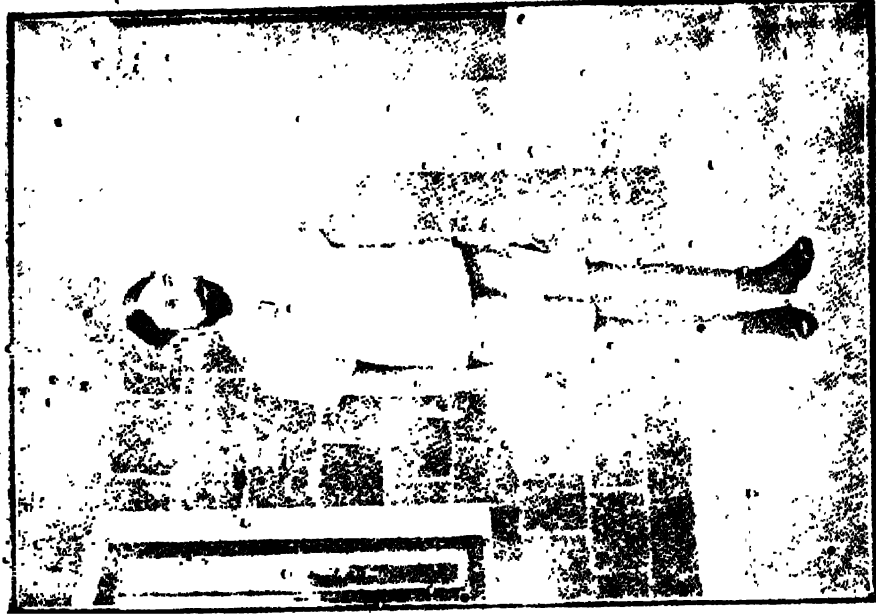
**HAKIM AJMAL KHAN**  
*President, Congress & Khilafat Conference.*



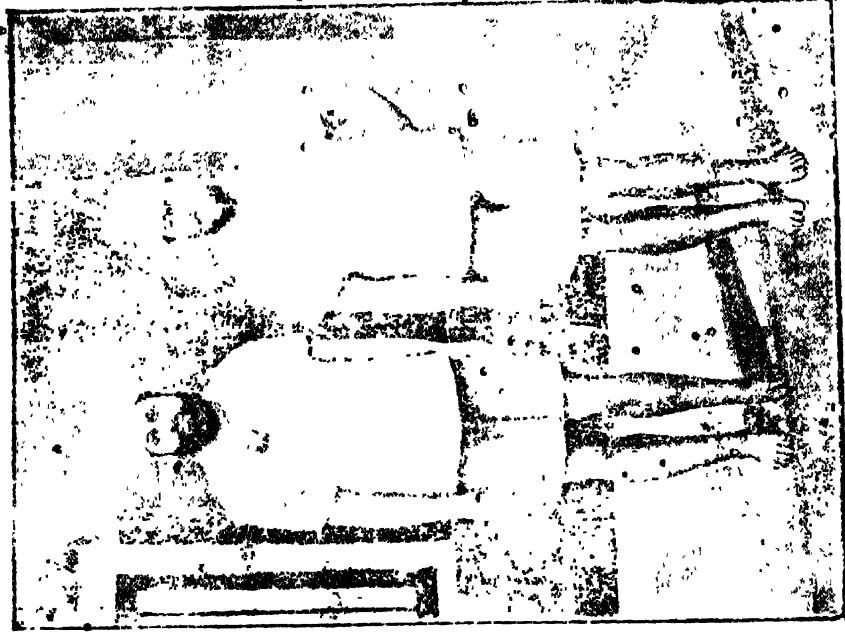
**MR. S. C. MUKERJEE**  
*President, Indian Christian Conference.*



**MR. J. C. PERIERA**  
*President, Ceylon National Congress.*



DR. KITCHLU



THE ALI BROTHERS

The fourteenth annual session of the All India Moslem League opened at Ahmedabad on the 30th December, under the presidency of Moulana Hazrat Mohani. Many prominent leaders of the Congress were present. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates traced the history of the Moslem League and concluded that, after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same objects, he thought that the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body and that it should merge itself into the Congress.

## HAZRAT MOHANI'S ADDRESS

Hazrat Mohani had already put up a strong fight in the Congress for complete independence. Much interest therefore centred in his Presidential address which was frankly a plea for an Indian Republic to be called the United States of India to be declared on the 1st January, 1922, and to be attained by all possible and proper means including guerilla warfare in case martial law was proclaimed. He continued:—

Non-violent Non-Co-operation can only help to start the parallel Government but cannot maintain it. The question now is, can such a parallel Government be established only through non-violent Non-Co-operation. Of course provided the rival Government does not interfere with its establishments, a condition which is obviously impossible. The rival Government will certainly interfere.

A stage will be reached ultimately when action on peaceful lines will absolutely become impossible and then we will be forced to admit that a parallel Government can be started but not continued to the last through peaceful means.

As representative of the Mussalmans the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting Non-Co-operation as their creed or free it from the limitation of keeping out either of violence or non-violence, for it is not in our power to keep Non-Co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters Non-Co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day, but if things go further and Government has recourse to the gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent.

The object of the League should be not only the attainment of complete independence but the form of that independence should be a

republic called the "United States of India" to be attained by all possible and proper means.

## RESOLUTIONS

When the League resumed its sittings in the night several resolutions of a non-contentious character were put from the chair and passed without discussion. These were (1) League Committees be established in all districts and provinces, (2) Congratulating Mustapha Kemal Pasha on his recent successes and wishing him long life and further victories, (3) Appealing for Angora Fund.

## THE MOPLAH DISTURBANCES

The next resolution referred to the Moplah disturbances. It disbelieved the truth of Government reports about the disturbances and viewed with indignation Government excesses, the Martial Law sentences, the Moplah death roll and particularly the train tragedy. The resolution also appointed the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Hon'ble Mr. Razi Ali, Mr. Abbas Tyabji and Mr. Kidwai to inquire into the Moplah disturbances. The motion also condemned the reported actions of Moplahs who had ill-treated their Hindu brethren.

## THE MOPLAH TRAIN TRAGEDY

The train tragedy was freely condemned as unparalleled in the world's history. Mr. Tyabji pointed out that the moment the tragedy was known, the Malabar officials ought to have been dismissed at once, for, he asked, could any English Prime Minister have continued in office for 24 hours if such a tragedy had occurred in England?

Mr. Azad Sobhani speaking on the resolution impressed on the audience to clearly understand that, while they sympathised with Moplahs and appreciated their exceptional value, they should never try to copy their methods of violence, for he believed that, by resorting to violence, the Moplahs had injured their own cause. He wanted all Mahomedans to understand that non-violence

must be considered and acted upon as an article of faith. The resolution was then put and carried.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SIKHS

The next two resolutions were same as passed, by Congress, congratulating the Sikhs, particularly Gurdit Singh of *Komagata Maru* fame who had gone to jail and appealing to Moderates among Mahomedans and those who did not believe in Non-Co operation to help the movement by encouraging its constructive programme such as Swadeshi, communal unity, untouchability etc.

#### THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

The independence resolution was then taken up. The President Hazrat Mohdani made a dramatic announcement amidst applause that he proposed that the decision of the Subjects Committee rejecting his resolution regarding the attainment

of independence and destruction of British Imperialism would be held as final and representing the opinion of the majority in the League, but that in view of the great importance of the subject, he would allow a discussion on that resolution without taking any vote.

Azad Sobhani, who had moved the resolution in the Subjects Committee, also moved it in the League. He said he believed in Hindu Moslem Unity as absolutely essential, in non-violent Non-Co-operation as the only way to fight their battle, in Mr. Gandhi as fully deserving the Dictatorship which had been invested in him by the Congress but that, he also believed that British Imperialism was the greatest danger to India and the Moslem world and must be destroyed by placing before them an ideal of independence.

### . THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE .

The All-India Khilafat Conference met at Ahmedabad on Dec 26. There was a large gathering of Mahomedans besides the leading Non-Co-operators. A number of ladies were also present.

#### WELCOME ADDRESS

Syed Ahmed Ali Ulvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates gave a historical dissertation on the foundation of Ahmedabad and its greatness under Mahomedan kings. Touching the political situation, he emphasised the absolute necessity of 'seeing through the present programme of the struggle, which, he was sure, would rid India of the tyrannies they were suffering under. He asked the Mahomedans, as to whether they could rest content when the Fatwa of their religious leaders had been proscribed.

#### . PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Hakim Ajmal Khan, after having been formally elected president, delivered a long extempore speech reviewing the present position of India and the Islamic world in general. He said that after many vicissitudes the Muslim King-

doms were on their feet again. The Central Asian Federation of Independent Islamic States, promised a great future for Islam, greater than it was even before the great War. The States of Caucasias, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt and regenerated Turkey held out the hope of a Greater Islam. The Greeks were defeated by the Kemalists, he said, in spite of British help. Afghanistan was now completely independent, as a result of the Anglo Afghan Treaty, for which he congratulated the Amir and his ministers for check-mating what he called the evil designs of British Imperialism. The consolidation of the Islamic States of Azerbaijan, Caucasias and Persia was, he continued, as significant as the great victory of the Turks over the Greeks, which completely smashed British diplomacy and had induced France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora. He hoped that, before long, Italy would follow the example of France, in spite of British efforts to the contrary. He emphatically declared that Britain alone was standing in the way of a real and just solution of the Middle Eastern questions

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan then urged that they in India should not slacken their efforts, for, as long as the Khilafat was not solved in a just manner, they should continue their struggle. He then referred to the proposed Round Table Conference and said, "we want peace, but only by safe-guarding our rights of citizenship and national honour." He pleaded for toleration for those who differed from Non-Co-operators and exhorted them to make allowance for soldiers and policemen and others like the moderates who hold different opinions but were as patriotic as any of them. He concluded with a reference to the Moplah disturbances and the train tragedy and urged the country to carry on the present struggle

with energy and fortitude, never forgetting that they must take their stand on the bed-rock of non-violence and love of truth. In non-violence and capacity for suffering lay the key to their success in the struggle for emancipation.

A resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing.

The Conference resumed its sittings in the evening and resolved to appeal to all Muslims to enroll as Volunteers and civilly disobey orders prohibiting public meetings by holding such meetings, provided they were certain that there was no possibility of violence.

Before the Conference adjourned for the day the President announced that the Subject Committee of the Conference had, on the motion of Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Mr. Hasrat Mohani and by a majority, resolved to ask all Muhammadans and other communities to endeavor to destroy British Imperialism and secure complete independence.

The mother of Ali Brothers made an appeal for the Angora Fund and several thousands were collected on the spot.

Maulvi Abdal Majid Badayun moved the resolution which declared

that, in spite of all efforts which could be humanly possible, the British Government had denied justice to

Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and had, on the other hand, started full-fledged repression by imprisoning the leaders and by declaring unlawful the peaceful associations in order to stifle legitimate and peaceful agitation; the Conference, therefore, called upon all Muslims of, and above, the age of 18 to join the Volunteer Corps regardless of imprisonment and death.

The Conference also desired that civil disobedience, by way of holding public meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upon, provided the Provincial Congress Committees were satisfied that there was no fear of violence.

Stirring speeches were made in support of this resolution by Messrs Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdur Rahman and Madansing, Chowduri Rambhujdutt and Gangadevi of Farrukhabad and Jannabai

Another resolution congratulating the Kemalists in their successes was also adopted without discussion.

#### THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

A split occurred among the Khilafatists over the resolution about independence. At the resumed sitting of the Khilafat Conference, when Moulana Hazrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal Independence and the destruction of the British Imperialism, an objection was taken to its consideration by a member of the Khilafat Subjects Committee, on the ground that, according to their constitution, no motion, which contemplated a change in their creed could be taken as adopted, unless it was voted for in the Subject's Committee by a majority of two-thirds.

President Hakim Ajmal Khan upheld this objection, and ruled the "Independence" motion out of order.

After this, the Conference passed resolutions appealing for the Angora Fund, condemning Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathising with the Moplahs in their sufferings and congratulating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion and condemning those Moplahs who were responsible for forcible conversion of Hindus.



**T**HE fourth session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced its sittings at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on the 28th Dec, under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer.

It was attended by 261 delegates besides a large number of visitors. The attendance from Bengal included Sir K. G. Gupta, Dr. Dwarkanath Mitra, Prof. Herambachandra Maitra, Mr. N. N. Sircar and Mr. S. P. Basu; from Bombay, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas, Mr. Kamath, M. L. A., Mr. Dalvi, Mr. Dharamsey, M. L. C., Mr. Telang, Mr. Altekar, Mr. Vaze, and some members of the Servants of India Society; Prof. Jog of the Fergusson College and some of his colleagues; from Central Provinces, Rao Bahadur Mundle, Mr. Jayawanth, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Kandekar, Editor, *Hitawada* and three others; from Madras, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mrs. Bosant, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar, M. L. C., and about 20 others. There were present from Sind over half-a-dozen headed by Professor Chabildani. From Lucknow came Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Mr. A. P. Sen and others. There were also several delegates from Benares and other places.

#### MR. KUNZRU'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read the address of welcome in which he reviewed the situation at some length. He regretted that the visit of the Prince should have roused passions. After condemning interested attempts to minimise the gravity of the situation in Malabar, the Pandit dealt at length with the present political situation made acute by the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in the majority of the provinces. He mentioned that the act was being misused in applying it to Khilafat and Congress Volunteer organisations, and while the Government were entitled in a measure to the sympathy and co-operation of all peaceful and law-abiding citizens

in discharging their primary duty of enforcing respect for authority, the Pandit observed that the public opinion which had throughout opposed the retention of the Criminal Law Amendment Act on the Statute Book could not approve of its application to the volunteers.

He condemned the attitude of Sir Harcourt Butler in particular whose actions have signally failed to achieve the desired purpose. In fact the hartals in Lucknow and Allahabad were more complete than elsewhere only because of the general resentment against the arrests, particularly of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

His prosecution and imprisonment sent a thrill of indignation through the Province, and have done more to accelerate feeling and alienate public sympathy than anything else. Had the Government deliberately set about devising means to defeat the object they had in view, they could scarcely have improved upon the method which they have pursued.

In fact repression everywhere has given a fillip to Mr. Gandhi's movement of Civil Disobedience. He therefore urged the Government to retrace their steps. "A false sense of prestige or duty might make the situation well nigh irremediable."

After urging on the necessity of vindicating the Punjab wrongs and settling the Khilafat question, the Pandit alluded to the great need of further constitutional advance and referred to the statements of the failure of the Dyarchy. He said he could say from personal knowledge that it was true of the United Provinces. Dyarchy had been found to be prejudicial to the growth of Responsible Government. Nothing but courageous statesmanship, he said, will save the country from disaster.

While deploring that the proposed Round-Table Conference did not come off, he condemned the resolution on Civil Disobedience passed at the Congress, and said they would strenuously oppose violence, no matter how brought about. He concluded with the observation that obedience to law could be secured to-day not by the administrator, but by the statesman.

## MESSAGES TO THE FEDERATION

Messages regretting absence were then read from Sir D. E. Wacha, Sir Benode Mitter, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rau, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, Mr. K. Natarajan and others.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

After formal election, Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer, the President, delivered his address which is a comprehensive survey of the present political situation. He analysed the causes of the present unrest, examined at some length the creed and programme of Non-Co-operation and defined the position of the Liberals in the matter of the Jhalilat and the Punjab wrongs on the one hand and of Swaraj and the methods of repression on the other. He recounted the various stages of Mr. Gandhi's programme, pointed out the failure of his campaign in its successive stages, deplored the boycott of schools and councils and the great sacrifices and sufferings the campaign is entailing on the people at large without the possibility of any relief whatsoever. He spoke further of the dangers of mass civil disobedience and referred to the Congress heading for disaster in ordering suspension of taxes. He said —

As regards the suspension of taxes, the thing is sooner said than done. I shall assume for argument's sake that it is practicable, but how is it to be obtained? At what terrible cost of human misery and human suffering, and can it be said that, when coercion processes are applied on a large scale, the atmosphere that is thus created will be one of pure love and self-abnegation? As I have already said more than once, these steps are possible and likely to be productive of useful results when taken in appropriate cases as special measures by a small and compact body of men. When however a large mass of people are advised to take it by the very hypothesis, nothing but chaos and anarchy will be the result.

While he criticised the Congress drastically for its rash and headlong policy, he did not spare the bureaucracy for its recent methods of repression and lack of imagination in dealing with the present crisis. He condemned the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and

the Seditious Meetings Act to suppress some legitimate rights of Non-Co-operators and others.

It has to be recognised that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are perfectly sincere in their professions of non-violence and are doing their best to see that violence is not used in the carrying out of the programme that they have resolved upon. Their endeavours have met with a considerable amount of success. The force cannot be ignored of the challenge that Mr. Gandhi makes, "why have no attempts been made to prove a single case of intimidation," referring to the events in Calcutta during the last ten days. The course taken by the Government has this element of weakness in it that it offers a premium to persons anxious to be in the lime-light. When some are arrested, more come in. The gaol is considered the place of freedom. No heroic measure can be suggested on either side. The arrest of men of great respectability and of unimpeachable character like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Babu Bhagawan Das cannot be contemplated without feelings of the very deepest regret.

Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer deplored the failure of the proposal for a Round Table Conference primarily on account of Mr. Gandhi's attitude.

I venture to think that this latest move on the part of Mr. Gandhi will go a large way towards alienating the sympathies of those not already committed to Non-Co-operation, and the duty will be more largely recognised and acted upon, on the part of the people to uphold peace and order. It may be that the duties of the Government in the situation with which they are faced are difficult to discharge but if a conflagration is to be avoided, it behoves them to observe all the restraint that is possible consistently with the maintenance of order. Care has to be taken that such measures as are enforced are not the outcome of panic and do not degenerate to terrorism or revenge.

## THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The Subjects Committee of the Federation sat for five hours on the 29th to discuss the agenda for the session. There was an animated debate. The important resolutions considered were those urging further reforms and condemning the policy of Government as outlined in the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. A resolution to ask for provincial autonomy and introduction of responsibility in the Central Government was unanimously favoured, while a warm and excited discussion, centred on the Government's policy of repression.

Mrs. Besant brought in a resolution favouring the Government policy, though admitting that some local Governments had made mistakes in the

application of the Act, but the United Provinces, Madras and Punjab delegates solidly opposed Mrs. Besant, whereas opinions were divided in the case of the Bengal, Bombay and Poona delegates. Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru, Messrs. A. P. Sen, G. A. Natesan, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Messrs. Prakash Nath Sapru, K. P. Kaul and B. S. Kamat opposed Mrs. Besant, whereas Messrs. Jamnadas, Gadgil and Telang were among her supporters. In the end Mrs. Besant's resolution was defeated by 45 votes to 23.

#### MUDHOLKAR AND RASH BEHARI GHOSE

The Federation began the second day with two resolutions moved from the chair, one expressing the sense of loss to the country by the deaths of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar and Sir Rash Behari Ghose and the other according a most loyal welcome to the Prince.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer moved the following resolution on Civil Disobedience :

The Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Besant the following was added to the resolution :

"and so far as achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political parties desired, it was bound to lead to a deplorable set-back to the progress of the country."

Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru, Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Professor Jog and a representative of the Kisans spoke on the resolution.

#### THE REFORMS

When the Federation met next day Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar moved :—

That in view of the experience obtained by the working of the Reforms Act, rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of people for a fuller control over

their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that (1) full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and (2) as regards the Central Government all subjects, except the defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs should be transferred to popular control in the Central Government at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

The resolution was supported by Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru and Dr. Dwarknath Mitter and was passed.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

After this the Conference adjourned for half-an-hour to enable the Subjects Committee to reconsider the wording of the Resolution on the present situation arrived at in the previous night. After a few minutes discussion it was unanimously agreed that the following clause be added to the Resolution :

It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves.

The Conference resumed its sittings. The President announced that a unanimous decision regarding the draft resolution had been arrived at and that the only material change was the addition of a clause condemning the action of certain local governments and the harshness and severity of sentences imposed on Non Co-operators by certain local authorities.

Mr. G. A. Natesan then moved the following resolution :—

"This Federation fully realises the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation and the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience and the necessity for protection of peaceful and law abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognises the duty of all patriotic citizens to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, but it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted

with excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves. It, therefore, urges on Government the immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation."

#### MR. NATESAN ON THE SITUATION

In moving the resolution Mr. Natesan pointed out that Government by their methods of wholesale and indiscriminate arrests have defeated the very object for which they have resorted to repressive measures.

The following is a summary of his speech:—

The resolution was drafted carefully and after anxious consideration. He said that the development of non-co-operation movement was a revolt against law and order and it would not paralyse Government but would ultimately bring ruin and disaster to the people of India. He admitted as a matter of fact that some of the "hartals" were voluntary but there were instances when pressure and intimidation were brought upon people. He said they all would agree that in attempts to put down the evil, Government had overstepped all reasonable bounds. He spoke of the universal condemnation of the application of the Act by Indians of all shades of opinion and he stated that even taking the provocation offered in some cases into consideration he did not think that circumstances warranted the extension of the Act. While he most severely condemned non-co-operators for organising "hartals" against the visit of the Prince, he thought Government's action defeated the very object they had in view. He appreciated the Viceroy's willingness to have a conference. While paying great tribute to Mr. Gandhi he deeply regretted that Mr. Gandhi did not agree to the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Jambadas Dwarkadas, Mrs. Desai, Mr. Sachindra Nanda Bose and Dr. Mittar were among those who justified Government's action.

Mr. B. S. Kamat in supporting the resolution urged for consideration the precise attitude with which the Liberals had to look at the Government's policy and the reasons why they could not approve of the course of action which Government had thought fit to take. He further said:—

Whether the present was a foreign rule or mixed rule it was with a friendly spirit of co-operation and with a view to help Government to make the constitutional reforms a success that they must look at the question. Secondly it should not be looked at from the point of view of a magistrate. Lord Reading came to this country from England imbued with the ideas of law and justice and has looked at the question from the point of view of a lawyer or a magistrate but not from that of a statesman. Mrs. Besant had referred to conditions in Bombay. If the conditions had been so

bad in Bombay why had not the Bombay Government proclaimed the area and applied the Seditious Meetings Act. What had not been found necessary in Bombay was not necessary in other provinces where the situation that had been created in Bombay did not arise.

Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru regretted that supporters of the resolution spoke against it. Their support, he said, was even more embarrassing than their opposition would have been. And in explaining the resolution he observed:—

It is a matter of the deepest regret to us that as a result of the disturbances which occurred recently in Bombay, Government were temporarily thrown off their balance and in the excitement occasioned by these disturbances adopted a policy which I am sure they now regret. May I say once more, to remove the misapprehension, that we are not by any means against the maintenance of law and order? We have made our view unmistakably clear on that point, not merely to-day but during the last two years. But we cannot support Government blindly. We cannot ignore the fact that Government is not concerned merely with the administration of laws. We shall have to bear in mind that there is such a thing as policy and that unless this higher consideration, unless what Mr. Gokhale used to call the higher purpose of British rule in India is kept in view, no law, no exercise of authority, no repression would avail to alleviate the discontent which exists in the country to-day (Loud cheers).

Mr. A. P. Sen and a Zamindar delegate made strong speeches condemning the Government's policy.

An amendment to the resolution, that, if the Government would not give effect to the resolution, co-operators would become Non-Co-operators, could not be moved for want of notice.

The original resolution was passed.

#### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

The Federation then passed a number of resolutions including one regarding state management of railways and another supporting present measures against Moplahs, also expressing horror at the Podanur prison-van tragedy and hoped those responsible for the crime would be brought to book.

Resolutions expressing dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the Viceroy's action regarding the Punjab Martial Law prisoners and for suitable punishment of the officers found guilty during the Martial Law administration, urging for the

revision of the Turkish Treaty, appreciating the the services at the Imperial Conference of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri for obtaining equal status for Indians in the Empire, and welcoming the resolution of the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire, and trusting that the position of Indians in East Africa would be determined in accordance with the policy approved of by the Imperial Conference were also passed.

A resolution calling upon the people to remove sex disqualification for franchise as Madras and Bombay had done, and another resolution appealing to the Liberal Leagues and other allied organisations to combat Non Co-operation by systematic propaganda were also passed.

#### OFFICE BEARERS FOR 1922

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer and Mr. G. A. Natesan were elected General Secretaries of the Federation for next year.

The Federation was invited to meet next year at Nagpur.

#### PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

The President in his concluding speech, after thanking the Reception Committee for their excellent arrangements, referred at some length to the lead given to the country by the Federation.

We have shown, in the first place, that the country has arrived at a stage of self-consciousness, when it is impossible for it to be satisfied with things as they stand, that we must have provincial autonomy complete and that so far as the Central Government is concerned there ought to be a large measure of responsibility in it, only such subjects as are absolutely indispensable, according to the British Government and the British people for the safety of the British Empire, to be reserved. We have made that perfectly clear. We have also made it perfectly clear that these are merely steps to complete responsible government. We have also not minced matters when we spoke on the present situation and the policy that has been adopted with reference to the present situation.

Dealing with the measures adopted by Government to combat non-co-operation the President showed where exactly Liberals stand :

Now the position stands thus. If it was merely the administration of the ordinary law of the land sometimes with rigour and sometimes not with rigour, according to the exigencies of the situation, there

would not have been this large amount of criticism to which the Government has been subjected and this wave of indignation that has spread from one end of the country to the other. But the misfortune was this, that in the application of measures which Government has resolved upon to enforce, it invoked the aid not of the ordinary law of the land but of certain provisions which have been reserved for extraordinary occasions, provisions which were considered to be necessary in circumstances altogether different from those that are now being dealt with. And no wonder, therefore, particularly when a committee has sat to consider the question and has recommended the repeal of these provisions as early as possible; that the country felt indignant that such a provision as this should have been enforced at a time when they expected a policy of conciliation to be adopted in respect of them; and this indignation was in no way lessened when it was found that the actual application of the measure had in no way tended to bring about the result which was expected.

The resolution which the Federation had passed almost unanimously clearly lays down the position of Liberals. The President drew attention to it and said :

It sympathises with the difficulties of the Government, but at the same time, it points out that there has been a liability to excess, not merely a liability, to excesses but there have been actually excesses. With the result that the country is greatly alarmed at the policy that has been adopted, and we also ask that policy should be reversed and that measures should be taken by all means, and the Government will have the support of every loyal and patriotic citizen who is able and far-sighted enough to see that it is not the needs of to-morrow or the day after to-morrow which have to be looked to but it is the continuity of progress and the attainment of the goal that have to be secured within as short a time as possible. I say everybody who recognises these aims would be the first to support the Government in any measure that may be taken. Only what he insists upon is this. Let it not be harsher than the needs of the situation require. Trust yourself as far as possible to the ordinary law of the land and if you think that the ordinary law is not sufficient, there are the constituted representatives of the people, constituted by your own constitution; go to them, put the position before them and get their consent and then you will have a larger measure of support in the country. That is the meaning of the resolution on the present situation.

He then pointed out the dangers of Civil Disobedience and fervently appealed to the country to take to constitutional agitation, which would achieve Swaraj. In conclusion he said :

We shall work for the ends we consider proper and necessary. If the ends, some of the ends, happen to be common, so much the better because you will find here two volumes of forces working for the same ends and their result would be better than that achieved if there be only one volume of forces working. We want that the principles which we profess, the principles

we act upon, must be made clear to the world and therefore we cannot associate ourselves with any movement which, whatever might be the professions, very sincere, of the leaders thereof, in our humble judgment is sure to end in violence and consequences most disastrous to the permanent good of the country which they and we love alike. In these circumstances, ladies and gentlemen, I believe our party has justified its existence. There has not been as much propaganda as there should have been and I am sure that the resolution that we have adopted this time will find its echo in the hearts of every one who is in a position to advance the Liberal cause and we shall have a larger and larger number of persons taking to the propaganda of Liberal principles so that the country will be able to know what it is that we are aiming at and they will know that we are equally sincere like the non-co-operators to achieve the end which we all have in view, namely the attainment of Swaraj as quickly as possible. They will then see that if there is any difference between the non-co-operators and us it is a difference in method, but difference which is very vital indeed. I have not the slightest hesitation that if we only put forth our efforts steadily as time goes on there will be

a progressive accession to our ranks until, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself truth will prevail and the country will find what it is that is best to its interests. I join with Mrs. Das in asking the question, 'Do I stand for India in her present struggle?' A very pertinent question indeed and it requires a very satisfactory and unmistakable answer. The Liberals are as much for India in this struggle as the non-co-operators are, so far as their patriotic instincts go, so far as their anxiety to see that the country gets its proper place in the world is concerned. In the object we have in view we are at one with the non-co-operators but we take leave to doubt the propriety of the methods that they have suggested, and after having deliberated the question with all the ability, with all the maturity of understanding that we are able to command we think that the methods that have been suggested are not the correct methods and we are as such entitled as they are entitled, to our opinion and to act on this opinion.

The session then came to a close. In the evening the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani entertained the President and delegates of the Federation.

## THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE

Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, presided over the Indian Social Conference held at Ahmedabad on December 26. A large number of ladies including Mrs. Motilal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were present.

Dr. Kanunga, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, urged that our progress as a nation would be greatly hampered by the retention of the caste system. He pointed out that even the advocates of caste admitted that the minute divisions of sub-castes must go. Untouchability was the cause of their National degradation, and, therefore, every effort must be made to get India rid of this evil.

Mr. Natarajan who spoke extempore traced the growth of the social reform movement in India and said :

That it aimed at ensuring for every man and woman a perfect heritage and perfect environment. Remarriage of widows of tender age, raising of marriageable age of girls and woman's education were the three main activities of the social reformers for some time, but later there were found other fields of work, such as anti-touch movement and anti-drink campaign. While English education, had done a lot of good, unfortunately, there came with it drunkenness which, for a long time, greatly hindered the progress of social reform.

He congratulated the country on its political awakening and its determined stand against the evil of drink. Touching the problem of untouchability he referred in glowing terms to Mr. Gandhi's work and said that

No Swarajya, could be obtained or worth having, unless and until the Nation, as a whole believed in heart and soul that every citizen was entitled to equal rights. To condemn any class of people as untouchables was to declare themselves entirely unfit to exercise any powers of Government.

In conclusion, Mr. Natarajan dwelt upon social service, and insisted on the necessity of good training to all social workers, for, otherwise, the movement was likely to do more harm than good.

Resolutions were then passed supporting Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill, recommending the abolition of untouchability and caste system, requesting the Indian Ministers to declare prohibition to be the goal of their excise policy and advising the public bodies, etc., to provide ample facilities for girls and grown up women in getting all-round education.

Several ladies and others spoke on the resolution sympathising with the victims of Malabar riots without distinction of race or creed and according support to the relief funds started for their benefit.

## SOUTH INDIAN SOCIAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

The South Indian Social Workers' Conference was held at Madras on December 30, with Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, in the chair. There was a large number of delegates, both ladies and gentlemen, from the various parts of the presidency. Mr. Devadhar in his presidential address urged the social workers to have a clear idea of their goal and of the work that should be done. He gave instances of the fields of social work and pointed out how they should be dealt with. He laid special emphasis on the education of women, the elevation of the depressed classes, and on the organisation of social work. Speaking of the necessity for organisations throughout the Presidency, he said.

that there was no use of confining themselves to the city of Madras and passing resolutions in the hope that they would reach men in different corners of this Presidency. They must have a central place where Social Service Leagues or associations ought to be started. They must have a training school

where the workers should be trained and they must also have a regular secretariat and also they must have regular literature and they must have treasure or the sinews of war.

On the second day several interesting papers relating to social work were read. Then a number of resolutions were passed. One of them wanted a strong representative Committee to settle labour disputes by conciliation and arbitration. Another resolution urged non payment of grants to educational institutions refusing to admit children of all communities including the depressed classes. A third resolution declared absolute prohibition necessary in the best interest of the country and requested the Government to work towards achievement of this aim within a reasonable and limited period. Resolutions urging among others, better travelling and other facilities in the railways, formation and federation of social service leagues, training of nurses and midwives, vocational training etc. were also passed.

## THE ALL-INDIA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

The eighth session of the All-India Christian Conference met at Lahore on Dec. 28, with Professor S. C. Mukerjee, M. L. C., of Bengal, as President. The President, in the course of his address, referred to the present political situation and said that

even to a very superficial observer it is perfectly plain that the economic condition of the masses is so bad that it is a most congenial soil for the breeding of discontent, that labour strikes are only symptomatic of the prevailing economic distress.

Though the programme of Non-Co-operation had proved a practical failure, the spirit of Non-Co-operation had spread far and wide and had become a powerful factor in producing unrest and dissatisfaction throughout the country. The spirit of Non-Co-operation was exercising a powerful influence over the masses, and was producing a kind of mentality in them which was anything but favourable to the present system of administration.

Continuing, the President said that the refusal on the part of Non-Co-operators, to a political truce was a blunder of the first magnitude and might prove a fruitful source of further trouble in the near future. After referring to communal matters he concluded by

saying that Swarajya within the Empire was their goal and that they were determined to achieve it by constitutional means.

The Conference met again on 29th and 30th to consider resolutions, the most important among them being that relating to the present situation. It is as follows:

"That in order to restore peace and harmony in the country it is necessary for the Government to adopt a policy of conciliation by ceasing to put into force the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of the Seditious Meetings Act and by releasing those arrested and imprisoned under these Acts, while on the other hand the campaign of Non-Co-operation should forthwith be suspended by the leaders of Non-Co-operation."

"That a Round-Table Conference be arranged of some leading Non-Co-operators, Moderates and Government officials to see on what ground a compromise can be brought about."

This was passed; as also another resolution relating to Swadeshi Movement:

This Conference is strongly of opinion that a true Swadeshi spirit should dominate every sphere of the Indian Christian.

That as an expression of our Swadeshi spirit we must forthwith start wearing cloths of Indian manufacture.

This Conference recommends that all provincial leagues do make strenuous efforts to find ways and means of inculcating the Swadeshi spirit in Indian Christians through local leagues and lose no time in putting such a programme into effect.

The Conference also passed another resolution advocating a larger measure of responsible government in the provinces and introduction of responsibility in the central Government. Other resolutions dealt with the grant of franchise to women under the Reforms Act, the treatment of

Indians in South and East Africa, the labour unrest in the country, prohibition and industrial and technical education.

A resolution was brought before the Conference to record its appreciation of the sacrifices made by Mr. George Joseph and Mr. Stokes in the cause of the country, but as it was not discussed in the Subjects Committee, the President put it to the Conference. The motion for leave to discuss the resolution was rejected by the casting vote of the President. As a protest the volunteers of the Conference struck work.

### THE CEYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS

The third session of the Ceylon National Congress was held at Colombo on 22nd December, Mr. J. C. Periera, K. C. presiding. Mr. E. J. Samaramawikreme, Advocate, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech welcoming the delegates reviewed the present political situation and dwelt with the recent debate in the local Legislature on the subject of reforms.

The President in a lengthy address referred to the secession of the north (i.e., Jaffna) from the Congress and declared that the Congress has not deviated one hair's breadth from the original principles on which it was formed. Referring to the political reforms, the President emphasised that their goal was Home Rule under the British Flag and as the people were not, in his opinion, yet full prepared for it

we want for the present to take the necessary steps, the preliminary steps that must be taken, to fit us for ultimate Home Rule. The first and foremost step that we say should be taken and which we consider our irreducible claim is that we should have a territorially elected majority in the Legislative Council of Ceylon. We shall be satisfied with nothing less and until we get it we shall fight for it. Let there be no mistake about it. The foremost principle upon which all the actions of Congress are based is this, namely, a territorially elected majority in the Legislative Council.

He then condemned the principle of communal representation, quoting the authority of the Indian Reforms Report and asked for a greater share in the administration of the Colony by

appointing elected Ceylonese Councillors in the Executive Council. He would have no division of subjects into reserved and transferred as in India nor would he make the Ceylonese Executive Councillors responsible to the Legislature. The members will be responsible to the Governor and will hold office during the period of the Council which elected them. He advocated constitutional methods for attaining these objects and declared that in the end they would certainly achieve their object.

The first resolution that was passed is as follows

(1) The Legislative Council should consist of about fifty members of whom a substantial majority should be elected according to territorial divisions upon a wide male franchise and a restricted female franchise and the Council should elect its own speaker.

(2) The Legislative Council should continue to have full control over the Budget and there should be no division of reserved and transferred subjects.

(3) The Executive Council should consist of the Governor as President assisted by official and unofficial members of whom not less than half should be unofficials chosen from the members of the Legislative Council elected according to territorial divisions, such members to be responsible for the administration of Departments placed under their charge.

On the second day resolutions were passed urging the removal of residential qualification, publication of the Reforms Scheme by the Government before adoption by the Governor, and for the dropping of the Salaries Commission Report.



# BRITISH TRADE AND INDIA

BY Mr. U. K. DORAISWAMI PILLAI, B.A., L.T.

**G**REAT Britain is, at present, making frenzied attempts to recover her pre-war economic status. The chaotic condition of the European exchanges, the uncompromising attitude of America towards allied indebtedness and particularly the rise of U.S.A., and Japan as her trade rivals have greatly affected her manufactures. Internally, she is face to face with an economic crisis only equalled by the one caused by the Napoleonic Wars of the last century.

Sir Leo Chiozza Money wrote :

"At this moment with the iron and steel and ship-building trades at a standstill, and all other trades, whether of necessity or of luxury at a low ebb, it is doubtful whether we are earning the livelihood of one-half of our population. Our great population is largely living on reserve and the process has a time limit."

The 3 million men, unemployed, have added considerably to the gloom of the picture.

The United Kingdom now depends upon America, especially for its raw cotton and food-stuffs. The supply of the former commodity has been considerably cut off in 1921, the cotton acreage in U. S. A. being only 27,875,750, as against 37,043,030 in 1920. A new tariff law of that country threatens her food supply for which the British consumer will have to pay higher rates in future. "Already France, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden, have inaugurated new legislation, heavily penalising foreign manufactured goods and the day seems to be not distant when every important manufacturing country, outside Great Britain will be surrounded by a high tariff wall."

These conditions would leave England with only one alternative: the development and consolidation of the resources of the British Empire, for her (Britain) ultimate benefit. The shibboleth of Imperial Preference incessantly advocated by responsible British statesmen, has been done chiefly with this end in view.

Great Britain has now to face in India two rivals in trade who threaten to oust her ultimately from the profitable Indian field. India now imports only about 46 per cent. from the United

Kingdom while before the late war she was importing 63 per cent. on an average. Japan and U. S. A. have figured very largely in the import trade of India after the war. Her import from these countries have risen from 2 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively, in pre-war times to 20 per cent. and 10 per cent. respectively after the war. It would be seen that Japanese trade with India has advanced by leaps and bounds, while U. S. A. has made very marked advance at the same time. "American trade with India has grown from 35,00,000 dollars in 1914-15 to about 180,000,000 dollars in 1920-21, and her prospects are *much better with Indian merchants* than with the foreigners, who are mostly British and are very keenly jealous of their prestige."

Thus with a prospect of practical exclusion from the trade of Western countries, her trade with India considerably diminished, it is natural that the commercial opinion of Great Britain should concentrate upon the Empire and particularly on Indian resources. That opinion is, at present, largely led by Lancashire, which has definitely shown itself hostile to India's fiscal and industrial aspirations. But the attitude of Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy so far seem satisfactory; and only the most sympathetic statesmanship on the part of those in whose hands lies the destiny of India can save the country from being sacrificed to English commercial interests which are completely antagonistic to those of India, in spite of the large measure of fiscal autonomy which our country is said to possess after the reforms. The appointment of the Fiscal Commission with a large Indian personnel is encouraging, but it has to face the "diehards" of Manchester and even of India. In fact, one witness urged that India should welcome Imperial Preference "on the ground that military and naval assistance afforded by the empire was well worth a sacrifice on India's part economically"!!

# PRINCE EDWARD'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

[In this number we give a further instalment of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' Speeches in India. The Prince has since visited Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bharatpur and Nepal among the Feudatory States and Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares, in British India.—Ed. I. R.]

## SPEECH AT JODHPUR BANQUET

*On the 30th Nov. night, a State Banquet was held at Jodhpur in honour of the Prince. After the Royal Toast, the Maharaja proposed the health of the His Royal Highness. The Prince said in reply:—*

I must thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm terms in which you have proposed my health. Before I came here, I began to study the history of Jodhpur in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. I have a quarrel with the author of that work who records that Jodhpur, as its other name, Marwar, or the region of death implies, is an inhospitable tract. Your Highness has, however, taken care that I should see a good deal of life at Jodhpur and enjoy the most unbounded hospitality and whatever the learned author of the volume in question may say, I shall take away with me from Marwar nothing but the kindest recollections.

It has been a great pleasure to me to visit the premier Rathor State in Rajputana. The Rathors, from the days of Asoka, have never been among those who are content to sit still and wait for opportunities and events. All through the centuries they have acted on the belief that men with stout hearts, strong swords, and swift steeds can make history and have carved their name in characters which can never be effaced in the annals of the Deccan, and of Rajputana.

In 1818, the Jodhpur State concluded a treaty with the British Government and from that year the State and its Rulers have honoured that tie with the most unswerving loyalty and devotion. To a fine record of assistance in the Indian Mutiny and of fighting for us on the North-West Frontier of India in 1897-98 and in China in 1901 the States have now added the glorious character of their work in the great War. The late Ruler of the State, His Highness the Maharaja Sumer Singh, threw himself with enthusiasm into the cause. Needs in men, money and other

contributions were not only met, but were forestalled ere they arose. He proceeded to the front himself.

I had the pleasure of meeting him in France. After his lamented death, the Council of Regency carried on the work with similar vigour. For five years the Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers served at the front in many fields with honour. I had the honour of inspecting this gallant regiment which won distinction early at Haifa, where Major Thakur Dalpat Singh, M. C., met his death at the head of his regiment.

I take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the men of the Jodhpur State, who fought and died for the great cause. True to Rathor tradition these men held honour and bravery to be dearer than life itself. Years will pass away, but the memory of their brave deeds will never fade.

I am deeply gratified to have Your Highness the Ruler of this State and the Heir to these great traditions attached to my staff during my Indian tour. I congratulate Your Highness on your being made as an Honorary Captain in our Forces. I much enjoyed seeing your famous Risala with you this afternoon. I know that they will keep up their reputation under Your Highness' leadership.

I also meet here to night an old and trusted friend of my family, His Highness the Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh. His Highness gave up his own gaddi to watch and guide the fortunes of Jodhpur during the successive minorities and to lead its rulers in those traditions of Rajput loyalty and gallantry, in which he holds so high a place himself. Few men can hope to place behind them so many years honourably spent in the exercise of those high qualities. I need not assure you, Sir Pratap Singh, what a very real pleasure it is to meet you once more.

I trust I have not taxed your patience too long. I give Your Highness my most sincere good wishes for a long and prosperous career as a ruler of your splendid heritage which I shall watch with the keenest interest. I will now ask my fellow-guests to join me in drinking to the health of His Highness the Maharaja Umar Singh and also the health of Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh,

## BIKANIR STATE BANQUET

*The Prince of Wales arrived at Bikanir at 10 A. M. on the 2nd Dec. Speaking at the State Banquet, His Royal Highness said:—*

I thank Your Highness very warmly for the kind and eloquent words in which you have proposed my health and for your lavish hospitality. I shall gladly convey Your Highness's loyal message to the King-Emperor. I must ask Your Highness to be so good as to thank your Legislative Assembly for their kind resolution of welcome. I need not assure Your Highness that I have been looking forward keenly to my visit to Bikanir from many motives. In the first place, I desired to renew and strengthen my deep personal friendship for Your Highness by my visit to you in your home, and in the second place I wished to have the privilege of seeing the capital of this State and to try to judge for myself what is the magic of this desert environment which makes loyalty to my house flourish here like a green bay tree and stimulates a friendly rivalry with other States to stand first in the service of the Empire.

The services rendered by the Bikanir State and its rulers are too well known to you all to need embellishment at my hands. Time disintegrates most things, but while the treaty which began our connexion has passed its centenary, the friendly relations which it established defy time and still flourish with the pulse of vigorous and lively youth and, thank God, bring us closer together. Even before Your Highness's time the British Government had ample proof of the loyalty of your State and the help given in the Afghan War and the Sikh campaigns and the gallant conduct of the Maharajah Sirdar Singh, who sheltered the British in the Mutiny and co-operated against the rebels in Hansi and Hissar, stood out to show the construction which the Bikanir State placed on their treaty obligations.

After your accession Your Highness let no opportunity pass of showing that the British Government ought to rely implicitly on the traditional loyalty of your State and on your personal attachment to the Crown and the Empire. Your Highness's Camel Corps served with distinction in China, and it again took the field strengthened by three extra Companies at the outbreak of the Great War and worthily maintained the Rajput tradition of staunchness and fidelity. Your Highness's speech and my inspection this afternoon have recalled to me my pleasant associations with this Corps on the Suez Canal during the war, when they were helping to guard the highway to our Eastern Empire.

Your Highness served in person in the China campaign and in three continents in the Great War and only the request of the Viceroy, who required Your Highness's advice and assistance in weighty matters in India, prevented Your Highness from following our fortunes in the field to the finish. I need hardly refer to that. Your generous contributions to every kind of war purpose have proved that, in no empty phrase, the resources of Bikanir had been placed at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Your Highness's services at the War Cabinet are part of history, and it was a fitting conclusion to a splendid record that you were chosen as one of the signatories to a peace after victory, which Your Highness had sacrificed so much to secure.

It is indeed a pleasure to me to be able to offer in person to-night, my congratulations on this splendid tale of unwearied service and loyalty. We are now passing through a period when problems of resettlement seem almost as complex and dangerous as those of the struggle from which we have successfully emerged. At such a time I am happy in the thought that we may place our trust in Your Highness's support and rely unflinchingly on the high qualities which you possess as statesman and administrator. Your Highness has

been untiring in the expansion of the resources of your State and in the establishment of those amenities which tend to promote the welfare of your subjects in Bikanir. The foundations of representative institutions have been laid and Your Highness's wise hand guides a wholesome and gradual development.

I cannot close without a reference to Your Highness's services to your order and your efforts to enhance the welfare and position of the Indian States generally. Your Highness may look with satisfaction on the part which you played in the establishment of the Chamber of Princes, of which you were the first Chancellor and on your work on the Princes' Committee, for the modification of the political practice and improvement of your relations with other States. In these matters Your Highness has characteristically taken a long view and is alive to the immense importance of our identity of interests. Each of us has a single aim to the improvement of our country, the strengthening of the Empire and the progress to humanity and civilisation in the world. The war has taught us that no unit in modern conditions can hope to stand alone, that it is only by a close association in the united effort to promote these aims that we can hope for their realisation. I need not tell Your Highness what a very great pleasure it is to have your eldest son, the Maharaj Kumar, attached to my Staff.

I have dwelt on the public aspects only of Your Highness's life, but my account would be incomplete without a reference to Your Highness as a sportsman and a host. The polo ground has known you and amid your numerous pre-occupations, you have found time to score a century against the tiger. Your own grouse and duck can testify to a keenness of eye, which no swiftness of flight can elude. As a host Your Highness is an expert in all that hospitality can do to interest and entertain.

#### STATE BANQUET AT BHARATPUR

*The Maharajah of Bharatpur, gave a State Banquet in his palace in honour of the Prince on Dec. 8. In reply to the toast proposed by the Maharajah, the Prince said :—*

! I must thank Your Highness for the kind manner in which you have proposed my health. I count myself fortunate in having been able to pay a visit to Your Highness and to enjoy the princely hospitality and unrivalled sport which you have provided for me and my staff. I had often been told of the warm welcome which awaited me at Bharatpur, but my expectations have been more than fulfilled.

The Jats of Bharatpur have won a fair name in the past centuries for tenacity and valour. I recollect that one of our first encounters with them was when Lord Lake, after successfully carrying the fortress of Deeg, assaulted Your Highness's present capital in vain. Equally fierce was the resistance when twenty years later the capital fell before Lord Combermere's attacks. These events were, however, of happy augury for Bharatpur as they resulted in the installation of Your Highness's ancestor, Maharajah Balwant Singh, on the gadi. Since then, I rejoice to think, the relations of Your Highness's State with the British Government have been of the friendliest nature. While Bharatpur has enjoyed the protection and assistance of the British Government, the latter has been able on all occasions to rely implicitly on the unswerving loyalty of Bharatpur.

In the Great War your Highness's State lost no time in coming forward with help in men, money and other directions to the utmost of its resources. The Bharatpur Imperial Service Infantry and Transport Corps won fine reputation at the front and the State took a very high place in the recruiting records for Rajaputana. Your Highness's Infantry sailed with the first Expeditionary Force to the British East Africa and did not return till that campaign ended in victory

four years later. They earned the special thanks of the Army Council. The Transport Corps served in France, Gallipoli, Salonika and Mesopotamia. I have heard that, amid the terrible carnage on the Gallipoli beaches, this Corps brought up the ammunition to the firing line as coolly as if they were executing a ceremonial parade. True to their tradition, your subjects have once more shown where the way to valour lies and, though many a foe to his cost has found them slow to leave the field, none have found them laggard and to seek it.

Though Your Highness was only invested with powers in November 1918, I have heard of the keen interest which you took in the direction and details of all that Bharatpur did throughout the war. The services of Your Highness and Your State have been recognised on several occasions but I must add my need of congratulation on the very high reputation which Bharatpur has achieved: I should also like to refer to the magnificent work carried out by Your Highness' mother, the Maji Sahiba of Bharatpur, whose noble efforts have been recognised by His Majesty the King-Emperor by the high distinction of the order of the Crown of India. I take away from Bharatpur the most pleasant recollections. I shall long remember Your Highness's historic capital and your martial people. It has been most gratifying to me to make Your Highness's acquaintance and I thank you once again for your hospitality and the splendid sport which you have shown me.

## KING GEORGE'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

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## LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*The Prince arrived at Lucknow on the 9th Dec. and received a welcome address from the Municipal Board. In reply His Royal Highness said:—*

I thank you for your loyal address. I will convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor your expressions of devotion to His throne and person. It is a great pleasure to me to visit Lucknow. I have heard much of your city from my grandfather King Edward and my father. The associations connected with this city are of no ordinary nature. Your city can claim to have been the focus of interest at all the important periods of India's history. Legend ascribes its foundation to the brother of the renowned Ramachandra. It was occupied by the great Mohammadan dynasties in succession ending with the Mughals. It grew into prominence as the splendid capital of the Nawabs of Oudh. It is now one of the headquarters of an important British Province of our Indian Empire. There is hardly any quarter of the town where some building does not supply a link with the great men and events of the past. Lucknow is indeed rich in tradition and interest and nature and art have also combined to establish it with no negligently hand. Further as the largest city in the United Provinces, as one of the largest cities in the British India and as a University centre, Lucknow has an additional claim to attention. Gentlemen, I envy your task in the care of the civic amenities of this city. You have wisely taken up the question of town development in time. Future generations will reap the fruits of your labours. I feel sure that you will spare no effort to render this city worthy of its proud past and of the great position it now occupies in India and secure the well-being and comfort of your fellow citizens. Gentlemen, I thank you again for your warm welcome. I know that I shall take away with me the more pleasant recollections of your ancient city.

## REPLY TO U. P. COUNCIL ADDRESS

*H. R. H. the Prince visited the U. P. Legislative Council during his stay at Lucknow on 9th Dec. and was welcomed with an address to which he made the following reply :—*

I am glad, on the day of my arrival in this Province, to have this opportunity of meeting you, the chosen representatives of the people. I thank you for your resolution and for the appreciation of my work which you have expressed. I have learnt that, though the life of your Council has been a short one, yet, in its brief span you have given abundant promise of great performance. These are times in which we cannot afford to stand still. We must not let no occasion to pass for the improvement of conditions under which we live. You are here to watch and further the interests of all classes in this province. The people of towns and the people of rural areas alike look towards you to promote their welfare and study their needs. In thanking you for your loyal welcome I can wish you no better wish than this, that you may be successful in advancing the lot of millions of your fellow citizens whose well-being and happiness are under providence entrusted to your care.

## LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY ADDRESS

*In reply to the address presented by the Vice-Chancellor, on 10th Dec., His Royal Highness, after distributing prizes to the winners, said :—*

I thank you very warmly for having afforded me an opportunity of meeting the students of the Lucknow University to-day. It gives me pleasure to be able to distribute prizes to those who have won the events in sports. As I explained at Bombay I take a great interest in the rising generation in the Empire. I want to know all about the influences which guide their upbringing, the lines on which they receive education and the games and sports and other conditions which help to mould their character. It is therefore in accordance with my special desire

that my meeting with you to day is taking place.

You rightly dwell, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, on the importance of sport in the formation of gentlemen. Games ought to be played in the right way to develop those very qualities which we most closely associate with them. No one will succeed at games unless he works hard; no one can play games properly if he is selfish or jealous or inconsiderate or is not prepared to join with others and sink his own preferences in order to bring success to his side. Lastly the delicate combinations of points in the character of the true sportsman must be seasoned with the spice of determination and courage. These qualities produce an *esprit de corps*, a spirit which helped the Empire to win the war and which will carry us through many of the difficulties of life. For this reason I gladly consent to the association of my name with the shield for sports by which you are kindly commemorating my visit.

I need not remind you that the Lucknow University is not only an important centre of learning, it is in addition a crucible in which the character of a nation is receiving its alloy. I pray that all the metal which your University sends forth into the world may ring true. I wish the students of the University all success in work and play."

## THE TALUKDARS' ADDRESS

*On the 11th Dec. the Talukdars of Oudh presented a welcome address to the Prince to which His Royal Highness replied as follows :—*

I thank you most warmly for your address of welcome and for your expression of devotion to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor to whom I shall convey your message. I had long ago heard of the loyalty of the Talukdars. I am gratified to find that time has brought no change to those feelings and you have again given voice to them to-night with the nobility of sentiment characteristic of the high position occupied by your class in these provinces. I must also thank

you for the beautiful entertainment which you are giving me in this palace of lights which rivals the wonders of the Arabian Nights. The splendours which pass before my eyes cannot easily be forgotten. On a memorable occasion Lord Canning to whom your order owes so much, observed that generous and trusting rule was the surest way to make loyal and dutiful people. It is in this spirit that the British Empire has been built up and it is in this spirit that I trust and pray it will be maintained. Your class has great position and great responsibilities. May what the future has in store for you in no way fall short of your glorious past. I am convinced that you will discharge the burden of your obligations worthy of your status and of your class. I trust that you will devote yourselves with increasing energy to the development of your resources and to the promotion of the welfare of your tenantry and the people in your estates, on whose prosperity your position, wealth and influence depend. Gentlemen, I thank you again for all your kind wishes and for your splendid hospitality. May the years to come bring you nothing but happiness.

#### ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY'S WELCOME

*The Prince arrived in Allahabad on the 12th Dec. In reply to the informal address by the Allahabad University, the Prince said :*

Although this is only an informal meeting, I cannot leave it without thanking you for your kind welcome, and for the album of photographs which you are giving me. I like to have the pictures of a place where so many of India's rising generations are receiving their education. I think you know my deep interest in Indian students, and all that concerns their life. I wish the University all success in this important work of providing for the education and of moulding the character of young men who are making India's future.

#### ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

*In reply to the address of welcome presented by the Municipal Committee of Allahabad on Dec. 12th, the Prince said :—*

I thank you for your warm welcome which you have extended to me in your address. There are many reasons why I would not willingly have missed a visit to Allahabad. The traditions which gather round this city make a strong appeal to the imagination. I look with reverence on the spot which the junction of great rivers has, for centuries, consecrated as a holy place for the Hindu community, and to which millions from all parts of India make pilgrimage. It is with no common interest that I see towns where centuries ago Asoka gave forth his edicts, where Akbar created a centre of the Provincial Government and built his great fort, and where Jehangir lived before he ascended the Imperial Throne of the Moguls.

More than 50 years ago this was the scene of Queen Victoria's famous Proclamation, the Magna Charta of India. The principles then announced have been repeatedly affirmed in the messages of my grandfather and my father to their people in India, and the policy they inaugurated is now bearing its harvest in realization by India of the progressive advance to Self-Government in the Empire. To-day, Allahabad occupies a proud position, being the headquarters of the civil administration of the United Provinces and the centre of many aspects of these provinces.

These facts contribute to make the work of your Municipal Board responsible and onerous and extend and multiply your activities. You have not only to serve the civil interest of permanent residents of your city, but also to watch the needs of many travellers from all parts who visit the headquarters of the province on business. I feel sure that you work together harmoniously to secure the well-being of all who have a claim on your ministrations.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I know that I shall not be disappointed in what I see at Allahabad. (Cheers.)

## THE HINDU UNIVERSITY ADDRESS.

*The Prince arrived in Benares on the 13th. A special Convocation of the Hindu University was held in his honour when the Vice-Chancellor, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya presented the Prince to the Chancellor H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore as the person, who by his attainments and position was eminently fitted to be honoured by the conferment of the Degree of Doctor of Letters of the University. Addressing the students of the University, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales said :*

I thank you for asking me to accept this ceremony to-day and for the high honour which you are about to confer on me by giving me the Degree of your University and making me one of yourselves. I might enlarge on the theme of the great responsibilities of those who are entrusted with the good government of this University and of the staff whose teaching will mould the future generations of India, but now so many years have passed since I was in the University myself, one of the taught and not one of the teaching, so it is to the students in particular, in this great function, that I will address my remarks. This city has an honoured name for learning. But your University differs from the older Universities like Oxford and Cambridge, because they have centuries of fair traditions behind them. The latter can claim, despite the changes that time and fashion have established, an atmosphere which still attracts the young men of Great Britain and the Empire in each succeeding generation, which is justly regarded as setting a special stamp on the mind and character. If I can communicate to you to-day something of what I felt as an under-graduate about my University, it may help you in your careers and make you still prouder of your University, which, I am sure, you are already proud of. I think all English University men look back to the time left behind them for the first time from the sheltered care of home and the narrow discipline and the limited

experiences of school life. They are for the first time out in the world. It is a world full of interest, full of splendid possibilities. Everything fresh, there has been. At no time get tired of anything or be disillusioned. The mind and the spirits are in their most enthusiastic receptive stage unhampered by doubts. They can definitely pronounce each thing as good or bad and take or leave it. They readily receive direct appeal to the imaginations, fine ideas or high standards of character and conduct. They have a delightful intimacy with hundreds of young men similarly situated, out of which lifelong friendships spring up. As the terms went by, we, under-graduates, began to feel the unseen presence of those who had left our College and made good in the world. Their influence was with us in our daily round. Hundreds of them, men who had been under-graduates like ourselves, who had played in the same parks, who had rowed on the same river, who have attended the same lecture halls, who had worshipped in the same chapel, they had left the College and the Varsity. They had gone out into the world and become great statesmen or soldiers or painters or writers or divines, men of science or learning, pioneers of industry or commerce. These were men who had helped to make the Empire and helped to make us proud of it. This goodly company spurred us on. We made up our minds that no act or omission of ours should lower those great traditions. We knew that now everyone can be good at books or good at games, or popular as leader in the College, but we also knew that everyone can try his best or do all or some of these things and we resolved that one who tried should be honoured and respected by his fellows whatever their tastes, because he was keeping up the tradition of the College and the University. He went farther and determined that the men who did not try were of no use to their College or the University. I thank that this self-imposed standard, which we had inserted from countless previ-



ous generations of under-graduates, enabled us to get the best out of the University life. I believe that it is these influences which give distinction to the Universities in the world or in the Empire.

A University Degree commands respect, but taken alone its value is only relative, for there are other ways of acquiring knowledge and other tests of efficiency than a degree. If, however, a degree is coupled with the certainty that the man has had a University life of the right kind as well its value is infinitely enhanced. Then, whatever your attainments may be, your fellow-men feel certain that you have a standard of character and conduct which wins through any walk of life in danger or difficulty, whether in private life or the citizen of the Empire. They can rely on you to apply the clean tests and not to shirk the issue. You, student of this University are to-day making traditions. To-morrow, I trust that you may be able to feel about your University what I felt about mine, and that this feeling may be a source of strength and comfort to you in your lives and help to place your University among the great Universities of the world.

#### THE STATE LUNCH AT BENARES

*The Maharaja of Benares gave in honour of the Prince a State Lunch in his palace at Ramnagar on the 13th Dec. The Prince replying said :*

I am very grateful for the kind terms in which Your Highness had alluded to me during my visit to Benares. My tour in India would, indeed, have been incomplete without this visit. I feel myself highly privileged to have been able to see this ancient beautiful city to set foot in this spot held so sacred by generations of Hindu orthodoxy. I regard with deep interest the streets and ghats, to which millions of Hindu subjects of the King-Emperor from every Province and district of India make a pilgrimage. I am stimulated by the thought that this is the centre of that ancient religion, which guides and sways so important a portion of the people of the

Empire and that from this city and the sacred waters which wash it millions can take away a feeling of reverence and peace of mind to strengthen their lives. May this influence continue to prove an inspiration to the Hindu community and aid them to make the future of India, worthy of its ancient traditions and history. May it enable them to strive ever to make her nobler and greater and keep for her a high and honoured place in the British Empire.

Your Highness has wide responsibilities as a ruler and a great land-owner. It is a pleasure to me to hear with what scrupulous efficiency they have been discharged. The British Crown has no more loyal adherent than Your Highness. In Benares itself the foundation and endowment of public institutions are the direct result of Your Highness' benevolence and charity. In your own State and estates, Your Highness has ever kept in mind the welfare of your subjects and the material progress and prosperity of your tenants.

I take this opportunity of thanking Your Highness for the assistance given to the British Government in the great war. I note with pleasure that part of your efforts was directed towards the alleviation of the suffering which that terrible struggle inevitably involved. Your Highness shared in the scheme for the Hospital Ship, which was so appropriately called *Loyalty* and raised two sections of imperial Service Ambulance Corps. Further, you equipped and maintained the Mint House as a War hospital. There can be no nobler work than the care of those who were disabled in so just a cause, and I can assure Your Highness that these services have won you the approbation of the King-Emperor and the thanks of the Empire. I will not detain you longer.

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## The Europe of To-day

According to a writer in the December number of the *Round Table* the position of Europe to-day is more critical than it was even six months ago. The position of exchanges is chaotic and is made worse by the extreme protectionist tariffs now in vogue. No tariff legislation can keep pace with the rapid depreciation of certain currencies which we are now witnessing. In public finance we find everywhere a deepening embarrassment. The project of the French budget for 1922 shows, even when the revenue is credited with the full payments due from Germany, a deficit of 1625 million francs. The German Government budgetted for a deficit of 33,000 million marks; and a little later that estimate was more than trebled.

The political situation is equally bad.

"But over a great part of Europe there is little sign of stable government or of a keener desire for international co-operation. Hungary remains a centre of turbulence and reaction, even though its Government successfully resisted the second inglorious attempt of the ex-Emperor Charles to regain his throne. The other succession states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have persisted in their mutual antagonisms, and it is still uncertain whether the efforts of Italy to bring their representatives together in conference at Porto Rose will lead after many postponements to the abatement of the jealousy and mistrust which fetters the economic life of them all. Jugo-Slavia shows no desire to respect the new frontier of Albania. Poland pursues its vendetta with the Lithuanians over Vilna in defiance of the League and of every principle of political decency. The awful calamity of the Russian famine has found no relief except through private effort. The open tension of Franco-British relations has relaxed, but there are ominous signs, in the reports which come to hand as these lines are being written of the agreement between France and the Kemalists Turks, that it is at the price of the pursuit of a separate policy by one at least of the Allies, in complete disregard of the interests of the other."

## The "Genius of Hindu Culture

Mr. P. K. Anant Narayan, writing in the *East and West* (for November 1921) says that the basis of Hindu culture is religion and its essential characteristic, spirituality. It has preached toleration towards all creeds and offers spiritual food equally to the devotee, the man of action, the thinker and the sage and it is the duty of all Hindus to conserve and preserve this rich heritage and they should not cut themselves off from the sheet-anchor of their spiritual heritage. The secret of India's past vitality, viz., her power of intelligent adaptation to her environment and assimilation of materials from outside, has not left her however. Says the writer:—

"As Rabindranath Tagore recently declared in one of his speeches in Europe, 'the greatest event of our century has been the meeting of the East and West,' and it has been ordained in the interests of the higher evolution of the human race. In order to fulfil that sacred function, to deliver her divine message to the world, India should remain unflinchingly true to her national soul, her eternal principle of *Swarajya* *Sidhi* or spiritual autonomy. 'The whole world,' says Sir John Woodroffe, 'will benefit from a variety of vital self-active cultural.' The western nations, disillusioned by the disastrous horrors of the late devastating war, have realised the brittle foundations on which they had reared their mechanical civilisation, and are now turning to the East for a new spiritual illumination. India has been the teacher of Asia in the past, and to play her part in the new world, she should endeavour, while maintaining her own *Swadharma*, to evolve a higher harmonious synthesis of life by blending her philosophy and their science, her inner life of introspection with their outer life of disinterested social service."

## The International Fetters of China

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, writing in the December number of the *Hindustan Review*, says that the sovereignty of the Chinese Republic *de facto* does not exist except in the imagination of China's patriots or in the legalism of jurists. Technically speaking, China is still a free country as the number and extent of *de jure* foreign territories on Chinese soil are remarkably small.

On November 2, 1917, the United States came to an understanding with Japan in regard to "open door" and "special interests" in China; but neither of them felt it at all necessary to consult the Chinese Government on the matter. It is only on the postulate that the sovereignty of China is an international fiction not worth the serious attention of the Great Powers that the Ishii-Lansing pact could have been consummated. The Japanese-American agreement has thus reproduced in the Far East the high-handedness of the notorious Anglo-Russian convention of August, 1907, regarding the spheres of influence in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. It may indeed be regarded as a continuation in China of the policy which led to the delimitation of British and German spheres of interest in September, 1898, and of British and Russian in April, 1899, without seeking the sanction or approval of the Chinese Empire. In all these instances the sovereign rights of weaker states have been handled not on the principle of self-determination, but according to the interests, the geographical propinquity, etc., of the powerful neighbours.

Oriental Japan would not be accepted as an honourable first class power by Europe and America unless she is an adept in the use of all the methods of political exploitation and brigandage popularised by the Occident through the Opium War and the annexations of Siberia, Annam, Tonking, Burma and Sikkim.

Owing to China's refusal to accept the boundary between ignominious and autonomous outer Tibet decided on at the Simla Conference (October 13, 1913—April 27, 1914) England prevented China's communication with Tibet *via* India, the Chinese government had for some time no official representative or agent in Tibet. But late in 1916 China encountered a fresh set of demands from the British regarding the final settlement of affairs. By these terms no Tibetan rights can be conceded to other countries, appointment of officials can be made only after mutual consultation, and England alone should be engaged to assist in the development of industries in Tibet. These demands are undoubtedly a corollary to the partition of Tibet that China had been forced to recognize at Simla, and after a period of impotent protests have at last (1919) been met by the Republic to the satisfaction of the British Empire. Likewise has China's sovereignty been ruled out of existence in Mongolia where Russian

initiative and pressure compelled the Chinese Republic to acknowledge an autonomous outer Mongolia and to recognize it virtually as a Russian protectorate (November 5, 1913—June, 1915). These two parallel and simultaneous incidents are natural links in the chain of events from Mongolia's declaration of independence from China (December, 1911) and the quick negotiation of a treaty between Tibet and Mongolia on January 21, 1912, by which each country recognized the other as independent. The joint Russo-British advance underlying these secessionist movements in Greater China followed logically from the pooling of interests effected by the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

Even in the course of the late war German Kiao-chao was attacked by the Allies from the landside Chinese territory and the war was carried on as far interior as the terminus of the German Shan-tung Railway.

## The Ethics of Advertising

Mr. E. A. Woodhouse, writing in the *Indian Business* for October, stresses that the art of advertising is not nearly so immoral or non-moral as it seemed a few years back. Advertising in its simplest form is merely window-dressing or display made vocal: it is based in every case on the true assumption that the eye cannot tell us everything about the article, but that a certain amount of explanation is needed as well. Such explanation is not a separate line, divorced altogether from the general activities of the firm. Complicating the whole task of advertising is the fact of unlimited competition. There are very few articles now-a-days which have not to win their way in the teeth of other articles practically identical and of equal merit. The effect of fierce competition between articles of more or less equal merit is to shift the centre of gravity from the article itself to its advertisement. The immediate effect has been to bring into being a class of advertising specialists who make it their business to study the science and practice of publicity as an art in itself; and most big firms to day employ a special advertising staff.

The writer concludes by pointing out how in America the art of publicity has been closely and diligently studied and with what results.

## Mazzini

Mazzini, the first and greatest of nationalists, was in simple truth the greatest international man that ever lived. His nationalism, so says a writer in the *Indian Review of Reviews* for November, has its sole and complete justification in its programme of international service.

"Humanity," says Mazzini, "is a great army moving to the conquest of unknown lands, against powerful and wary enemies. The Peoples are the different corps and divisions of that army. Each has a post entrusted to it; each a special operation to perform; and the common victory depends on the exactness with which the different operations are carried out. .... Your country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfil in Humanity. The faculties, the strength of all its sons, should be united for the accomplishment of this mission."

Such is the philosophy of nationalism according to Mazzini. Nation is to him not an association based upon individual sense of self-interest or collective egotism, but a divinely designed organization for the mutual service of the different human groups. It is an unavoidable rung of the ladder by which man may hope to ascend to the presence of the Most High. It is, firstly, a fact of nature, as it were, which although for some time and in some places it remains hidden or only half-revealed is bound to become prominent and irresistible as the lives of the variously constituted groups become more and more developed and as their special characteristics come into bold relief in the course of their mutual contact and contact.

Nationality, according to Mazzini, was not a compact of egoism, not an argument for rights, but a mission of altruism, an acceptance of reciprocal duties among the differently gifted divisions of mankind. He held that the bond of international duty could transcend all barriers of race and language. But this lofty nationalism is capable of abuse and has been frequently abused, as he himself feared.

"His internationalism was, likewise, neither, as in Cobden, the internationalism of Trade, nor, as in Marx, the internationalism of Labour. It was the internationalism in the eyes of which nation is guilty of 'the grand refusal' if it do not stand forward and take its place, to the limits of its power, in international politics." (Maccunn). He had nothing but scorn for the policy of selfish prudence and callous disregard for others which often goes by the name of neutrality. How possibly can you remain neutral, he seems to ask, when there is a war going on in your neighbourhood between right and wrong ?

## Local Option

Mr. N. G. Joshi, writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* for October, says that the principle of local option has the distinct advantage of bringing about the desired abolition of drink by the people themselves and affords scope both for government action and for educative propaganda and popular agitation :

The principle of local option is not new to India. It was first accepted officially in the despatch of the Secretary of State for India dated 4th February 1890, and it was then ruled that the wishes of residents within thirty to forty paces on either side of the proposed shop and the houses immediately in front should be consulted as to the opening of a new liquor shop, and this limit was subsequently raised to a radius of a hundred yards of the locality. But even these small concessions remained a dead letter till 1908. In August 1907, the deputation which waited upon Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, once more pressed that matter to the attention of Government, and an attempt was made in deference to the views of the deputation to introduce the principle of local option, in another direction, namely, by means of forming advisory committees. The committees were first constituted for towns having a population of 20,000 and over, but they were extended in 1913 by the Government Resolution No. 584 of 1913 to those rural areas which had a high incidence of consumption and an average of more than one country liquor shop per 6,000 of population. They were also instructed to adjust the number of liquor shops in their respective areas so as to secure a scale of one shop to every 6,000 of population.

Public opinion was naturally not satisfied with this nominal measure of local option. The agitation was pressed on and in July 1912 a deputation led by the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale once more waited upon the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe. Among other things it urged that (1) the system should be extended to all the Municipalities, (2) the advisory Committees should be given power to deal with all kinds of intoxicants, (3) the Committees should be made more representative of public opinion by enlarging the non-official element in them, (4) they should be invested with the licensing function. In the course of his reply to the deputation Lord Crewe promised to represent to the Government of India the suggestions put forward by the deputation, but declared that it was only by provincial and local devolution that this subject could be approached and they would indeed go far in the direction of local control.

This was the situation when Mr. Ramachandra Rao brought in his bill in the Madras Council and this is the situation which Indian Ministers in the various provinces have to improve.

### Modern Idealism

Prof. Hinman of Nebraska University in his presidential address at the meeting of the American Philosophical Association held in Chicago, March 25, 26, 1921, argues the question of the relation between modern idealism and the Logos teaching. The address which is given the place of honour in the *Philosophical Review* for July, 1921, contends that the trend of modern idealism does not conflict with the historical teaching of the Logos. "I hold that the logic of its method and fundamental positions requires for its completion precisely that kind of detailed definition of its ideal values which was historically embodied in the Logos doctrine". The Professor considers especially the teaching of "two representatives, Bosanquet and Radhakrishnan". He criticises Bosanquet for urging that anything real must be absolute. Such an opinion is "an abuse in the employment of terms."

"We may turn now to a book which is highly representative of the controlling motives of modern idealism, quite without impulse to effect an external accommodation with Christian speculation. I refer to the volume, entitled *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy*, by Professor Radhakrishnan, of the University of Mysore, published in 1920. Professor Radhakrishnan's personal connections as a Hindu are with Vedantism, which he feels free to interpret as seems most reasonable; and his whole book develops the charge against Western pluralisms and theisms that they are illogical, that they have perverted the true and normal course of philosophical development, in order to reach and fortify positions that are thought to be prescribed by religious necessities. That is, the religious necessities which have warped the argument are not the true needs of religion, which he regards as most genuinely and adequately met by absolute idealism; but they are rather the necessities imposed by popular religion, and particularly by the somewhat dualistic form in which the Christian theism is accustomed to formulate itself for the unphilosophical mind. We have here the personal bias criticism turned against Western pluralisms. The result is a long series of keen and penetrating criticisms directed against what he calls theism, and arguments for the superior cultural and religious value of pantheism. Now as this author is also a consistent and well-trained representative of absolute idealism, his book becomes of special interest in connection with the charge that modern idealism, logically thought out, is simply pantheism and is on a parity with Vedantic Brahmanism. Radhakrishnan, at any rate, so believes and holds; and this becomes for him a great argument for the profound truth of Vedantism."

After a close analysis of the argument of the book, the writer sums up by saying

"that absolute idealism is his central and controlling motivation; that under Hindu conditions this makes him a Vedantist, but a Vedantist of a theistic rather than a pantheistic type; that it yields, however, a certain aversion to popular, dualistic theism, and sympathy for the doctrine of the immanence of God, a doctrine which he is not unwilling to speak of as pantheism; that as he holds it, however, the doctrine postulates transcendence also, and has a strongly theistic bent."

He hopes that if the theistic lines are worked out, we would get at the stand-point of the Logos theology.

"We may conclude that the characteristic meaning of the Logos teaching is as congenial to modern idealism as it has ever been to any stage of the idealistic tradition; and that the recent appearance of an editing of idealism which is more than half pantheistic, mystical and Vedantic, does not really tend to set it aside."

### Urgent Problems of Empire

Mr. J. S. Little, writing in the *United Empire* for December, says that we need not give ourselves serious concern as to the ultimate political shape of the British Commonwealth, as the political instincts of the people, both the metropolitans and overseas citizens alike, are equal to meeting the complex difficulties and problems of the Empire as they arise; and in the very act of meeting them they are silently but surely evolving a constitution for the Empire. The problems of inter-Imperial trade also, as well as reciprocity in that trade, urgent as they are becoming, will be solved largely by a natural and inevitable economic process. The foreign trade of Britain has been very nearly killed and the one sure hope lies in the fostering of Imperial trade. The necessity of arranging for emigration of large numbers from the United Kingdom to the Dominions would have to be faced in a serious and businesslike way. At present there are more than 10 million people in the United Kingdom more than it can support. The causes making for unemployment in the Dominions are also similar; they may not be in a position to absorb our surplus population or white labour at all into

their existing industries,\* but they have vast unexploited lands and undeveloped resources, almost limitless in extent. It is urgently imperative that for the safety and welfare of these Dominions, their lands should be suitably and adequately peopled. No suggestion for migration would be valid which does not presuppose scientific settlement on new lands. Another great and vital problem is the question of an adequate navy; and the last is how to free the Empire from the grip of the international financier.

### Liberty

Sir Bamfylde Fuller of the Bengal Partition fame writes in the *English Review* about liberty endowing a people with self-respect and self-confidence and about liberty being achieved in politics when leaders and law-givers are chosen by the likings of the people as manifested by voting. Large electorates choose under the influence not of knowledge, but of persuasion, affecting us through the suggestion of likings. The politician makes it his profession to persuade, and eminent politicians develop this process into a fine art. If political arguments were based on reason, the democratic government would be an instrument of progress; if they were magnanimous, it would at least afford spiritual discipline; but the arguments which are most persuasive are those which appeal frankly to self-interest.

Popular government has some great advantages; it broadens one's sense of personal dignity; assures him of his importance in state-affairs. But it lacks inspiration and is feeble in control. A democracy is constantly assailed by class or syndicalist interests which it is dangerous to disregard and extravagant to conciliate. It does not command the best services of its officials and is hardly efficient in military affairs. In these days of commercialism democracy, government on commercial principles, may be made to live but only at the cost of over-taxation, lack of prudence and increasing attacks against its pretensions.

### Comte and Lenin

A writer in the latest issue of the *Political Science Quarterly*, in describing the climactic point in the development of 19th century thought, says that the state is the chief power and must possess the greatest possible power in order to bring about the necessary and inevitable social justice. But it is important clearly to define to whom this power should belong. In order to serve progress this power must belong to a certain class or group and only to that class or group. This is roughly the character of the reasoning of the radical and the revolutionist who instantly busies himself with two problems, (1) how to bring about a revolution and (2) how to organise the proper almighty state which will serve the purpose of realising the desired consummation. In this respect, the Positivist and the Marxian, Auguste Comte and Nicolai Lenin are one. The coincidence is not unnatural, since Positivism and Marxism are only the intellectual and economic features of Social Darwinism which is at once intellectualistic and mechanistic. Comte would stop the competition between political parties, making it impossible to impede the popular pressure. Dictatorship to him would suggest itself as the more desirable form of government. He thought that this would never be established in France until the government went over into the hands of the Proletarians (letter to de Toulouse). Lenin came to the same idea as the founder of Positivism. The new idea of the Soviets, as constitutional, representative, proletarian institutions, is only a supplementary form, but the basic idea is the same. Moreover, if the Soviets as institutions should be opposed to the policy and programme of Lenin, he would believe in a dictatorship without the Soviets. The characteristic traits of both world-views are the belief in the State as the only regulative and progressive factor in the realisation of the final aim, and the absence of any practical ethics of the means,

### National Education

Sir Michael Sadler, writing in the *International Review of Missions* for October, says that national education in the true sense is a spirit of living influence, a spiritual and intellectual atmosphere.

For the erection of a national system of education in any true sense of the words there is required either a stable order of society on which to build or such a moment of ardent spiritual unity as sometimes, though not always, follows a collapse of the outer fabric of national life. The inner life of a people, its character and predisposition, determine the main lines of its education. No system of education, artificially constructed and imposed upon it, can permanently change the inward character of the people or, even under the arrogant name of *Kultur*, shape its life. National education is not a matter of schools alone. It requires schools: it requires the organized provision of good and tested teaching in all subjects necessary to be learnt. In this manner, intellectually, it knits the generations each with each. More than this, it must seek to furnish opportunities for the effective development and training of individual wills. But, essentially, it is a sort of envelope of varied influences (some didactic, some social, some economic, some mental) which act on the sympathies, the imagination, the judgment and the will, stimulating all alike into activity, but imparting no identity of belief or of ideal or of prejudice. All that it can do is to impart a certain uniformity of tone to the complexion of the mind, a certain predisposition to conform to a general type. And fortunate is the nation which by inbred power produces variations of type and has diversity in its unity. Such a nation may not be able to boast of a tidily organized 'system of national education,' but it may produce great poets and sages, great captains in war and in industry, great statesmen and divines, and unknown heroes and heroines. It may enrich the world with new discoveries and with creative ideas. It brooks no standardized culture. It has an instinctive dread of a system of education which makes people intellectually impressionable without at the same time increasing their reserve of moral strength.

But national education will be comparatively valueless unless it has the directive guidance of religion and its help in discriminating between the worthy and unworthy ideals of life.

### The Trend of Religious Thought

Mr. J. B. Burke writes in the January number of *The Occult Review* about the present trend of religious thought, and how a better recognition prevails and a clearer perception of the possibilities of a hereafter and of the futility of regarding life as a meaningless pandemonium with man as an intelligent spectator as well as actor.

Freedom of thought has given man fresh life. It has cast away the shackles that constrained his forefathers with apprehensive limitations; and with renewed and refreshing vigour he has obtained full play for the exercise of his intellectual, æsthetic and religious powers, opening up vistas too vivid to portray! The work of Lodge, of Barrett and of Conan Doyle may need much further confirmation, but the horizon of our knowledge has extended, and with due care may be further much enlarged. Only those competent to deal with such matters should approach them. But it is upon such free inquiry that the progress of knowledge depends. Meanwhile let us live in faith, for future knowledge is not only of what we see, but are destined to arrive at.

I do not understand why so much opposition exists to the acquisition of that knowledge which Nature might reveal to us of other worlds than ours by such scientific methods. This opposition is but a survival of the mediæval temper, which viewed the progress of empirical knowledge with fear and loathsome apprehension. The history of science shows, and indeed deplorably so, that notwithstanding occasional outbursts of enthusiasm, at times only of toleration, the Churches have frequently exercised a baneful influence on the free investigation of Nature. They have no doubt acted as a check alike to inquiry and to scepticism, although they have served to keep the spirit of Faith alive. This last is the true debt we owe them as a compensation. But if positive first-hand knowledge of other worlds could be arrived at, there is no reason why it should weaken, rather than strengthen, the faith in still higher things and higher still. For knowledge is merely relative, and will never be quite absolute. The more we know, the more shall we perceive there is to be known.

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## Why the Moplahs Rebelled

Mr. R. M. Palat, writing in the *Socialist Review* for January, analyses the factors underlying the Moplah unrest and rebellion which he considers to be mainly agrarian. He says.—

"The ancient custom was that the 'jenmi,' the 'kanakaran' and the 'verumpattakaran' shared between them the produce of the grain land. When the Mohammedans invaded the country they took a certain share of the produce, which the Moplahs maintained was the jenmi's share. This did not cause any great confusion as most of the jenmis had fled from the country. The jenmis returned when the British took over the country, and the British recognised them as the true owners of the soil and allowed them to recoup themselves from the tenantry on condition that they guaranteed the proper payment of revenue. This led to the frequent outbreaks which culminated in the murder of a collector. The consequence was the passing of 'Moplah Acts,' which penalised the whole community for the outbreaks of individuals. The futility of this was, however, seen when no line was imposed after the outbreak of 1898, as among other reasons, 'it was feared that they would accentuate the already extreme poverty of the fanatical zone.' Meanwhile a Commission had been appointed, in 1881, and the Commissioner came to the conclusion that in the early days of the British Government, 'the assessment was oppressive everywhere, and in some places outrageously so.'

There was a later Commission presided over by Sir T. Madhava Rao; but evictions and outbreaks continued. Poverty, agrarian discontent and fanaticism have been regarded as the three main causes of which the last is probably the chief. But it is difficult to ascertain the exact share of each of these causes in the breaking out of the rebellion.

Nothing, however, has been done to reduce the extreme poverty of tenantry, and so long as their present state continues, these outbursts will continue. The Government will, in time, succeed in suppressing these outbreaks. To shoot down a number of half-wild, semi-starved peasants would no doubt, strike terror and reduce the pressure on the land, but the test of good government is not its ability to do this, but to remove all causes for such a constantly recurring evil. What seems to be necessary is that a Commission should be appointed to ascertain:—

1. To what extent, if at all, the appropriation of Government revenue has contributed to bring about the present state of the country, and whether it is necessary to effect any alterations in the revenue settlement on that account.

2. Whether these disturbances are in any way due to the agrarian condition existing in the district, and what are the steps that should be taken in consequence thereof.

## Criminal Tribes in India

Sir John Hewett invited the Salvation Army to try its hand on the criminal tribes of the United Provinces. Since that time a large amount of reform work has been done in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Madras. The work of the Salvation Army was helped by the Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 which gave power to local Governments to deal with these tribes as a special class. The work of the Salvation Army and the various missions in this direction is detailed in *The East and the West* for January by the Rev. C. M. Edwards.

The problem is not the usual criminal problem of how to punish and reform an individual, and how to prevent honest men from following his bad example. We have here a question of how we are to change the whole moral outlook of tribes whose numbers and solidarity almost justify us in calling them a nation.

They are bound by every law of heredity, of circumstance, and of loyalty to their tribe fellows, to a life of dishonesty and crime, and even had they desired to become honest law-abiding citizens they could not do so, for there was no place for them. Their only friends in the Hindu social system were the receivers of stolen goods, who encouraged them in their nefarious practices.

In these latter days they have a new friend, for Government has realised that the extermination of the Criminal Tribes can only be accomplished by the slow process of turning them into law-abiding citizens.

As regards the nature of the work of reform the writer says:—

We do not want to force these people into a state of civilisation for which they are not ready, but to create in them the will to reform, and to give them every assistance in reforming themselves. Your compulsory civilisation is temporary. Only by a reform of the will can any permanent effect be produced. It is this permanent reform of the will, which Christians call conversion, that we desire to accomplish, and how do we hope to do it? There is no power on earth, or in heaven, that can accomplish this, but the power of love.

By love I do not mean that sickly sentimentality that weeps over the criminal, and shrinks from using the discipline, the compulsion, and the punishment that is a necessary part of his rehabilitation, but that true, strong sentiment which makes a Christian man strive and spend himself for those whom his Christianity has taught him to look upon as his brothers.

When you have finished with this copy of the "Indian Review", please hand it on to some one or post it to a friend. It may be of interest to him.



### Mysticism and Islam

A writer in the October *Review of Religions* describes the extent of mystic thought that has crept into Islam. The negation of individuality in the consciousness of the supreme is the theme of mystic writers and poets and is best expressed in the works of Jalal-ud-din Rumi. Islam, as a faith, is characterised by many mystics; Sufism is found early in its history and the first two centuries of Islam produced mystics of marked eminence. Sufis originally came from Arabia.

"Out of the mysticism of India evolve the philosophy and the poetry of Persia. Three factors can be traced in the synthesis of Sufism; firstly the pure monotheism of the Quran, which is the foundation; secondly the cheerfulness and joyousness of Persia and thirdly Indian asceticism and philosophy. These three factors blending in the sensitive and emotional Arab nature have evolved and procured the subtle political system which took shape in the Sufi writings and poetry. All mysticism is of the opposite polarity to exoteric display and outward show, it has no affinity with ceremonial. The road of meditation is extolled over the road of action, the more ceremonial the religion the more mystics turn away from it. That is the reason why in Islam we find the most luxuriant mysticism, peculiar to the inner and not the outer life.

Moslem saints are numerous in North Africa and particularly in Morocco and it is there that we find a greater development of the practice of contemplation, this may have arisen from the fact that the Berbers, the dominant race, have a strong faith in their traditions and cling to their customs and with the acceptance of Islam by their tribes, they vested their beliefs together with Islam in the persons of their saints."

Sufi writers explain and illustrate the spiritual life as a journey or pilgrimage, and the world is particularly expressed in the Rubaiyat as a shop and tavern.

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*Odd copies of the "Indian Review" can always be sent by post for Re. One only, on request to Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.*

### The Higher Education of Women

Miss Eleanor McDougall, Principal of The Women's Christian College, Madras, writing in the January number of *The Young Men of India*, protests against the idea that foreign teachers in the Universities of India would denationalise the students and maintains that the women now educated in our colleges have profited by their foreign education, but are aware of its limitations and deficiencies and will profitably transplant it in the field of women's education. The writer continues:—

Only one out of every hundred of Indian women is literate, so an almost new world lies before these pioneers, awaiting their transforming control. They enter upon a task which cannot be done either by men or by foreigners, though much help may be given by both these classes, and women would be grievously mistaken if they refused to receive what these have to give.

The women's colleges of India, few and young as they are, exist to create this class of pioneer women, and it is most encouraging to see that year by year an increasing number of highly educated, reasonable and energetic women are passing out of them into professional and social life. When they become numerous enough, and have had sufficient experience of life, we may safely leave the future of the education of Indian women to them. They will in time supersede their own teachers, but they will not discard the material of their own education. They will bring to their task the wisdom, devotion and patience for which Indian women are justly celebrated, and they will use the power of concentrated reasoning and the wider sympathies which their university education has bestowed on them. They will have many difficulties to contend with and their achievement may not be rapid, but there can be no doubt that in the end they will succeed in devising and carrying into practice an education at once liberal, efficient and national.

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

- PARLIAMENT AT SIMLA. [Round Table. Dec 1921]  
 PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL. By Rev. G. M. Leith. [The Local Self-government Gazette. Nov. 1921]  
 INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. By S. G. Warty, M.A. [Indian Business. Nov. and Dec. 1921.]  
 INDIA AND SOME PROBLEMS. By the Rt. Hon. Viscount Chelmsford. [United Empire Dec 1921.]  
 HINDU ART CENTRE IN LOS ANGELES. By Drusie E. Steele. [The Modern Review. Jan. 1922]  
 PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. By the Editor. [Bombay Co operation Quarterly. Sept. 1921].  
 HOW LEARNING WAS HONORED AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS. By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, M.A. [The Calcutta Review. Jan. 1922].

## Mr. Natesan on the Liberal Party

A representative of the *Bengalee* interviewed Mr. G. A. Natesan at Calcutta, soon after the last session of the Liberal Federation. Asked of the future prospects of the Liberal Party in India, Mr. Natesan said:—"Our prospect to a great extent will depend upon the attitude of the Government towards the growing demands of the people. In their evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, our Party demanded much more than what has been conceded in the M. C. Scheme. The Liberals accepted it, because they did not wish to throw away what was offered and they thought it was a decent start. The last few sessions of the new Councils and the Legislative Assembly have shown the defects and shortcomings of the scheme. There is the immediate need for remedying them, and for taking a further and a bolder step in the direction of responsible government in the provinces and in a great measure in the Central Government also, subject to the reservations in regard to the army and certain vested interests. The resolution passed at our last session on this question shows that the Liberal Party is fully alive to the growing needs of the country. I have no right to speak for others, nor do I in the least speak to you as the Joint Secretary of the National Liberal Federation of India, but this much I can safely say, that I am echoing the sentiments of several Liberals in the provinces when I state that the Liberal Party will very soon take as an important item in the programme the question of getting responsible government in the provinces and a good bit of it in the Central Government also. I confess our Party has not done much of active propaganda so far, but a resolution has been passed by the Federation urging the need for the same in the future. In this year, I do hope a good deal of active propaganda work will be done."

"Do you think, Mr. Natesan, that the Liberals will succeed in inducing the authorities

to take the necessary steps to bring about responsible government in the provinces and in the Central Government?" asked the representative.

Mr. Natesan quickly replied, "whether they succeed or not, I think the Liberals will have to take up the task as a duty and make the Government realise that they must no longer trifle with the situation. If the Government will not take the warning, the responsibility will be theirs."

The representative next asked Mr. Natesan, "Do you think the Liberal Party has much chance of counteracting the sinister influences of the non-co-operation movement and the ensuing propaganda of civil disobedience?" Mr. Natesan answered:—"I think we have every chance and whether we have it or not, it is our duty as lovers of law, freedom and order to fight the campaign of civil disobedience. In my opinion civil disobedience will be a revolt not only against Government, but will, in the end, turn out to be a revolt in all other directions."

"Those that trifle with the situation and chuckle when the present Government is in difficulties will very soon find that the spirit of disobedience and lawlessness will be handed down from generation to generation and they will reap with compound interest when Swaraj becomes an accomplished fact. I think in this matter of fighting the civil disobedience campaign the Liberals will give the Government their support, but the Government in its turn must consult the responsible leaders also in all matters."

"I also feel it my duty to add that the tendency amongst certain Liberals to fight against every item of the N. C. O. movement must be given up. We have all along advocated temperance, we have for years pleaded for the progress of the Swadeshi movement and in several provinces the need for national education, in the sense that the present system ought to be revised and adapted to the growing requirements of the nation, have been urged. Surely in their constructive programme the Liberals must take up these questions to which they stand pledged though they cannot for a moment adopt the means employed by the non-cooperators to achieve the end common to both."

# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Lord Morley on the Irish Agreement.

After the Lord Chancellor had reported and read His Majesty's gracious speech from the Throne, on December 14, Viscount Morley, who was received with general cheers, said:

I rise to move an address in reply to His Majesty's gracious speech this morning. There is one paragraph in His Majesty's speech in which he says that it was with heart-felt joy that he received the intelligence of this agreement. I am sure that all, even those who do not favour the agreement, will feel that His Majesty, in using those words, is declaring a feeling that is shared by enormous numbers of people in England and in Ireland. (Cheers.) Heart-felt joy! I do not envy any Englishman or Irishman who reads those words without deep feeling. (Hear, hear.) They are not officials'. They represent the feeling in His Majesty's own mind when he makes this speech to Your Lordships. I do not think that anybody in the House will demur to the last sentence of the address which I now venture to move in reply to His Majesty's gracious speech, where mention is made of the reconciliation between Great Britain and Ireland, to which His Majesty's own action has materially contributed. (Cheers.) We all feel that, in making that declaration, the King has been moved by that gift of sympathetic imagination which, along with acute observation, must be regarded not only as a graceful ornament in the Royal character, but also as an essential in the head of a great and powerful State. (Cheers.)

### "HUMILIATION" OR "PRIDE."

I understand that there may be amendments moved to my motion. I shall take care myself in the short time in which I venture to address Your Lordships not to use any words of a provocative character. It has been said that this is "abject humiliation": those two words have been used. (Lord Carson—"Not for you.") Those who are called "Die-hards" will take that view. I have no fault to find with a Die-hard as such. Indeed, I rather think that I myself, outside Ireland, am a humble member of the Die-hard persuasion. (Laughter.) I cannot see any trace of humiliation in it. The good wishes of the whole world, almost an unparalleled phenomenon, go out to us in this movement.

Let me ask another question. The alternative to humiliation is pride. I wonder whether anybody, any Englishman, any citizen of Great Britain, can look back upon the Government of Ireland by Great Britain as an object of pride. Surely, so far from being that, it is the misrule of Ireland by our country that has been a catch-word for an age or more. A great nation ought to have a good conscience. I submit that as a proposition, and I then ask, can anybody defend the proposition that the Government of Ireland all these years has been such as the political conscience can approve? I think not.

### THE CANADIAN EXAMPLE

Men who have lived long have one privilege, among a few, of being allowed to tell over again old stories. I am certainly not going to take up your time with the old story of the Home Rule proposals within the last 30 years, but I would remind Your Lordships that the first mention of an alteration in the system

of Irish government was the suggestion made by the Irish Viceroy of that day—Lord Carnarvon, whom Lord Salisbury, then in his first administration, had made Viceroy of Ireland. I earnestly commend to those who are inclined to take too short a party view on his side or the other, the words which Lord Carnarvon then used. He said that he had been looking through the Coercion Acts, and had been astonished to find that since 1847, with some very short intervals hardly worth mentioning, Ireland had lived under exceptional and coercive legislation. It is rather astonishing a Viceroy should go to Ireland whom that should have astonished so much. It was a cardinal element in the records of our dealing with Ireland all that time that it was by special and coercive legislation. Then Lord Carnarvon went on to say, speaking in the name of his Conservative colleagues, that he had recently been to Canada where English, Scotch, and Irish citizens were in subjection to the law of the land, and that he did not despair. On the contrary, he thought he saw there an example of the system which might lead to the better settlement of Ireland. Your Lordships will observe that, in the middle of July, 1885, the Irish Viceroy, speaking for his colleagues, said that he looked in the direction of the Canadian system and not to the system of coercion; I expect that speech has been long forgotten by most, but it was the beginning of an effective movement towards changing a system of which, I hope, we are to-day about to see the end. (Hear, hear.)

### SAVING GREAT BRITAIN

Let us not forget that, but just as I am for recognition of his splendid powers, I am unwilling, and I hope that many, at all events, of Your Lordships will be unwilling, not to do justice to the present Prime Minister, because I feel from my own observation and knowledge of Ireland, that if the present Prime Minister had not made up his own mind upon a national policy and then carried it on with a perseverance, courage, and tenacity which are beyond all praise—I feel that by the work which he did and his colleagues did, they saved Great Britain and Ireland from a formidable and irreparable disaster. I submit that as an opinion of my own, whatever it may be worth, for Your Lordships' consideration. After all, what we want is to know the result. For my own part it seems to me that the result is hopeful. I know very well that the work in one sense is only just beginning, because the effective thing is done—namely, the reconciliation of the minds of the British and Irish peoples. See what has happened. In Ulster two or three days ago, Sir James Craig, who is the leader of the Government of Northern Ireland, used these words, and they really deserve the attention of the House in the consideration of some Irish views which they may hear. He said:

"I am not myself dissatisfied at the moment with the Conference, but——"

I am afraid we must all agree with him here whether we like the Agreement or repudiate it—

"there are dark clouds and great difficulties. I believe that the first will be swept away and that the second will be surmounted."

That, as the last declaration which we have from the north of Ireland, makes us sanguine that the time will come when they will meet and work with their fellow-Irishmen in the south and west of Ireland.

## Reforms in Dewas State

The Maharajah of Dewas, Central India, has inaugurated a new Council and Representative Assembly in his State with fitting ceremony, among those present being the Agent to the Governor General and the Political Agent.

## Bikanir on the Present Situation

Speaking at the State Banquet held in honor of the Viceroy, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir referred to the Indian political situation, and said that he was hopeful that British statesmanship, which had succeeded "in finding a happy solution for even so vexed a question as that of Ireland, will surely not fail to find a remedy for India, and it is our sincere hope that this may be brought about at an early date during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty and that general confidence will be restored through Your Excellency's sagacious statesmanship and your well known policy of meeting out justice with equity."

## Kaparthala Edict

His Highness the Maharaja of Kaparthala has issued a circular, in which it is written: "I always look to the interest of the State. I introduced some reforms in the State when their introduction in other States was not even dreamt of. In future, too, I will introduce more reforms when I deem proper. The subject has got no right to meddle with State affairs at the instigation of outsiders. Violators shall be brought to book and will be dealt with as conspirators."

## Bharatpur's Third Son

A third son was born to His Highness the Maharajah of Bharatpur the day before His Royal Highness' arrival in that State. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales telegraphed his congratulations and offered his felicitations personally to His Highness the Maharajah on arriving at Bharatpur. The name-giving ceremony of the child has now taken place and he has received the name of Edward Mansingh. His Royal Highness

the Prince of Wales has sent the baby a brooch with his monogram and crest and has asked that this may be placed in the child's head-dress on the first occasion when a puggree is tied round his head.

## Mysore Superior Service

The Government of Mysore have issued the following supplementary instructions for regulating the filling up of vacancies occurring in the ministerial ranks of the superior service.

2. All ministerial appointments will, for the purpose of this order, be divided into four classes as below

(1) Appointments carrying a pay not exceeding Rs. 20.

(2) Appointments carrying a pay exceeding Rs. 20 but not exceeding Rs. 30.

(3) Appointments carrying a pay exceeding Rs. 30 but not exceeding Rs. 40.

(4) Appointments carrying a pay exceeding Rs. 40.

3. (a) All vacancies occurring in class (1) shall be filled up by direct recruitment.

(b) Out of every three vacancies occurring in each of the other classes, the first two shall be filled up by direct recruitment and the third by promotion of qualified candidates from classes (1), (2) or (3), respectively.

## Retrocession of the Berars

The rumour that the Berars will be restored to Hyderabad is gathering strength and there is reason to believe that it is well founded, says the *Servant of India*. "If the population affected have no objection we do not propose to enter a protest, however repugnant such a measure may appear to the conscience of the country at large. But it is a matter which should be left entirely to the wishes of the people. The world is now too advanced, particularly after so much blood has been shed in the name of self-determination, for a population to be handed over from one Government to another as if they were only a herd of cattle."

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Mr. Manilal in Ceylon.

We regret to learn that an order of deportation has been served on Mr. D. M. Manilal, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, who has been residing in Ceylon for some months past. Mr. Manilal was a practising lawyer before the Supreme Court of Mauritius



MR. MANILAL

and later before the Fiji court, where he did much service on behalf of his countrymen. In March 1920 he was prohibited from Fiji for helping the strikers with his advice. In April 1920 he left for New Zealand, where he wanted to practise. His application, however, was opposed by the Law Society, and in October 1921 he came to Ceylon, where he applied for enrolment as an Advocate of the Supreme Court. And now the Governor's Order of Deportation, dated December 27, runs as follows:—

"Whereas under, and by virtue of the provisions of Sub-Clause (3) of I, Clause III, of the

Order of Her Majesty in Council, dated the 26th day of October, 1896, the Governor of Ceylon has power to order any person to quit the colony:

"Now, therefore, I, Governor, as aforesaid, do hereby order you, D. M. Manilal of Baroda, to quit the colony on or before the 9th day of January, 1922 —(Sd.) W. H. MANNING, Governor

## Repatriated Indians.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent the following letter on the repatriation of Indians from abroad to Mr. C. R. Naidu, of Natal.

After my experience of the pitiable condition of returned emigrants generally from Fiji, Natal, British Guiana and other colonies, I am most anxious that Indians abroad, who have no means of self support when landing in India, should be warned against repatriation. For nearly eighteen months, I have been constantly at a loss to know in what way the miseries caused by such repatriation could be assuaged. For the prospects in India are not good at the time for repatriates, and it is often very hard to get them back into the village life. At one time I was in favour of repatriation, but, after my experience, I feel quite certain that the best solution of the present troubles is for Indian labourers to remain, as far as possible, in the colonies and for every opportunity to be taken out there to educate their children and to improve their condition. It is clear to me now that this education and improvement abroad is the right policy to adopt.

## Indian Conference in Great Britain.

The first meeting of the Indian Conference in Great Britain was held in Caxton Hall in London on June 2. Some eighty Indians were present.

The meeting passed a resolution endorsing the decisions of the Indian National Congress, protesting against the policy of repression in India, and declaring that a policy of political equality and mutual friendship between India and England would bring about lasting benefits to both.

## "The Oil Industry in India"

This book, by Mr. R. M. Vakil, B.A., (Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay), is intended to awaken the interest of the reader in what the author calls one of India's key industries. The author says that seed crushing is one of the most profitable industries and that its extension on modern lines will add to the wealth of India.

## Tata Enterprise

The Tata Company, which has done so much to develop water-power for the purpose of generating electricity in the Bombay Presidency, have in hand the great Nila Mulla Project, which will store 17,000,000,000 cubic feet of water supply, 150,000 H. P. per 10 hours, delivered in Bombay. The cost of this work is estimated at 4½ crores. Besides this project, permission has been applied for to harness the Koyna.

## Trade Union Congress

The second session of the All India Trade Union Congress was held at Jharia on the 30th November last under the presidentship of Mr. Joseph Baptista. About 20,000 workmen attended, of whom 400 were delegates of Labour Unions. Miners stopped work to attend the Congress. Shat Ramdas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a brief speech.

Mr. Baptista, in his presidential address, laid stress on the early attainment of Swaraj, without which, he said, the economic problems of India could not be solved satisfactorily.

He said that the moral and material improvement of labour, which represented 90 per cent of the population paying 90 per cent of the taxes, was impossible without immediate Swaraj and he appealed to the Government and the Capitalist classes to solve the labour problems in a spirit of sympathy. During the last year there were no fewer than 183 strikes, of which very few proved successful and in many cases caused misery and disruption. He urged that strikes should not be declared in a light-hearted spirit and all

possible means of friendly settlement should be tried before resorting to strikes.

Following the British example, the Indian labour movement should take part in politics, but war with capital should be avoided, and capital and labour should be organised on a co-operative basis and neither excessive profits at the expense of the workers, nor greedy demands at the expense of capital should be encouraged.

He then referred to the constitution of the Congress, and said that it ought to become the national organ of labour economically, industrially and politically, and he placed before the Labour Congress the ideal of Fabian Socialism as the golden mean between extreme individualism and Bolshevism. In his opinion the measures to be taken for the relief of labour are education, sanitation, workmen's compensation, nationalisation of land, railway and coal-mines, jute and tea, and exportation of food-stuffs. He laid down three rules for guidance. (1) Unions should not undertake any burden which can only be efficiently borne by the States; (2) the protection to Trade Unions in India should be as extensive as in England; (3) full effect should be given to the resolutions and recommendations of the Labour Conferences under the League of Nations unless they are obviously objectionable.

The resolutions passed asked for better treatment of labourers all round by steadily raising their position and efficiency. The first two resolutions referred to Swaraj and Swadeshi, both of which were essential for the uplift of the masses, and the rest dealt with the conditions of the labourers in various industries.

## Textile Manufactures in India.

India to-day occupies the fourth place in the list of the principal textile manufacturing countries of the world. The total number of cotton mills in all India up to June 30th, 1920, was 253, and the average number of hands employed daily in these mills was 311,078.

# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## "Malabar Land Tenure"

Mr. Govinda Menon, the author of the book of that name, deals with the tenancy question from the legal and economic points of view and justifies legislation. In section I he examines the legal aspect and says that the jenmi is not a landlord in the English sense of the term nor the kanomdar (the tenant) a mortgagee as is erroneously supposed. He also shows that the influence of British courts has been unfavourable to the tenants.

In section II he discusses the economic aspect with special reference to the authorities in favour of tenancy legislation. He also traces the history of agrarian discontent which must be taken into account in any final settlement of the land problem in Malabar.

## Research in Modern Agriculture

It is now recognised that the problems of agriculture are so varied and abstruse that they can only be solved by original work on the part of highly-trained men in every department of science. "The modern tendency," says the *Agricultural News*, "indeed indicates that there may come a time when students will be trained to attack a problem rather than to gain a degree, for many of the greatest agricultural problems are most inconsiderate and do not fit in at all well with the curricula of the universities and colleges." By this the journal does not imply that education should suffer at the expense of specialisation. Both are essential, not only for the solution of agricultural problems, but also for general agricultural progress. Agricultural science generally is rapidly assuming a status undreamt of fifty years ago and is fast taking its place beside engineering (including all branches). Genetics, or plant and animal breeding, and physiology, or the study of function are making tremendous advances.

Then there has been much progress and greater precision on the economic side of agriculture.

Agricultural economic problems are being studied statistically and improved systems of account-keeping on the costing principle are being suggested and employed. Legislation is being utilised for the control and eradication of plant pests and for other purposes.

Gratifying as all this advancement is, it will be sheer waste of energy if the results of research are not appreciated and, as far as possible, applied. In the tropics, says the journal, there is a good deal of apathy as regards research. It takes a long time for new ideas to become firmly fixed in the popular mind. That is because the large majority of those who work the land are not educated along the right lines. The remedy is to take in hand the education of the rising agriculturist.

## Agricultural Statistics in the States

Agricultural statistics are still imperfect in many Indian States, says a Bombay contemporary.

The Statistical Department of the Government of India has secured figures from only 53 Indian States for the year 1918-19 and in these States is not included the improvement of the State of Hyderabad. The total area of the 53 reporting States is 196,642,000 acres and the population is 33 millions. Of this area, about 10,167,000 acres are occupied by forests and about 20,188,000 acres are not fit for cultivation. The net area actually cropped in 1918-19 was 29,369,000 acres, i. e., about 33.1 per cent. of the total area. Of the total cropped area, food-crops including sugar and fruits and vegetables monopolised about 80.3 per cent. and non-food crops, such as oil-seeds, fibres and fodder, occupied 19.7 per cent. Of the food-grains, jowar had the largest area. Next came wheat and lastly rice. Land revenue figures are available only for twenty-five States and it is surprising that Baroda has failed to furnish the list. The incidence of taxation varies in different States.

**Tales from the Mahabharata.** Compiled by Dwijendra Chandra Roy. Bharata Karyalaya, 57, Bolaram De Street, Calcutta.

Mr. Dwijendra Chandra Roy has done a pious act in compiling this series of episodes from the monumental edition of the Mahabharata. Pratapa Chandra Roy's English version of the great epic is not only the first serious attempt at translation, but is a classic in itself and this selection by Mr. Dwijendra brings that beautiful book within reach of the average student and layman. The story of Pratapa's great life and his devotion to the work has by now become a legend and it is but fitting that such a selection from his work should be given to the world by a dutiful relative of his.

**The Reformed Constitution of British India.** By B. G. Sapro, M.A., Willingdon College, Sangli.

The literature on the reforms is already voluminous. But dispassionate criticisms of the scheme are few and far between. Official expositions are, in the nature of the case, one-sided: but it must be admitted that many popular interpretations of the scheme also err on the side of excessive denunciation. The fact is various extraneous causes have so clouded the real issues as to prejudice a proper understanding of a great scheme, inspired by generous statesmanship, whatever its limitations in the working. Prof. Sapro has done well in judging the reforms on their intrinsic merits and students of constitutional history must be particularly thankful to the author for his lucid and informing study of a complex scheme in operation.

**Bengal Fairy Tales** By F. B. Bradley-Birt, John Lane, London.

This is a sumptuously bound volume of two and thirty stories. The illustrations by Abanindranath Tagore, the great Bengal artist, is an admirable feature of this choice collection of fairy tales. School boys will find in these popular stories much to interest and amuse them.

**Sir Gurudas Banerjee.** By Dr. Chuni Lal Bose. S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

Dr. Chuni Lal has presented in this book a brief but informing sketch of the life and work of Sir Gurudas Banerjee. Sir Gurudas was a great figure in the public life of Bengal and Dr. Chuni Lal has given an intimate account of his many distinguished services to the cause of the youths of Bengal. His work as teacher, lawyer, judge and educationist is dealt with at some length and the biographer has drawn a lovable picture of the great Bengalee.

**Religious Pamphlets.** The Dharma Sanga Asrama, Tanjore.

These pamphlets, which comprise the writings and lectures of "a Sadhu," urge the need for a religious revival in India. They include discourses on "Religion," "Social Service" and "Sanatana Dharma." The Sadhu appeals for an all-India religious movement and for the propagation of the ancient Dharma.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE YOUNG ENCHANTED. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

IDEALS OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD. By Panchanan Bhattacharya, B.A., B.T. Goldwin & Co., Calcutta.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR FOR INDIA. By S. G. Panandikar, M.A., Ph. D. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

ENGLISH FOR THE ENGLISH. By George Sampson. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

INDIA OLD AND NEW. By Sir Valentine Chirol. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

INDIAN LOGIC AND ATOMISM. By A. B. Keith. Oxford University Press, Madras.

BURMA: A HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION. By Sir J. G. Scott, K.C.I.E. Daniel O'Connor, 90, Great Russell Street, London.

TRAINING IN APPRECIATION. Edited by Nancy Catty, M.A. Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., London.

THE PRINCIPLES OF HINDU ETHICS. By M. A. Buch, Hath Pole, Baroda.

HINDU LAW. By J. R. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B., (Hons.) Vakil, High Court, Bombay.

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. By R. N. Gilchrist, M. A. Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.

THE MESSAGE OF THE BHAGAWAD GITA. By Lala Lajpat Rai. Published by Rangildas M. Kapadia, Messrs. M. Bhandare & Co., Bombay.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 15. Mr. N. C. Kelkar and several Non-Cooperators were arrested at Poona for disobeying magistrate's order against picketing.
- Dec. 16. Mr. Taqui, Secretary, Delhi Congress Committee, and Dr. Abdur Rahim, who had been arrested under Sec. 107, Cr. P. C., were sentenced to 1 year's R. I. on refusing to furnish security.
- Dec. 17. At a special Convocation of the Calcutta University, H. E. the Viceroy received the degree of Doctor of Laws.
- Pandit Sham Lal Nehru and Mohan Lal Nehru were sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs 100 each under Sec. 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.
  - Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 under Sec. 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.
  - 250 Volunteers were arrested at Calcutta.
- Dec. 19. Babu Bhagavandas was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Sec. 107, Cr. P. C.
- Mr. S. E. Stokes was sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment on refusing to furnish security under Secs. 124-A and 123-A.
  - Mr. Hanzar Ali Sokhata, lately Editor of the *Rangoon Mail*, was arrested at Allahabad.
  - Lala Sankarlal was sentenced to 4 months' R. I. under Sec. 17 (2), Criminal Law Amendment Act.
- Dec. 20. Pandit Krishnakanta Malaviya, Editor of *Abhodya*, and Mr. Govinda Malaviya, have been arrested while picketing.
- Mr. Jiam, Secretary, U. P. Congress Committee, was sentenced to 18 months' R. I.
  - The security of the Allahabad *Independent* was forfeited.
  - Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Secretary, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, was arrested at Hyderabad under Sec. 124-A, I. P. C.
- Dec. 21. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Arni Subramania Sastri were sentenced to 3 months' R. I. for civil disobedience of order under Sec. 144.
- Messrs. Krishnakant Malaviya, Chunderkant Malaviya and Govind Malaviya were fined Rs. 100 each under Sec. 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, but were subsequently released.
  - H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation headed by Pandit Malaviya on the present situation.
- Dec. 22. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived at Patna from his Nepal tour.
- Dec. 23. Zaghlul Pasha, the Egyptian Nationalist, has been deported.
- Mr. Mahadeo Desai was sentenced to 1 year's R. I. under Sec. 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and under Sec. 117, I. P. C., for publishing *Mss. edition of the Independent*.
- Dec. 25. A Commercial Agreement between Italy and Russia has been signed.
- Dec. 26. The Viswa Bharati Shantiniketan University was opened to-day at Bolpur.
- Dec. 27. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from the Calcutta University.
- The appointment of the Racial Distinctions Committee is announced.
  - The Indian National Congress opened to-day at Ahmedabad.
- Dec. 28. The Fourth Session of the National Liberal Federation opened to-day at Allahabad, Dewan Bahadur J. A. Govindaraghava Iyer presiding.
- The British Indian Police Conference opened at Calcutta.
- Dec. 29. The All-India Christian Conference opened to-day at Lahore.
- Zaghlul Pasha was deported to Ceylon.
- Dec. 30. The All-India Moslem League met at Ahmedabad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani presiding.
- Dec. 31. Earl of Lytton has been appointed Governor of Bengal in succession to Lord Ronaldshay.
- The Editor and the Printer of the *Rangoon Mail* were sentenced to 2 years and 6 months, respectively, for sedition.
- Jan. 1. Messrs. Shafi and W. M. Hailey have been knighted.
- Jan. 2. Messrs. Krishna Kanta Malaviya and Govinda Malaviya were arrested at Allahabad.
- Jan. 3. Sir Asutosh Mukerjee delivered the Punjab University Convocation Address at Lahore.
- Jan. 4. Mr. Shyam Sunder Chakrabarty, editor of the *Servant*, was sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment for contempt of court.
- Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya and Govinda Malaviya were sentenced to 18 months' R. I. for delivering speeches urging enlistment as volunteers.
- Jan. 5. Mr. B. Venkatapathi Razu and other members of the Fiji Deputation arrived at Melbourne.
- Jan. 6. De Valera has resigned.
- Jan. 7. The Dail Eireann has accepted the Anglo-Irish Treaty.
- Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Santanam were sentenced to 1 year's R. I. under Sec. 154, I. P. C.
- Jan. 8. The Supreme Council at Washington has resolved itself into Commissions for dealing with reparations and the reconstruction of Europe.
- Jan. 9. The five Great Powers have consented to the prohibition of poison gas in war.
- Jan. 10. Mr. Griffith was elected Irish President.
- The death is announced of Prince Okuma of Japan.
- Jan. 11. Pandit Lakshman Narain Garde, editor, *Bharatamitra*, was arrested at Calcutta under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.
- Jan. 12. M. Briand has resigned.
- Jan. 13. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived at Madras.
- The All-India Cantonment Conference met at Meerut.
  - M. Poincare has consented to form a Ministry in France.
- Jan. 14. The conference of political leaders to bring about a Pound Table Conference met at Bombay.
- Jan. 15. The fifth Non-Brahmin Confederation began its sittings at Madras.
- Jan. 16. Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and five others were released from the Coimbatore Jail.
- The Dublin Castle Government was formally handed over to the Irish Provisional Government.
- Jan. 17. An agreement has been reached regarding transfer of Kiachow to China.
- Jan. 18. Enver Pasha has been arrested by the Soviet authorities to be tried at Angora for high treason.
- Jan. 19. The Prince arrived in Mysore.
- Babu Bhagavan Das has been released.
- Jan. 20. The Legislative Assembly refused to refer Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill to a Select Committee.
- Jan. 21. Death of His Holiness the Pope.

## Literary.

### Mr. H. W. Wells and the "Mail"

The London correspondent of the *Statesman* cabled recently to that paper:

An astounding journalistic episode culminated to day in the announcement that the *Daily Mail* has dismissed the famous writer, H. G. Wells, for attacking France in his articles from Washington, in which he declared that she was preparing for war on Great Britain.

The *New York World*, writing to Mr. Wells, says: "We are astounded at the *Daily Mail* seeking to tamper with your opinions."

Mr. Wells replied: I do not intend to accept control or direction from the *Daily Mail*, which is open to discontinue publication of the articles."

The *Daily Mail* retorts: "Mr. Wells is a brilliant and popular writer, but has destroyed the confidence of European readers in the sanity of his political judgment. He has not been an impartial reporter at the Conference and has aroused resentment by his anti French bias and ill-considered opinion regarding the end of the British Empire. Therefore, we discontinue publishing his articles."

### The Brains Manse

"The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells of the great men of England. Of these famous characters, 350 were sons of physicians, 510 were sons of lawyers, and 1,270 were sons of ministers. The manse gave fifty per cent more great men than the two other learned professions put together," says the *Record*.

### The "Pall Mall Gazette"

The Lancashire cotton magnate, Sir John Leigh, has purchased the "Pall Mall Gazette" Sir John retired from business two years ago, and came to London to take up a political career. Though still young, he is reported to be one of the wealthiest men in the country, and was a munificent benefactor during the war.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

LATER MUGHALS. By William Irvine, I.C.S. (Retd.) M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta.

INCREASED PRODUCTION. By E. Lipson, M. A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

AGARBHA SURULU. A Telugu poem by Yellapantulu Jagannadham, B. A. Lakshmi Vilas Co., Ellore.

GADELA GANDADU. A humorous Telugu Ballad. By Y. Jagannadham B. A. Lakshmi Vilas Co., Ellore.

MADANA SAYAKAMU. A Telugu play by Yellapantulu Jagannadham, B. A. Lakshmi Vilas Co., Ellore.

THE MASTER'S WORLD UNION. By Alokanda Mahabhrati. Arunachal Mission, Bamai, Sylhet.

POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY. Book II, Part I, Political, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Panini Office, Allahabad.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF DEPARTMENTS OF INDUSTRIES. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

GENEVA LABOUR CONFERENCE. Official correspondence. Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

NOTES ON INDIAN PIECEGOODS TRADE. By A. C. Coubrough, C. B. E., Govt. Printing, Calcutta.

MADRAS AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT YEAR BOOK, 1920-21. Government Press, Madras.

ANNUAL REPORTS of the Agricultural Stations, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.

MINERAL DEPOSITS OF GWALIOR Series Nos. 1 to 16. Director of Mines and Geology, Gwalior.

REPORT OF THE TELEGRAPH COMMITTEE, 1921. Government Monotype Press, Simla.

VAIDIK JIWAN. By H. Chandra, Ph. D., Dehra Dun.

MODERN EDUCATIONAL SERIES. By R. D. Patel, Nanpura, Surat.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE HINDUS. By S. C. Mukerjee, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.

FROM MAN TO GOD. By V. R. Moholkar, Dadar.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, Vol. III. Government Printing, Calcutta.

GUIDE BOOK FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE U.S.A. The Institute of International Education, New York.

REPORT OF THE STORES PURCHASE COMMITTEE. Appendix, Vol. II. Minutes of Evidence. Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

EAST AND WEST. A lecture by Advocate Victor Corea, Sinhapura, Chilaw, Ceylon.

THE CANDIAN CONVENTION OF 1815. A lecture by Victor Corea, Sinhapura Chilaw, Ceylon.

LIST OF THE HEADS OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN INDIA AND OF THE INDIA OFFICE IN ENGLAND. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

NICHOLAI LENIN: his Life and Work. By G. V. Krishna Row. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE NEW MAZDISM OR MAHDISM. By M. Z. Akmal. Khosla Bros., Lahore.

CONFLUENCE OF OPPOSITES. By C. R. Jain, Hardoi.

# Educational

## College Students' Conference

The Second Indian College Students' Conference was held at the Congress pandal in Ahmedabad on the morning of the 29th ultimo. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who presided over the Conference, said that,



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

while one year ago she did not believe in the wisdom of students turning their backs upon colleges and denying to themselves their inalienable rights and privilege of knowledge and culture, to-day, after one year's bitter experience, her message to the young generation was sacrifice, sacrifice for the bigger cause of freedom, by joining the peaceful national army, carrying out the "volunteers" pledge, both in its letter and in spirit, so

that they might leave behind them the imperishable legacy of freedom won by sacrifice.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who attended the session, explained why he could not accept the presidency when it was offered to him. He said it was because he was himself in doubt and perplexity, as to what line he should himself take in the present crisis. He had never belonged to any political party. His work was humanitarian. He had never attended the Congress except this year, when he came merely with the purpose of entering a protest against the present repression levelled against the heart of the Congress. He did not join their ranks because he still could not reconcile himself to all the items of their programme. His experience in the Punjab was that at any time there might be violence. He also believed that burning of foreign clothes had the effect of causing racial bitterness, which the leaders never intended, but which crowds did not understand.

The Conference, after a heated discussion, rejected, by a narrow majority of eleven, the motion for the change in creed, so as to define "Swaraj as implying complete independence." The Conference resolved to call upon all the "Students to respond to the Congress mandate by joining "volunteer" organisations.

## A Donation for Education

Mr. Dhanjibhai Bomanji, a wealthy Parsi gentleman, has decided to endow one crore of rupees for the vocational education of Parsi boys of poor and middle-class families. It would be the biggest single donation so far made in India by any one giver.

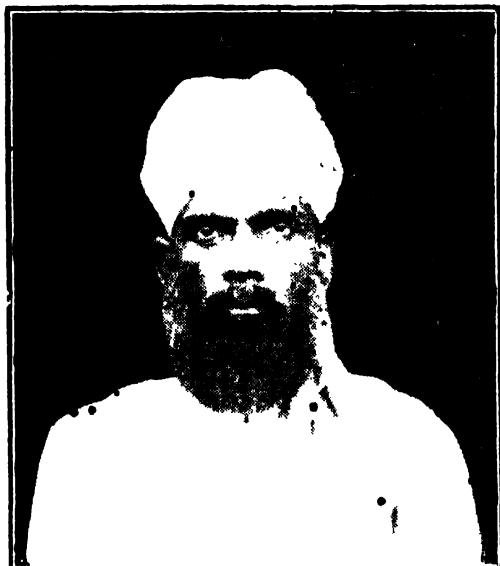
## Primary Education in C. P.

The C. P. Government have appointed a Committee to report on the expansion of primary education in the province and to recommend a programme which would bring primary education within reach of every village in ten years.

# Legal

## Treatment of Political Prisoners.

It was a painful surprise that the Madras Council could not see its way to accept the very reasonable resolution on the treatment of political prisoners. Already Bengal, Behar, U. P. and the Punjab have led the way and it was certainly expected that the party in power, in the Madras Council would view the question with fairness and magnanimity. But we regret that recent events



MOULVI ABDUL MAJID SAHIB SHARAR  
Editor, *Quomi Report*, who was recently sentenced  
at Tanjore to a year's rigorous imprisonment.

in connection with the Prince's visit have upset the proper perspective of some members who have betrayed a malignity in dealing with this question which should be viewed in a spirit of humanity. The debate shows that in spite of opposition a considerable body of the Council is disposed to be magnanimous to political opponents and it was only a tactical move on the part of the ministers to have passed on to the next subject without dividing the Council.

## Racial Inequality in Law

In view of the fact that a committee has been taking evidence to remedy the racial inequalities in law now obtaining in this country, the following from a well-known criminal lawyer of Allahabad will be read with interest. Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerji, the writer of the article in the *Leader*, examines the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure which bear on the subject, and makes suggestions in order to remove all inequalities based on racial distinctions.

I. In section 4, clause (i) which gives the definition of an European British subject, is to be omitted altogether, and clause (j) in the said section to be so modified as to omit all reference to European British subjects altogether, *i.e.*, the High Court in each case should be the same for all classes of His Majesty's subjects. I need hardly point out that the definition in clause (i) as it stands includes in the category of European British subjects all persons born, domiciled, or naturalised not only in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but in all the European, American, or Australian Colonies or possessions of His Majesty, or in New Zealand, or in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or Natal, and also any child or grand-child of any such person by legitimate descent.

II. In section 22, the words 'such European British subjects' should be omitted. This section deals with the appointment of Justices of the Peace. That dignity should be equally open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, but if the racial distinction be abolished the office will be more or less an honorary one with no particular duties attached thereto.

III. Section 214, which provides for the committal of a person charged with an European British subject for an offence triable by the court of sessions to the High Court, would no longer be needed, and should be repealed.

IV. Section 33 . . . is a corollary of the latter section were repealed. It only deals with the High Court's direction for appointing places for trial for European British subjects and persons liable to be tried jointly with them. Section 336 should be omitted altogether.

V. Section 275 directs how a jury is to be composed which is to try an European British subject before the court of sessions. That section would no longer be needed with the removal of racial distinctions, and should be repealed.

VI. The whole of chapter 3 of the Code which provides for special proceeding in the case of European British subjects, with their invidious racial distinctions, should be omitted and consigned to eternal oblivion. This means the repeal of 21 sections, *viz.*, 443 to 463, both inclusive. They have been a blot on the Statute Book for nearly 50 years now, and the vagaries of European juries, have led to failures of justice in all parts of the country.

# Medical

## Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Conference

The 16th Session of the All-India Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Conference concluded its sittings at Bangalore on the 29th December last with the passing of over thirteen resolutions mainly touching the peculiar position of the service under the present conditions and putting forth different claims for the better treatment of Sub-Assistant Surgeons in pay and prospects.

H. H. the Yuvaraja and the Dewan of Mysore attended the Session.

## An Easy Way to avoid Colds.

The next time you feel that you are catching a cold, writes a correspondent to an English contemporary, stoop over and tie your boot laces. In fact, tie both boot laces. Loosen the laces and make a good job of the tying. The principle of the boot-lace remedy is that in stooping over the blood is brought to the head and the circulation is otherwise favourably affected. Where there is perfect blood circulation there is immunity from the taking of cold.

## The Indian Medical Service

As the result of the representations by Mr. Montagu and the Government of India, the Committee of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom have agreed to postpone the consideration of the question of recognition of Indian Medical qualifications from February next to a later date pending further investigation into conditions of midwifery training in India.

## The Leper Problem.

"The Leper Problem in India and the Treatment of Leprosy" was the subject of a paper read at a meeting of the East India Association held under the presidency of Sir Edward A. Gait by the Rev. Frank Oldrieve. The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Oldrieve are: (1) that segregation,

which has done so much in other countries—the disease was stamped out of Europe by such a measure—should be encouraged and in some cases compulsorily enforced; (2) the provision of asylums where they are needed; (3) the erection by Provincial Governments of leper settlements; (4) provision of special homes for the untainted children of leper parents, and (5) the making accessible of the latest treatments of the disease to every leper in the country. "If," said Mr. Oldrieve, "these steps were taken we could confidently look forward to the time when we shall have solved the leper problem in India by having stamped out the disease in the whole Indian Empire."

## Indian Medical Service Officers

With the approval of the Secretary of State for India, it has been decided to extend the provisions of Army Instruction (India) No. 454 of 1919 to officers of the Indian Medical Service who, after having rendered the necessary minimum period of service in a temporary administrative appointment in the field during the war, retire owing to ill health (not due to their own misconduct or neglect) before promotion to permanent administrative rank. For the purpose of additional pension such service in the field need not be continuous.

## Baldness Treatment

Dr. Charles F. Pabst states that "baldness is not as common in vegetarians as in meat-eaters. Local treatment embraces soap and water, shampoo, using mild, non-medicated soap every three weeks, and gentle digital massage every day. The local applications vary according to the condition of the patient's scalp."

## Cause of Sighing

The cause of sighing is most frequently worry. An interval of several seconds often follows moments of mental disquietude, when the chest wall remains rigid until the imperious demand for oxygen is made, causing the deep inhalation.

# Science

## Signature by Wireless.

By an invention of Mr. Belin, a French scientist, which is described in the *Matin*, a man seated at his desk, say, in Bombay, in the future, will be able to sign a cheque in London, Paris or New York, by wireless. M. Belin's initial successes were obtained over a distance of a few hundred kilometers. Successful experiments have since been carried out between the French wireless stations in Lafayette, near Bordeaux, and Paris. A series of "celinogrammes" comprising photographs, geometrical figures and hand-written texts were transmitted by wireless direct to Paris. The next step was to experiment over a distance of 3,000 miles to America. The American authorities were sceptical, and placed many an obstacle in the way, until, after a delay of several weeks (two engineers having been despatched from Paris to New York), the American delegates of the Inter-Allied Wireless Telegraphy Commission cabled instructions to the New York wireless telegraphy service to facilitate the trials.

## A Giant Telescope

An enormous 100-in. telescope, which already has revealed wonders, has been installed at a height of 5,700 feet at Mount Wilson, California, U.S.A. Professor G. E. Hale, Director of Mount Wilson Observatory and Professor of Chicago University, says it is mounted in a revolving turret or dome of 100 ft. diameter. The glass in its great mirror is 13-ins. thick, and weighs 4½ tons. The moving parts weigh 100 tons, and are driven by a powerful clock mechanism when following the sun or stars. Thirty-five electric motors controlled by push buttons serve to direct it towards any part of the sky, accelerate, or retard, its motion when carried by the driving clock, focus the image, turn the dome, and elevate or lower the platform on which the

observer stands. It is claimed that the faintest stars can be seen with this new telescope. As compared with the 60-in. telescope, it is estimated that the 100 in. can reach several hundred millions of stars too faint to be photographed with the smaller aperture. The minute details of the faint and cloudlike matter situated far outside the solar system are much better shown with the larger instrument, and minute details of the moon's surface not previously photographed have been recorded.

## Talking Films

A remarkable invention has just been perfected in Sweden for synchronizing the photographic record of action and the gramophone record of sound.

The method employed is new, involving in effect the photography of both sights and sounds. A double camera, its two wheels revolving on a shaft, is used. One record is that of the ordinary kinematograph; the second camera is directed, not towards the actor, but at a ray of light which is agitated by his voice by means of a delicate diaphragm of rock crystal and which writes on the celluloid film, curves corresponding to the sound waves. For the purpose of reproduction use is made of selenium, which possesses the property of resisting the passage of electricity in proportion to the degree of light in which it is bathed and it is stated that the reproduction and synchronization are perfect.

Among the possibilities of the invention foreshadowed are lighthouses which shout their names over 60 miles of sea.

## Gravitation.

Signor Baricelli, the Milanese scientist, claims to have discovered that gravitation on the terrestrial surface is subject to great local modifications partly determined by external causes.

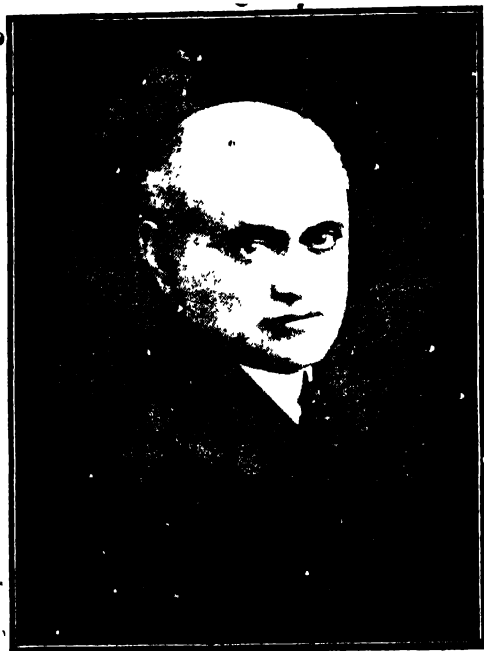
## Personal

### Earl Lytton

His Majesty the King Emperor has been pleased to approve of the appointment of the Earl of Lytton to be the Governor of Bengal in succession to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lawrence John Lumley Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., who vacates the office at the end of March next.

### Mr. Saklatwala.

The *Daily Chronicle* announces that Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala has been formally adopted as a candidate for the next election for the Imperial Parliament in the constituency of North Battersea. Mr. Saklatwala is a cousin of the Tatas, but



is not in any way identified with Imperialist or Capitalist policy. For many years past he has been a familiar figure in Labour-Socialist platforms. He has been elected as Parliamentary candidate now by all the Labour organisations in the constituency. There are two Parliamentary constituencies in Battersea,—one South Battersea

and the other North Battersea. Of these, North Battersea is what is called a certain seat. South Battersea is more than doubtful. At the final convention Mr. Saklatwala and Mr. Winfield, J.P., the Mayor, were selected for the two seats. Mr. Saklatwala's ultimate selection for the safer seat is an evidence of the confidence in the abilities which he has been able to create among the electors. If Mr. Saklatwala succeeds at the next general election, he will be the third Indian to enter Parliament, and he too, like his two predecessors, is a Parsi.

The Trade Union Congress supports his candidature and says:—

A splendid opportunity presents itself to India, and particularly to Indian Labour, to make its voice heard at the heart of the Empire. Mr. Saklatwala's candidature deserves the hearty support of the Indian public.

### Lord Curzon

"A Whig strayed from his fellows" is a happy phrase applied to Lord Curzon by the "Student of Politics," who writes in the *Times*:—

"He has no future in this generation but the next will probably recognise in him the last representative of a greater order, and will be inclined to put him much higher than this generation does."

### Viscount Lascelles

Viscount Lascelles, who has been engaged to Princess Mary, enjoyed (says the *Statesman*) the reputation of being the most eligible bachelor in London. He recently inherited £2,000,000 from his grand-uncle, the Marquess Clanricarde, and is the owner of Chesterfield House, one of the finest private palaces in England, where, it is stated, the couple will make their home.

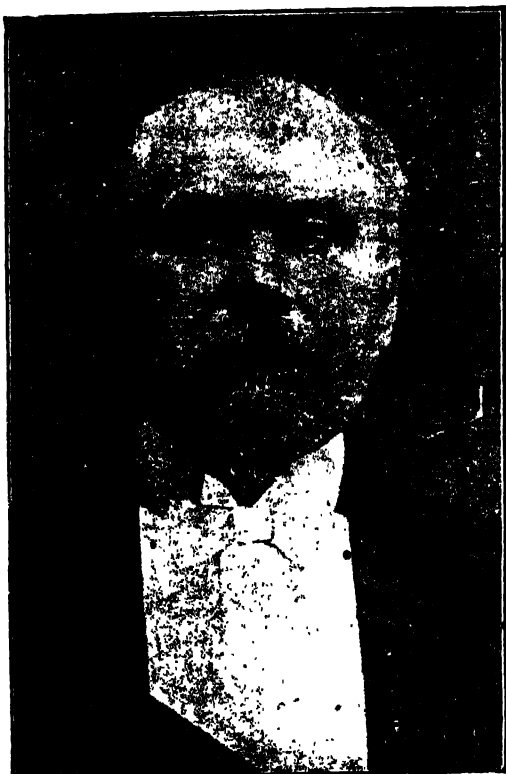
### Sir B. Robertson's Visit to Russia

Sir Benjamin Robertson, Indian Famine Expert, is visiting Russia on behalf of the British Famine Relief Organisations to enquire into the methods of distribution of relief.

## Political

### The New French Cabinet.

M Briand has resigned, Ex-President Poincare has taken his place. The New French Cabinet consists of :—



M. POINCARÉ.

M. Poincaré, Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs. Barthou, Justice. Maunoury, Interior. Casteyrie, Finance. Maginot, War. Léon Berar, Education. Ruiberti, Marine. Reidel, Liberated Regions. Sarrant, Colonies. The Havas cable adds the following :—Albert Peyronnet, Labour. Lheron, Agriculture. Dior, Commerce. Latroquer, Public Works. Paul Strauss, Hygiene.

### Ceylon Reforms.

The discussion on the Hon. Mr. James Pieris' resolution on constitutional reforms for Ceylon came to a close on the 10th of last month. H. E. the Governor, before putting the resolution to the vote, allowed the official members to vote according to their conscience. As already noted in the December issue, the resolution contained 12 parts. The first part, which related to the number of members of the Legislative Council, was negative. The second one relating to the representation of minorities, and those relating to the control of the Budget, disqualification of candidates and a Committee for the consideration of distribution, allocation of seats, general electorate and a few others, were passed.

The clauses demanding an elected speaker, the appointment of non-officials in the Executive Council, the repeal of the provision for nominated unofficial members and a few others were negatived. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

### Mr. S. Iyengar's Appeal.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-Advocate-General, in resigning his seat on the Madras Legislative Council as representative of the registered graduates of the University, has made a statement, in the course of which he asks the Opposition in the Council to resign as a protest against the Council's rejection of the several useful and important measures. He appeals to the members of the Liberal League to adopt the constructive part of the Congress programme.

### Calcutta Municipal Bill.

After an animated and heated discussion lasting for three days in the Bengal Legislative Council, in which over 60 members took part, the motion of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, that the Calcutta Municipal Bill be circulated for public opinion, was carried. In the course of the discussion all the Mahomedan members, excepting three, demanded communal representation for Mahomedans.



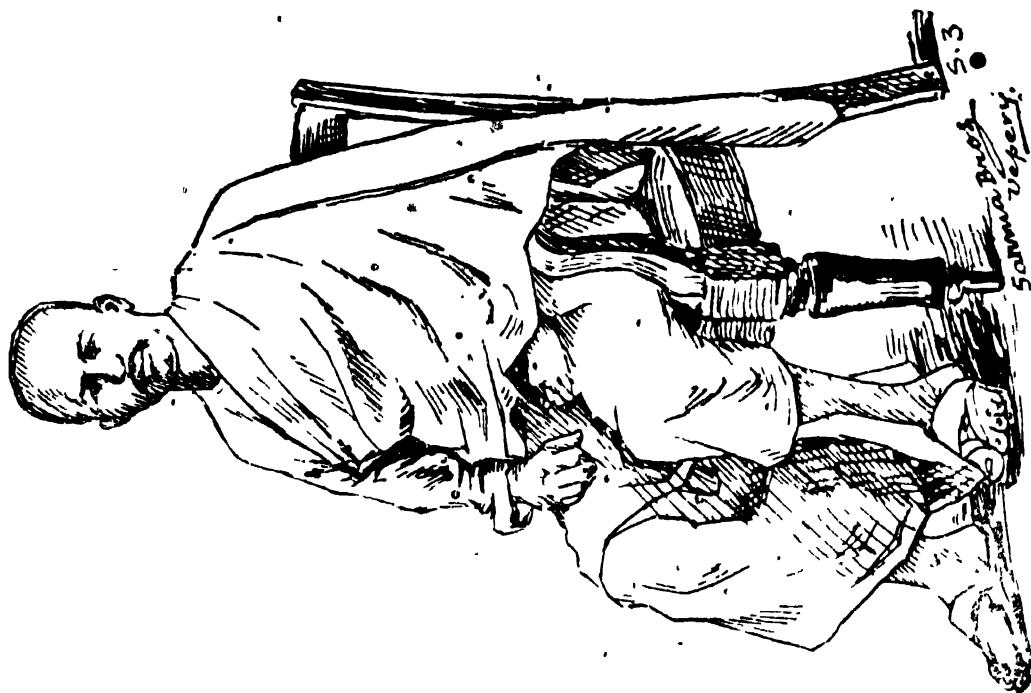
## General

### The Prince at the Hindu University

A Special Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held on the 13th ultimo to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters of the Benares University upon the Prince. The Vice-Chancellor presented His Royal Highness to H. H. the Chancellor as the person who, by reason of his high attainments and position as the illustrious heir to the British Throne, was eminently fitted to be honored by the University.

### Political Situation

Dewan Bahadur K. P. Puttanna Chetty, C I E, retired First Member of the Mysore Executive Council, interviewed by a press representative, stated that the authorities in British India by adopting a policy of wholesale repression gave an impetus to the non-co operation movement, and even Moderates like himself feel unable to support the present policy. This was, he said, unfortunate at the time of the Prince's visit.



VALLABHAI PATEL  
Chairman, Reception Committee, Ahmedabad Congress.

### The "Independent"

The "Independent," not being able to be issued in print, appeared on the 22nd December in manuscript headed with the motto: "I charge but I cannot die." It was edited by Mr. Mahadeo Desai and was an unregistered paper published from Anand Bhawan, the residence of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Mr. Desai has since been sentenced and his place has been taken by Mr. Devadas Gandhi, the youngest son of Mr. Gandhi.

### Besant Libel.

The First Division of the Scottish Courts in Edinburgh has refused the application for a new trial in Mrs. Besant's action against the "Daily Graphic" for £1,000 damages for alleged slander. The Court held that it could not be reasonably contended that recording the verdict as one for the defendants, was inconsistent with the words employed by the jury.





The Vice-Chancellor and the Recipients of Honorary Degrees, Calcutta University—17th Dec. 1931.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST  
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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FEBRUARY, 1922.

No. 2.

## MY EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW COUNCIL

BY THE HON. THE MAHARAJA OF KASSIMBAZAR

THE last session of the last Indian Legislative Council, under the older scheme of things, was held in Simla in September, 1920. Early in 1921, the Montagu Chelmsford scheme came into operation, and under authority of the Government of India Act of 1919, the Legislature in connection with the central headquarters of the Government of India was made for the first time a bi-cameral body. The Imperial Legislature was split into two Houses, — one known as the "Council of State," and the other as the "Indian Legislative Assembly."

The new Houses met at Delhi for the first time on the 3rd of February, 1921. The members of both these Houses were sworn together, and His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the new Legislature in a common function on the 9th of February under a cloudless open sky; in the grounds just in front of the House, where the Assembly has been holding its session at Delhi since last year, and not very far away from the remarkable site from which the British reconquered India in 1857.

After the 9th, we parted ways, — the Legislative Assembly holding its meetings in the old Council Chamber in the Secretariat, and the Council of State in the Metcalfe House.

As soon as we began to meet at the Metcalfe House, under the cheerful presidency of Mr. A. P. Muddiman, for sometime the Secretary of the old Indian Legislative Council, and now knighted, we missed the spirit and life of the familiar arena, where Indians like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gokhale and Sir Rash Behari Ghose have been making history.

As soon as we met, we settled down into a harmless and inane body. Our resolutions were never very actively contested, or fought, and we had no 'breeze' on any occasion.

Some of the most important resolutions discussed in the Council of State last year were the following: —

(1) Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's resolution on the repeal of certain repressive laws (Feb. 14).

(2) Mr. Maricair's resolution on the withdrawal of all embargoes on the export of rice from India to Ceylon and the Straits Settlements (Feb. 16).

(3) Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas's resolution for the grant of full fiscal autonomy to the Government of India under the direction of the Indian Legislature (February 23, 1921).

(4) Mr. Bhurgri's resolution for the separation of judicial and executive functions (March 9).

Of the above resolutions the one that has promoted the best interests of the country is Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's motion for the repeal of the repressive laws. Consequent on the adoption of Mr. Sastri's motion, a Committee was appointed by the Government of India to go into the question of repressive laws which met in Simla last summer and practically recommended the withdrawal of all such laws from the Indian Statute Book, excepting one or two. Mr. Sastri's motion in the Council of State and the consequent promise of the abrogation of all repressive laws will stand out in history for a long time to the credit of the first Upper House.

Of the other resolutions, Mr. Maricair's was carried through the House, but the Government did not think it worth their while to give effect to it, and for very good reasons. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas's resolution was accepted in a modified form, but, it is feared, no action can be taken upon it till the Fiscal Commission has reported upon the subjects now before their consideration. Mr. Bhurgri's resolution has now only a local interest, as the subject of his motion is now a transferred provincial subject.

A few days after the new Councils were inaugurated, a certain member of the Legislative Assembly contested our right to have anything to do with Money Bills or the Budget, and, though the discussion did not reach any finality, a convention was at once allowed to grow that we should take our hands off all finance Bills. Of course, in the British Parliament, it has been the privilege of only the House of Commons, since 1912, to handle all Money Bills and taxation proposals. But it

was understood that the Council of State in India was to have more powers than the British House of Lords, as the former has been described in official literature as a "revising" Chamber. The Council of State may yet be a "revising" Chamber, but it has no final voice in any 'revision'. All Bills passed in the Lower House have to come up for the sanction in the Upper: in the same way, Bills passed in the Upper have got to be sent over to the Lower for its assent. The "revising" character of the Council of State is merely a myth.

When the Budget for 1921-22 was presented by the Finance Member, the Lower House dealt with it in the same spirit and style as the older Indian Legislative Council had done for so many years. We were not even allowed the opportunity to discuss its principal features though we have been promised a general field-day over it this and succeeding years. The only occasions when we got an opportunity to discuss the Budget last winter, in an indirect way, were afforded to us when the

amended Finance Bills came up before us for our assent. It is some satisfaction to us to remember that the only occasion when the Council of State had been able to render a service to the country was when we were able to change the extravagant rates of postal stamps which one of the Finance Bills had proposed to raise. Beyond this, I am sorry the Council of State seized no other opportunity to render material help to the country.

I find that the Council of State, as at present constituted, rather inconveniently crowded with too many "older statesmen," is condemned to remain as a mere ornamental body, and, though we have amongst us a man of such outstanding personality as the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Shastri as one of our members, I must confess we must look to the Lower House for useful light and leading in all public and administrative questions.

I am quite sure that the Government will soon have to revise the constitution of the Council of State, if they ever expect to get helpful services out of our gilded Chamber.

## AHMEDABAD AND AFTER

BY MR. C. R. REDDY, M.A., M. L. C.

IT is very difficult to write on the present political situation. Events are moving with disconcerting rapidity, and the conclusions of one day are upset by the events of the next. The turns of the kaleidoscope are startling. The utmost that one could do is, especially if one is a diarist, to present to the reader the succession of images and impressions that one has experienced, which is what I propose to do in this article.

The tension created by the suicidal policy of organising hartals and other discourtesies in connection with the progress in our country of the Heir to the British Empire and the reaction it produced in the shape of preventive and punitive measures undertaken by Government in all provinces with the signal exception of Bombay and Madras, seemed to result, about the middle of last December, in the reawakening of the Congress party to a saner view of the situation they had created and a truer estimate of its tragic possibilities. The Malaviya Deputation appeared to have lessened the strain and it opened up prospects of a peaceful settlement. Confronted at last with the Government's determination to employ the resources at its command to restore order, the Congress evidently realised its isolation and sent frantic appeals to the other parties to hasten to Ahmedabad and confer on the

possibilities of effecting a truly national understanding. This appeal was a confession of two truths that the N. C. O.'s had strenuously denied till the hour of their trial: (1) They had been intolerant of the other parties, shouting Moderate speakers down at meetings, heaping insults on them, decrying their patriotism even and arrogating to themselves a monopoly of wisdom and virtue. In seeking the aid of such despised opponents the Congress was confessing the falsity of its pretensions. (2) Secondly, the Congress had claimed to have practically the whole country at its back. It had treated the other parties as negligible, if not also contemptible, rivals. In seeking the aid of such dissentients from its policies and methods, the Congress was confessing what a bad mistake it had made in its reckonings and boarings. This dawn of common sense raised hopes that the Congress would enter on an era of co-operation with its own countrymen at least, which undoubtedly would have resulted in a toning down of revolutionary asperities and the evolution of practical, constructive policies and methods. But the dawn was soon obscured by fanatical clouds.

The Gandhian manner is an unfailing agent of confusion, and seems to be well correlated with his policy. It creates needless difficulties and

makes the task of conciliation well nigh hopeless. Even were Government in a fit of liberalism inclined to yield, it could not to an opponent whose every delivery smacks of the bellicose tone of a first-class power. Thus he fixes a date, the 31st December, as the precise time before the advent of which Swaraj (by which he does not seem to mean anything in particular) has to be granted under penalty of some vague terrors he is prepared to invoke. At Ahmedabad he talked of entering into a "Treaty" with the British Government; and following the cold, narrow, emaciated logic of fanaticism he became a "Dictator," with power to pass on the succession to his nominee. The Gandhi Dynasty would be a matter for laughter were it not, owing to the blind superstitious faith of the ignorant masses which is so voluminously enlisted in his favour, fraught with tragic consequences to the people, who never could be an object of our mockery or indifference. No man could gloat over their sufferings, however brought about; and every man would do his utmost to save them by every means possible from the consequences of their irrational devotion. It is for the sake of the people that we should take Mr. Gandhi into account, if his unlucky manner does not prove an insuperable obstacle.

The latest illustration of his capacity for ill-omened belligerency is the ultimatum he issued to the Viceroy on the 1st February, giving him seven days for complying with his demands under threat of letting loose Bardolian civil disobedience supported by possible reserves from Gujarat. Though the great war has ended, its vocabulary is still very much alive though not always kicking. We have "defensive" civil disobedience and "offensive" civil disobedience and other "war babies" in this exceedingly "civil" war. The fact is that the latest developments of the Irish struggle have wrought havoc in the mentality of some of our people, though there is hardly any parallel between the two countries. The project of the Round Table Conference was calculated, whether intended or not, to secure one or more of the following results: (a) That Mr. Gandhi would disclose his policy in greater detail and definiteness than is usual with him. This was partially effected. (b) That the Government of India would disclose its constructive policy and intentions with regard to future developments. (c) That when the situation was thus made clear and definite it would be possible to abridge the differences by the influence of public opinion

and bring about concord. The ultimatum of Mr. Gandhi destroyed the possibility of the last two results being achieved, and must be pronounced to be a fatal blunder. To such a question the very principle of adjustment by a Conference I would put the simple query, "What is the alternative to a conference?" There can be no other answer except a trial of strength between the Government forces of Law and Order, which are not always under ideal discipline, and the Congress forces of Confusion and Camouflage. And my next question will be "Who will suffer most in this struggle?" Not the propertied persons who have supplied the funds; not the preachers and teachers who have carried on the propaganda, but the trusting masses and the youthful enthusiasts; and should not, in the name of humanity, every effort be made to stave off this disaster? Some may seek justification or relief in the easy thought and cheap reflection, "They brought it on themselves," but that is poor consolation indeed. Moreover, it is the ignorant and superstitious that have been seduced into extreme N. C. O., it is the appeal to their primitive instincts and revivalisms that have produced this landslide into reactionary revolution. The educated have, in the main, kept aloof. And who is responsible for the ignorance of the masses and the systematic neglect of the education of the rural classes? Sir Sankaran Nair himself has answered this question in one of his immortal dissenting notes: Government refusing to act lost, widespread education result in widespread political awakening. And as Nemesis would have it, it is the very people that had been kept in ignorance for the sake of political safety that constitute the political danger to-day. The sins of Government have come home to roost. If the rustic folk of Bardoli or Palnad are easily duped and easily intimidated, part at least of the responsibility rests on the authority that did so little to keep up the manly spirit of the nation or spread education, and it is no discharge of this responsibility to say that it would let loose the forces of law and order on the poor unfortunates. If half the zeal and readiness displayed on behalf of "polycism" had been shown for progress, these untoward events would not have happened.

Let the Congress party reflect on the terrible isolation it has brought on itself. The radical papers in England, India's friends through good report and bad report, are up against the Gandhian movement. The *Nation*, reddest of

red radicals, has not a good word to say about it. Those who fought for India think that they could not fight for Mr. Gandhi. His ultimatum has alienated the sympathy of most of those that have laboured for a peaceful accommodation. And why? It is not ever because that he is heading a revolution, but because it is that most cursed of all human mishaps,—a revolution without a positive policy. The Punjab wrong is to some extent history; and there is a limit to which we could go back exploring old accounts. Were there no such limit, the Hindu Muslim unity and the caste and caste unity and the rest of our social and credal unities would be impossible. The Khilafat is settling itself and is, moreover, an international question. As for Swaraj, it has turned out to be an X for which he and his party have not yet given a determination. Existing constitutional arrangements have to be scrapped, and on the slate thus cleaned a constituent assembly elected by the Congress party only should be free to write what constitution it pleases!! And, in culture, material economy, and the other ingredients of civilisation, we should incontinent relapse into primitive simplicities. And as a practical illustration of the benefits of this kingdom to come, we have the aspect of several N. C. O. Municipalities bartering away their schools and cutting them off from all connexion with the educational system of the country; replacing western medicine and treatment by Ayurvedism; not collecting taxes; and neglecting roads, sanitation, lighting, etc., as these had no place in the days of our Vedic forefathers! Perhaps when Swaraj is established we shall abolish artillery in favour of Dhanurvedam, the mystic cult of bow and arrow. And as these reforms would result in a government without activities and the philosophical anarchy of Tolstoy, there would be no need for any taxation! Is it for these demented fancies that the country is to be plunged into anarchy, bloodshed and its inevitable offspring, to quote the *Daily News*, "a blood-stained tyranny!" Let the Congress party reflect and retract.

Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum to the Viceroy has given a line clear to the advance of Governmental forces. I hope that, in the exercise of force, the following conditions, dictated by policy, no less than equity, will be observed: (1) That force beyond the minimum necessary will not be employed and it will be employed in strict accordance with law and the best traditions of humane warfare. Terrorism and racial humili-

liation will leave rankling memories which will in their turn generate larger fires. If it be remembered that Amritsar is no small part of the causes of the present situation, the need for restraint, equitable and prudent, will be readily grasped. (2) That there should be a discriminatory tariff of penalties—a penal tariff for the leaders and a preferential one, which, however, should not fall below the level necessary for securing protection to society, for their dupes, the ignorant followers. (3) That the penalties in all cases be what they are for like offenders in England and other advanced Western countries. India is not prepared to be treated as a country less civilised. (4) That all the while peaceful and constructive modes of accommodation be explored and the door kept open, as was done in the case of Ireland and Egypt, for a settlement by rational consent. Law and order *first* and accommodation *thereafter* is part of the vocabulary of tyranny. One is glad to note that it is not the whole creed of the Government of India. For instance, though thousands repented the *Palwa* openly, only a very few were prosecuted, though absolute law and order would have demanded the prosecution of all the offenders without exception. A supersession of the doctrine, wiser still and nobler, is to be found in the release of the Gurudwara Sikh prisoners and the handing over of the keys. Law and order theory, therefore, has to be tempered by higher considerations of statesmanship. (4) That instead of countering N. C. O. by a blank negative, which can never evoke the rational or imaginative sympathy of the people, Government take counsel of the leaders of the constitutionalist parties and formulate a positive policy of reforms undeterred by the difficulties placed in its path by the Gandhian movement. The brisk era of administrative reforms in connection with the Army, Tariffs, removal of racial distinctions in criminal law and procedure, reduction in the number of Executive Councillors, etc., inaugurated under theegis of the Reforms Act has had a very good influence on public opinion; but there is considerable scope for expansion in this line which should not be lost sight of. (5) That the present unhappy situation should not be exploited for creating class and caste war which would render the restoration of the conditions of peaceful progress impossible for generations to come. Such a shameless avowal of the policy of divide and rule as the *Englishman* advocated when it proposed to distribute the lands of the recalcitrant Bardolians to the

depressed classes and retired soldiery is sure to disgust all well wishers of the country and the Government. Offering two revolutions, an agrarian and a social, for Mr. Gandhi's one, the political, is not the best way of bargaining for the termination of anarchy.

(6) That Government should not act in a spirit of hatred and vengeance, but rather like the parent or teacher disciplining the unruly with a firm hand yet tender heart, with a view to reclaiming the civil revolvers to law-abiding yet honourable citizenship. Action undertaken for breaking the spirit of the people; demoralising them into abject submission; for lipping revolt in the bud; for teaching a lesson to others not yet touched by revolutionary zeal; to prevent trouble in other than the affected parts and for all future; and the rest of the ends that the code of terrorism prescribes, will not succeed any more in India and is sure to recoil with deadly force on such apostles of Prussianism. Government and its agents should act as rational beings intent on reclaiming the masses misguided into civil disobedience into renewed association and fellowship as partners in the nation's concern, and not as demented furies out to extirpate them or cause eternal caste and other social wars in the country.

Subject to these conditions, Government must now go full speed ahead, unless wiser counsels prevail even at this late hour\* in Mr. Gandhi's camp.

P. S. — Since the above was written the kaleidoscope has undergone another and quite startling turn. Mr. Gandhi has decreed or enacted his own Waterloo at Bardoli. Dramatic advances and retreats are so much a part of his movement, that it is too soon to say whether this is only the latest phase or the last, though it does appear to me that the avenging power of facts has set the seal of finality on it. It remains to be seen whether the Congress will follow him in the humdrum path of peaceful, constructive work with half the zeal that it displayed for destructive militancy. To Gandhi must be given the great credit of re-awakening, after their long dismal torpor, the romantic instincts of India, the recklessness of the Moslem and the adventurous spirit of the Rajput; but will these instincts, once awakened, tamely submit to be put to sleep again by the

hypnotist? Will the sense of chivalry and loyal comradeship of which India has never been bankrupt consent to a cessation of the struggle, however hopeless and fruitless, so long as over 10,000 of the gallant leaders are kept in jail? Human nature being what it is, conditions of stable peace and renewed harmony are impossible unless Government, out of their grace or policy, release the political prisoners immediately. This done, there is hardly any possibility of aggressive N. C. O. springing into new life and vigour.

The latest dispensation of the Mahatma issued from Bardoli can have no appeal to the hot bloods of the country. Social service:—This is hardly the spring from which fanatical fury could be expected to flow. Visiting drunkards, I suppose in their sober moments, at their own houses, and inducing them to give up drink:—mere prose compared to the poetry of picketing and defying authority and running the risk of being arrested. The new programme is to the old as water unto wine; nobody could get into a state of patriotic intoxication over it.

But, as an English friend of mine remarked, you never know whether the Government may not blunder, as it did when it arrested Mrs. C. R. Das and gave much needed help to the Congress office in the matter of securing volunteers by stirring up the dormant zeal of the youth of Calcutta, and cause the dying fires to flame up once again. If they release the prisoners and meet the national leaders in conference in the spirit of the Viceroy's declaration at Calcutta, the country could be easily got to enter on a new era of constructive work.

If conciliation is effected the Congress party will be sure to contest the next elections vigorously. Their propaganda and the sacrifices they have undergone, though in mistaken zeal, give them a big advantage. But I doubt if they can swim the seas successfully with the mill-stone of an atavistic policy tied firmly to their neck. They have given up revolutionary methods but they have yet to give up reactionary policies. True they are staunch nationalists, but I feel confident that reactionary nationalism can have no chance against progressive nationalism if the latter is properly organised and led. So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned the Justice party has every chance of winning all along the line if it can convince the people that its ideals are democratic, liberal and progressive, by vigorous propaganda. If the Congress party are allowed to play in the Provincial Government the

\* (This article was written on 12-2-'22. I wonder how it will read in the light of the events that may occur between the writing and the publication.—C.R.R.)



sort of pranks they have done in the Municipalities they have captured, it will be a disastrous time for the country. But if they adopt constitutional means for gaining their ends, the other parties must fight them by constitutional means only, i.e., by influencing the electorate to return their candidates. No one patriot or democrat could contemplate the suspension of provincial institutions with the same resignation as municipal, or tolerate any other variety of un-

constitutional jerry-mandering. Liberty implies the liberty to go wrong though perhaps not unlimitedly; and if our constitutional liberties are to be employed for the real advancement of the country, the progressive parties must organise themselves and educate the electorate.

But much of this is a straying into the realms of forecast and prophecy. The kaleidoscope may take other turns.

C. R. R.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BENGAL

BY MR. PRITHWIS-CHANDRA RAY

Editor, *The Bengalee*.

**A**FTER Jallianwalla Bhag and the unfortunate and brutal administration of martial law in the Punjab, Mr. Gandhi initiated the policy of non co-operation in India as a retaliatory measure against the Government, but the people of Bengal did not take very kindly or readily to it at the outset. In the Special Congress which was held in Calcutta in September, 1919, to introduce this new movement, and in the Congress held at Nagpur the same year, the leaders of Bengal seemed to doubt the wisdom of the policy and hesitated to throw their weight into Mr. Gandhi's scales. But the policy of the Government of Lord Chelmsford and of Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal, to wait and see how far the new movement might go, gave a long rope to the Extremists, the Congress, and the Khilafat agitators. The people did not appreciate the quiet and indifferent attitude of the Government, and began to think that the Government had come to the end of their tether, and that they could indulge in any amount of wild talk, and place before the people any crazy ideal of political individuality that came into their head. The leaders of the movement revelled in all sorts of reckless and inflammatory speeches, decrying and blackening the present system of government to their hearts' content, and captured the imagination of the people by placing before them rosy visions of an ideal Swaraj which no one knew what port it would lead India to in a tempestuous sea. The movement spread like wild-fire amongst the people of Bengal through the fire-eating vernacular press and the popular extremist press like the *Patrika* and the *Servant*, which have taken an unboly delight in serving the people with very strong meat and very heady wine. Then, when Mr. C. R. Das, the eminent Calcutta Advocate, gave up his immense practice in consonance with the principles of non co-operation,

it was looked upon as one of the greatest sacrifices a son of Bengal had ever made for the sake of a political ideal: and hundreds of men, particularly young lawyers of the mofussil bar, followed his lead and tried to emulate his noble example. The middle classes, and specially the students, went off their head and were soon clamouring for a Swaraj which even their leaders did not know what it conveyed and where it would lead to. They did not know what their real aspirations were; they only knew that they were going to attain the Swaraj of which the Mahatma only had an obscure vision in his mind, and they were ready to sacrifice everything to win "freedom," and they were out to create troubles no matter how and why. When the students' strike was organised by the non-co-operators in 1921, it was a complete success at the beginning, but they could not keep it up. When they realised the fallacy of the idea, the students, one by one, all flocked back to the colleges. It is interesting to note, that at the coming Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta, there will be more candidates than in any previous year, and this number will be about three times as many as generally appear for the same standard of examination in all the universities of the United Kingdom put together. The candidates for the Intermediate Arts and Sciences will also be twice the number of candidates in the United Kingdom for similar examinations, and for the B.A. Degree Examination there will be as many candidates sitting for it a couple of months hence as there may be in half a dozen of other universities in India put together.

The campaign against the Government, however, was carried on in full swing all throughout the last year and with a bitterness and racial hatred unparalleled in the history of India, and at the same time the younger generation nursed in their hearts

the vision of a phantom Swaraj which receded like a mirage the more they seemed to come near it and the more when Mr. Gandhi postponed the dates of its final realisation.

When the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on the 17th of November last year, the hartal in Calcutta, and in most of the important towns in the mofussil, was practically complete. But it would not be quite correct to describe it as voluntary. The shop-keepers and other business men suspended their business, mostly because they had been so instructed by the Khilafat agitators, and also for fear of social ostracism. The uneducated people did not know or quite realise why they were observing a hartal. All that they knew was that it was the command of Mahatma Gandhi and that every one else was doing it. There was to do and die, and not to reason why. In asking the people to enforce and observe a hartal during the Prince's visit to India, the Congress and Khilafat agitators took a most aggressive and militant attitude, which, at the outset, put the Government completely out of their wits. Discordant and rebellious elements soon reared up their heads everywhere, nursed and fostered by the Congress and Khilafat organisations, and were lauded by the Congress Press as great patriots and martyrs.

After the hartal of the 17th November, and the incidents in Bombay, the Government seemed to wake up from its long sleep, and suddenly realised that the authority for the maintenance of law and order had practically slipped out of their hands. If they were to maintain law and order, if they were to prevent a Gandhi raj, they could no longer carry on the policy of inaction, and *laissez faire* and resign themselves to Fate.

Late in November last, the Bengal Government began by issuing some proclamations and ordinances to check the activities of the Khilafat and the Congress volunteers. On this, the conflict came to a head. The Congress and the Khilafat volunteers took up a most defiant attitude as a reply to these proclamations. Thousands of volunteers took to picketing openly, in defiance of the orders of the Government, and to make the hartal during the Prince of Wales' stay in Calcutta a staggering success. Thousands of volunteers, with their leader, Mr. C. R. Das, courted arrest and went to jail in a cheerful spirit. Many Bengalee ladies also joined the volunteers, were arrested, and afterwards released. The arrest of Mr. C. R. Das, the ladies, and the volunteers might have been very unfortunate incidents, but the Government had no other alternative than to

carry out the laws which they were anxious to enforce,—irrespective of caste, creed, status or sex.

The present policy of the Government has been described in many quarters as a 'repressive' one, even by many leading men who profess to be Moderates. While the present policy was being carried out in Bengal, manifestos upon manifestos were heaped upon the Government, signed by thousands, including many Moderates, decrying the present policy. They desired the Government to pacify the feelings of the people by granting them Swaraj immediately, though they themselves did not know what sort of Swaraj would be acceptable to them. And some leading Moderate gentlemen in Bengal even went to the length of telling the Viceroy, to his face, that, if the Government did not go back upon its new policy, they would soon join the non-co-operating party. The officiousness of the signatories of the manifestos and the members of the 'Round Table' deputation, who approached the Viceroy in Calcutta early in December last, was thrown into greater relief by the refusal of the Mahatmaji to enter into any negotiations with the Viceroy, and to call off the hartal on the 24th of December, the date of the Prince's arrival in Calcutta. The Mahatmaji did not care even to come to the rescue of the suffering people of Bengal, but thought it his greater duty to attend the Congress at Ahmedabad and 'dictate' new edicts and organise fresh hartals. These worthy signatories had the courage to cry "hands off the people" to the Government, but not one of them had the courage for obvious reasons to issue similar manifestos to the people, to give one word of sane advice, or to ask them to give up their defiant and militant attitude which led to chaos and disorder. They had the courage to send manifestos and deputations to the Viceroy, but they were not at all desirous of putting their own house in order. Throughout the centuries, from the days of Asoka forward, that has been the tragedy of Indian life.

The present policy of the Government is not a repressive one, though certainly the Government has gone back upon the *laissez faire* of Lord Chelmsford. Certainly, the police have in nine cases out of ten exceeded their instructions and committed very grave blunders, and the magistracy has also more often than not passed more severe sentences upon 'political offenders' than were warranted by the circumstances; but all this does not justify the Government policy to be described by the sweeping term, 'repressive.'

Lord Reading and Lord Ronaldshay have now definitely given up the policy of inaction, and are determined to put down, with a firm hand, the culpable excesses of the non-co-operation propaganda which is disintegrating settled life in India.

The Government certainly have gone to excess, but they were not solely to blame for it; it is the spirit of defiance and ill-feeling that led to the unsettling of people's minds that, after a long spell of patience and forbearance, ultimately forced Government to show their mailed fist.

But the situation in Bengal even now has not become impossible, and not got quite out of hand. All right-thinking men, even among the leaders of the non-co-operation party, have cried "halt" to the rebellious spirit of defiance of law and authority. The storm in Bengal is practically now over, and, so far, we have escaped with only a rude shock. The volcano may yet burst.

One of the most pleasing features of the recent agitation is the part played by the women of Bengal. Hitherto, the interest of the Bengalee woman was confined to her home, her husband, and her children. Now, a goodly number have begun to discard the purdah and take an active interest in the politics of their husbands, though it is distressing to find that they are being exploited by their 'men' friends for propaganda of very doubtful wisdom.

Another most pleasing feature of the non-co-operation movement is the reduction of drunkenness amongst the lower classes. They will not touch liquor now, because it is the Mahatma's command. The excise revenue in Bengal is becoming a diminishing source of our provincial income.

Another prominent, though very unhappy and uncertain, feature of the new movement is the growing discontent amongst the masses. It is no doubt an encouraging sign that they have begun to demand the "rights of man," and will no longer submit to be trodden under foot or looked down upon; but they do not exactly know how to ameliorate their conditions and reach adult political manhood. It is one thing to shout to the loudest, and another to deserve and win a prize.

As far as the question of 'untouchability' is concerned, the lot of the depressed classes has not improved one whit in Bengal by the new movement. They continue to receive the same cruel treatment from men of higher social rank as they did in the last, or any, previous generation, and there does not appear to be any chance in the near future of the amenities of social life being extended to them by the orders of our 'caste' hierarchy.

The artisans and the peasantry are realising that they are a power in the land, and there have been as many as two hundred labour strikes in the past two years in and about Calcutta. And, in the districts of Rungpore, Pabna, Midnapur and Mymensingh, the tenants are refusing to pay rent to the landlords, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's wishes and the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress. Poor fellows, they have not even the sense to comprehend that, in a wild game of revolution, they are being used merely as pawns by wicked agitators.

The civil disobedience campaign of Mr. Gandhi is not likely to be taken very seriously in Bengal, at any rate, for some time yet. There are very few men in this province who will go with him the whole way in this matter. One of the main reasons why civil disobedience is likely to be given a wide berth here is that nearly ninety per cent of the people have some interest in the land. And, land being permanently settled in Bengal very few people would go to the extent of losing the advantages that its possession generally secures. The Bengalees are clear-thinking and shrewd men, and will weigh the *pros* and *cons* well before embracing any false step which would lead them to chaos and disorder. They may go with the Mahatma to a certain extent, but they are not likely to go the whole hog with him.

What is wanted in India to-day is a better guide and a more kindly light to the movements started during recent years for the realisation of our social, political, intellectual, and industrial consciousness. Men, not in hundreds but in hundreds of thousands, seem to have gone off their feet, because they cannot look at things in their proper perspective themselves, nor can they count upon any cautious and sound patriotic lead. What is wanted to-day in India is the greater spread of knowledge and truth, particularly of the fundamental principles of political philosophy, economics, and comparative sociology. A more careful and accurate thinking in public life is the greatest necessity of the time, and a judgment based on a careful study of the history of one's own country, and of other countries under similar circumstances. India must learn to take every step in advance warily, and cautiously, with the light of all the experiences and pitfalls of the past, and shape her future destiny not on shibboleths and catch-phrases, or on Bolshevik and Tolstoyan ideals, but on the broader and more humane considerations that, at a not distant future, she must break from her prison walls and take her place in the wider "Federation of Man."

# • LORD KITCHENER

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BY

SURGEON-GENERAL G. G. GIFFARD.

THE recent correspondence sent to the *London Times* by Mr. Asquith reminds us that the two well known books \* about Lord Kitchener have appeared only 4 and 5 years, respectively, after the death of the great soldier and administrator. So short an interval of time is,



SURGEON-GENERAL GIFFARD.

almost certainly, insufficient to enable anyone to write a history of Lord Kitchener's life and doings which will be acceptable to posterity or which will show K. of K. in the light in which he will be

\* *Life of Lord Kitchener* by Sir George Arthur, 3 Volumes. Macmillans. 1920.

*The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener* by Reginald Viscount Esher. John Murray. London, 1921.

viewed in later years and in accurate historical perspective. Lord Kitchener's memory has found in Sir Arthur's Biography a Boswell. Anyone who, like the present reviewer, had attained years of discretion 35 odd years ago, will search through Sir George Arthur's book, in vain, to find explanations of those phases of Lord Kitchener's career which seem to require academic discussion or elucidation of the incidents about which the public desire to know more than transpired at the time of their occurrence. The Biographer has allowed no flaw in the great man's character and has failed to explain several incidents which the ordinary man in the street considers still to require explanation. Nevertheless, the book is very readable and it gives a very clear description of the rise from the complete obscurity of an R. E. Subaltern's start in life to the culminating point in the great historical career when, at the hands of the enemy, Field-Marshal Earl Kitchener, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., O.M., etc. etc. passed off the stage of English history. The preface by the Marquis of Salisbury well states that the interests of Lord Kitchener's career, its extraordinary culmination, the public enthusiasm which, in these last critical years, centre upon him and his dramatic end, demand treatment by a friend whose inside knowledge of recent events, from Lord Kitchener's point of view, is second to none. Lord Kitchener was a man of commanding stature, strongly-marked features, arresting eyes and of a severe, even intimidating, aspect; but, as the book points out in many places, Lord Kitchener was acutely conscious of the softer side of his own character. Lord Kitchener was a difficult man to convince that he was wrong like other men of action, but in a special degree his conclusions were instinctive. The important thing in his eyes was

that a decision should be right, not that it could be defended. Lord Kitchener to the very end of his life had never learnt the arts of controversy, but found himself completely out of place in politics and at Cabinet meetings. The British Public believed in him and his advice to an extent which will be almost incredible to future generations. He had been universally successful in everything he had undertaken, although nearly all that he had done before his advent to the post of Secretary of State for War during the Great War had been done far away from England and in the East. In Sir Arthur's book Field-Marshal Earl Haig states, in a short secondary preface, that no one can doubt now that but for this man and his work Germany would have been victorious. Lord Kitchener created the means of winning the war. Lord Kitchener created a new Army. He foresaw that it would be a long war and that the last million men thrown into the field would win the war. The great part played by the new armies in slowly fighting down the enemy's power of resistance is well known. Their creation was a wonderful work. It was the work of Lord Kitchener and it has given wonderful results.

Lord Kitchener's life may be roughly divided into: (1) a time when he was a young and almost unknown officer; (2) a time when he came to the front after Arabi Pasha's rebellion in Egypt; (3) the period when he was serving with the Egyptian Army and fought at Suakin and other, now almost forgotten, battles; (4) the long time of preparation which culminated in the battle of Omdurman and the re-conquest of Sudan; (5) the South African War when he was Chief of the Staff of Lord Roberts and afterwards Officer Commanding-in-Chief in the closing phases of that long-drawn-out struggle; (6) the Command in India, during which he instituted the Indian Staff College and also during which the famous controversy with Lord Curzon took place, with results even

now not yet clear; (7) the years spent in Cairo as British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, and lastly a period spent by Lord Kitchener up to the time of his death as Secretary of State for War in London and as creator of Kitchener's Army.

Sir George Arthur's book, however, gives many glimpses of Lord Kitchener's character. Kitchener was a man of action from his early youth. He was one of a number of young Englishmen who offered their military services to the Republic of France and was appointed to the Second Army by General Chanzy while still a cadet at Woolwich and, in fact, was absent without leave. He did not serve with the French Army very long, for, he soon fell ill of pneumonia. He did not receive the medal for the campaign of 1871 until it was forwarded to him with a charming letter by the French Minister for War in 1913. He was hauled up before the Commander-in-Chief, who fiercely rebuked him and told him that he had behaved abominably; ending with the words 'however I am bound to say that in your place I would have done the same thing'. Once again, before he was many years older, as a tall young man, Lieutenant of Engineers, he entered a Nile boat and asked the Commanding Officer if he could be of any use. He then already spoke Arabic fluently. He was once enlisted in a little adventure and, disguised as a Levantine, took tickets for Zagazig. Here again on his return to Cyprus he found himself in trouble for having left the island without permission. Kitchener seems to have been always old for his age and was appreciated more by senior officers than by his contemporaries. The club, the ball-room, and the race-course had little attractions for an officer who revelled in work. His outlook in life was that of one who had scarcely tasted the ordinary pleasures of youth, and to whom it was said that with the status of a subaltern he had the mind of a statesman. Another description of the young Kitchener was "a man whom I have always placed

my hopes upon, one of the few very superior officers with a cool and a good head, hard constitution and untiring energy".

Sir George Arthur's book leaves the reader with the impression that throughout life Kitchener was, on the whole, a greater administrator than actual soldier. He certainly seems to have been a financier, and the expedition to Soudan and the taking of Khartoum would probably never have taken place had it not been for his capacity for steadily accumulating material and closely husbanding his resources. He looked at the piastres as carefully as at the pounds and always looked ahead. A great many different views have been held as to Kitchener's methods in dealing with officers.

His choice of commanders was governed by intuition and personal observation, rather than by written report or reference to the Army List. His instinct for detecting merit was unerring; a brief conversation or passing incident would often suffice to reveal to him some valuable qualification or special aptitude, and he seldom failed to inspire officers on whom his eye lighted with his own energy and willingness to accept responsibility.

His treatment of officers was the reverse of that sometimes ascribed to him. Slackness and carelessness and 'letting things slide' were anathema always, but he was slow to wrath over an error of judgment. So far from being a hard taskmaster, intolerant of failure, his fault, if any, lay in the opposite direction. He himself admitted that he was not fluent in praise, but he was prone to approve. Senior officers and his staff have even been known to lament his reluctance to 'tell off' an offender, and the infrequency with which he did so. Moreover, he was always anxious to find and record a man's best side, and even when failure necessitated removal he was at pains to report on previous good work or explain that ill-luck had attended well-meant efforts.

The third volume of the book is entirely taken up with the story of the great war as seen and understood at the War Office. Lord Esher's book is an essay founded on a diary and the author states that no attempt has been made to correct first impressions in the doubtful light of subsequent reflection. The diary is to be sealed up for 60 years. The book deals only with Lord Kitchener's work as Secretary of State. It is not unkind or unfair, as some reviewers have stated, but the tragedy is not meant to recall the sinking of the great warship, but is intended to emphasize (perhaps unnecessarily) that hour when in mid-career, or what appeared to his countrymen a mid-career, of fame Lord Kitchener became himself suddenly aware that the golden bowl was broken. The great war broke many younger and stronger men. It was fortunate, indeed, for Europe that Lord Kitchener's great work was done before the break.

## Sonnet

BY

MR. S. K. CHATTERJEE.

(Composed on the Central Dome of the Taj,  
at Agra.)

Lo! raised upon this vast aerial height,  
This realm of air,—free, uncontrolled I stand:  
Behold! beneath me how the grovelling band  
Of this poor earth,—like enanisms, whom the sight  
Can scarce perceive,—are passing sadly by!  
But what are they?—poor things of mortal clay!  
Thus pomp—thus power—thus glory flit away  
Like the bright meteor—glances of the sky,  
When the black clouds do veil it. 'Round me  
now,  
The boundless sea of air, in calm profound,  
Is sleeping gently:—and the silent queen  
Of swarth complexioned night, pale and serene,  
Is rising brightly!—Oh! how sweetly 'round  
Falls the bright silver light of her calm brow!

# THE SECOND ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

**U**NDER the auspices of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University and on the invitation of the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Vice-Chancellor, the second session of the Oriental Conference, which was inaugurated in 1919 at Poona by the Bhandarkar Research Institute, was held at the Senate House and Dharbanga Buildings, Calcutta, on the 28th January last and the four following days. Dr. Sylvain Levi, who is probably the world's greatest living Indologist and who recently delivered two courses of lectures on Indological subjects at the Visva Bharathi, Shantiniketan, presided over the Conference. About 200 delegates from all parts of India attended the session. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, who, as Patron, opened the Conference, remarked that the immediate object of the Conference was

to trace the threads which in the past have gone to the making of the splendid and variegated tapestry of Indian civilisation. Much in the detail of the pattern of the tapestry has been obliterated by the hand of time; and the immediate and conscious task of those who take part in the proceedings of these Conferences is to make known the extent to which progress has been made in rescuing such details from oblivion.

The ultimate object of the men who formed this Conference, in Lord Ronaldshay's opinion

is the speeding of the corporate mind of India along the path of its natural development so that it may contribute its special share to the shaping of the destiny of the human race.

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, read a very lengthy address, in which he dwelt on the advances made by Indian and Western scholars in all fields of Indological study and research.

Dr. Levi was then proposed in a felicitous speech to the President's chair by Mr. Akshay Kumar Mitra and supported by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Ganganath Jha and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani.

In the course of his presidential address, Dr. Levi remarked :

I have come to India not to teach but to be taught. In the West, we have books, libraries, collections : but we have not the lip moving before the eyes. We miss

that intimate feeling of tradition which can reveal even to the simplest souls some deep truths which will escape the scholar working on texts at his desk. I had a clear instance of it a few months ago, first when reaching the soil of India.

Continuing on the glories of ancient India he said :

Indian genius had its colonies, far larger than the huge metropolis. Indonesia, Indo-China, Serindia are names which up-to-date record a past glory. But here we are facing the dark side of Indian genius. Your pilgrims have for a long time unlearned these roads, and pilgrims of the thought are still neglecting them. How many among India's educated people—except of course professional scholars—are aware that Cambodia and Champa add a large and beautiful chapter to the epigraphic literature of Sanskrit "Prasastis," that no proper study of Mahabharata and Ramayana should be done without the help of Vavanesse poetry, that China and Tibet are still keeping a large library of Indian works, several thousands of them and some of them as extensive as the Mahabharata—the originals of which have disappeared likely for ever, but which a continuous effort of interpreters, mainly come from India, had done into Chinese and Tibetan? How many have heard, for instance, that we have still in our hands a Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary compiled by the celebrated pilgrim Yi-tsing? How many do know that Khotan, Kashgar, Kucha, Kharasgar and many of the small places scattered along the fearful sands of Central Asia, now the land of Turkish dialects and of Islam? Chinese-Turkistan as we are rightly used to call it, have been a magnificent home of Sanskrit learning, where grammar and books of India are read, translated, and imitated, where Indian theatres had borne a sumptuous offshoot of religious plays, "yatras"? How many do know that the Turks of Mongolia, about the time of Hiuen Tsang, used to read in their own idiom the Hidimbavadha of Mahabharata?

I mean to show you by a striking instance how Tibetan has to be taken in an Indian University, in intimate connection with your own Indian texts. Instead of applying to Tibetan monks and laymen, should the translator have applied to an average Sanskrit scholar, he would have been immediately informed that the so-called work of Nagarjuna is only a Subhasita-Sangraha, an anthology of the regular type and collected at a fairly late date, centuries after 100 B C. He would have got an easy explanation of so many riddles suddenly cleared up in the light of the Sanskrit original. And the same has to be said of Chinese, of Japanese, of Kuchean, of Khotanese, of so many languages foreign to India, but that have to centre round the Sanskrit scholarship for a proper study of Indian civilisation. And that is why I am so glad to see you congregated as in a common effort to dispel the darkness which still covers so much of your part in order to bring it to the healthy light of the day.

The Conference met on the mornings of the four following days in sections like the Vedic and Iranian, Buddhism, Philology, Sans-

krit and Prakrit Literature, Persian and Arabic, Philosophy and Religion, Political History and Chronology, Social and Religious History, Ancient Geography, Archaeology, Sciences, Ethnology and Folklore. Under the Vedic Section, presided over by Dr. Belvalkar, there were some very interesting papers like the Chairman's note on Literary Strata in the Rig-Veda; Dr. Shama Shastri's the Vedic New Year's Day; Chronology and Aryanism, with special reference to Vedic origins by H. Bruce Hannah; etc. Dr. J. J. Modi read papers on an Iranian view of Karma; and Alexander the Great's Devastation of the Ancient Literature of the Persis of his time; and he also presided over the section of Iranian Language and Literature. Mahamahopadaya Hara Prasad Shastri presided over the section of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature, wherein there were interesting papers like Medadithi as revealed in his Manubhashya by Dr. Gangadhar Jha; the date of Mrichchhakatika from astrological data; Subhandu and Vasubhandu; the chronological order of Kalidasa's works; etc. The Archaeological Section was the most lively and protracted, and it contained papers like Sir John Marshall's Dravidian and Aryan Elements in Indian Art; Asoka's Dhammalipis; Identification of a Barhut Bas relief; Identification of Avalokitesvara and Mr. Jayaswal's 'A Granite Archstone from the site of Pataliputra' which he maintained to be of the Mauryan times and round which controversy raged long and fierce. The sections on Political History and Chronology and Social and Religious History were full of papers and discussion, like the Saka-Pallava Dynasties of Northern India; Nandi of Tellaru by Mr. R. Gopalan; Origin of Some South Indian Dynasties by Mr. A. R. Sarasvati; the Western Gangas of Talakad by Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachari; Ancient Indian Industrial Life and Famine Relief by Mr. S. V. Visvanatha; Mr. J. N. Samaddar's Economic Culture as depicted in Valmiki; Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar's An

Interesting Culture Movement in India; Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari's Some Aspects of Ancient Tamil Polity; etc

The section on Philosophy and Religion was presided over by Prof. S. Kuppaswami Shastri, who himself read a paper on the Prabakara School of Mimamsa. Mr. Johan Van Manen read a paper on the traces of Chanakya Niti in the Tibetan Niraya and there were other interesting papers too numerous for even bare mention.

At the general meeting of the Conference held on the 1st February, resolutions were passed inviting the next session to Madras under the auspices of the Madras University, urging a definite scheme for the reorganisation of Sanskrit studies, etc, and passing votes of condolence on the death of Messrs. T. K. Laddu, V. Natesa Iyer, S. C. Vidyabushan and H. N. Pande. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar was appointed local Secretary for Madras, collaborating with the Calcutta Secretaries for the time.

Amusement was provided for the delegates every evening, like trips to the Nahar Collections of Oriental Art, the Indian Museum, the Victoria Memorial Exhibition, the Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and a trip to the Botanical Gardens down the Hooghly. H. E. the Governor gave an evening party to the delegates, which was enlivened by the staging of Tagore's *Post Office* under the auspices of the Shakespeare Association in India. The Calcutta University Institute was at home to the delegates one evening, when there was a nice concert of music and later a performance of *Mrichchhakatika* (Act VI). The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Rai Bahadur Manilal Nahar, the Hon. the Maharaja of Cossimbazaar and the Sanskrit Mahamandal entertained the delegates on other days.



# 94 THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD-PEACE

BY

MR. H. D. CORNISH.

THE future historian of the League of Nations will either record a brilliant achievement or another broken ideal. It is too early yet to prognosticate what the fate of this body will be. We who have been present at its birth see a promising, healthy bantling, nurtured by a multitude of enthusiastic nurses, and blessed by an equally numerous and devoted band of sponsors. But the creature is still in its infancy, and though none of us wish to be pessimistic about it reaching a vigorous manhood, yet we cannot forget that other offspring of the same idea have died young. In fact, the cynic might regard the lectures collected and published in "The Evolution of World Peace"\* as a series of obituary notices of the League of Nations' predecessors. On the other hand, the authors of these dissertations invite us to take a more cheerful view, and to perceive in the lessons of history and of past attempts and failures a steady perseverance towards the ideal of some international guarantee of World-Peace and a gradual progress towards its realization.

The League of Nations Union has published this work as part of its propaganda to induce people to "think internationally" instead of "thinking imperially." This latter process, Mr. Marvin claims, has lost much of its charm since it was practised on us by the Germans. So it has no doubt if Imperialism connotes the narrow patriotism which borders on Jingoism. But that was certainly not the sense of Mr. Chamberlain's famous message to "think imperially"; and we take it that Mr. Marvin would equally repudiate the notion that "thinking internationally" necessitates that a man should be the friend of every country but his own or pretend to love his enemies. There is a

bastard Imperialism just as there is a bastard Internationalism; and the League of Nations Union recognizes neither the one nor the other. Now there is nothing new in the idea of an international *Entente Cordiale*, and these lectures have been arranged to show that the League of Nations is simply a stage in a process of evolution which has been going on through the centuries. Sir Paul Vinogradoff in his lecture on "The Work of Rome" detects in the story of St Paul's arrest at Jerusalem the germ of a consciousness that the privileges and obligations of nationality were not necessarily confined by the limits of race or country. The Apostle's claim to be a Roman citizen, to membership of a commonwealth embracing men of various nations, was at once accepted as giving him the right to look to the protection of a power higher than that of a mere territorial arbiter. The Pax Romana was a World-Peace.

The spread of Christianity marked the advent of the same idea in another form, "the ideal of a universal faith and a universal justice allowing for the autonomous determination of national and regional communities" under the aegis of the Church. St. Augustine, in his book *De Civitate Dei*, expressed the Church's conception of a World-Peace maintained by a World State. The theory was that the Christian states were bonded together by a common faith and owed allegiance to a common spiritual dominion. For obvious reasons the Papacy was marked out for the supreme authority in this scheme. In practice the scheme resolved itself into a perpetual conflict between the Pope and the Temporal head of the Holy Roman Empire—the Emperor. Mr. Carless Davis has taken the Papacy of Innocent III as illustrative of this stage. No Pope, he says, ever pursued the ideal of universal peace with more persistency

\* Essays arranged and edited by Mr. S. Marvin. The University Series. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press.

and vigour and adroitness. Nevertheless, the story of Innocent's career is that of a great failure. Mr. Davis describes Innocent as a firm believer in the virtues of arbitration.

He often offered to mediate in disputes to which he was not a party ..... Unfortunately, he was not so successful in these efforts as when he endeavoured to promote the cause of peace by throwing all the weight of his influence on one side or the other and by helping his ally to win a rapid victory. In the civil wars of Germany and England he became a partisan, with results which, at the time, appeared to be not unfavourable to the Papacy. In each case he backed the winner and so accelerated the conclusion of the war. But, naturally enough, successes of this kind weakened his claim to be the universal arbitrator between princes and people.

But Innocent was in a position to make his arbitrations effective. A Papal Interdict was in those days no stage thunder, and the Pope had arias and men wherewith to enforce it. In both respects he was better equipped than the League of Nations appears to be. Yet, Innocent, to preserve peace, was compelled to rely on the Lateran Council's decree for a ten-years' truce in Europe in order to promote a crusade in the Holy Land. The League of Nations, too, has had to ensure peace by looking feebly on at the residuum of the world's pugnacity exhausting itself in Siberia, Hungary and Asia Minor.

The development of a system of International Law and the tremendous upheaval of the French Revolution are claimed in these lectures to have contributed to the evolution of the World-Peace idea. Curiously enough, the history of International Law is, to a large extent, the history of the rules of war. Grotius was moved to write his famous book *De Jure Belli et Pacis* by his horror of the wars which prevailed in Europe. Mr. G. N. Clark, who is responsible for the chapter on "Grotius and International Law," says of the impetus given by the work of this famous jurist to the formation of some basis of international comity :—

In 1648, three years after the death of Grotius, there met in Munster and Osnabruck the first great European peace conference, and it was followed by a long series of greater or smaller congresses in which

much was done to arrange the methods of international political co-operation. In their organisation the rules of international law, even if they are often trivial and formal, have a place. Nor is this all that it has done. The work it has done is similar to the work which it may be expected to do in the future. After a grave and calamitous interruption, this generation is trying to put it together again, and is trying to do so with some precaution against another similar disaster. Whatever form the new structure ultimately takes, it will show continuity with the old. Just as the canonists and civilians of the Middle Ages laid the foundations of the theory of Grotius, so, we may be sure, he and his successors have laid the foundations of the theory which will follow. They have been the spokesmen, not altogether wise nor altogether fortunate, of the idea of unity among nations. This work has enabled others to give expression to that idea in other ways.

There is not space to make more than a note in passing of Mr. Gooch's instructive lecture on "The French Revolution as a World-Force." The termination of the revolutionary war in the Concert of Europe forms an interesting parallel to the events of 1914—1919. The Settlement of Vienna, or "Unsettlement" as it has been called, was ushered in, like its successor, the League of Nations, with much sentimental twaddle. The Tsar Alexander published to the world his scheme for a banding together of the nations in an Holy Alliance. "Christian rulers were to be as brothers, their subjects as children in one family; discord was to cease", and so on. But if the settlement of Vienna did not introduce the Millennium, it, at all events, gave a fresh impetus to the universal striving after a World-Peace. The tendency of the 19th century was to have recourse to arbitration. From 1820 to 1840 there were eight instances of appeal to arbitration; from 1840 to 1860 there were thirty; from 1860 to 1880 forty-two; and from 1880 to 1900 ninety.

Many causes have contributed to the growth of this national and pacific spirit amongst rulers and their peoples. The spread of democracy, education, science, have brought nations into closer intimacy. There was this much to be said in excuse of those British politicians who up to the eleventh hour were protesting that war with Germany was "unthinkable", that, it was

inconceivable that the German population in the mass would consent to be plunged into the horrors of an utterly unprovoked war. What these politicians had overlooked was that the German mind had been persistently and systematically trained to regard the glorification of the German Empire as the principal duty in life of every patriotic German. The solidarity of Germany in countenancing the most unrighteous war in history will, in years to come, be looked upon as one of the curiosities of history. Now there can be no question that, if the teaching of history can be perverted into doing so great an evil, it can, if turned into a proper channel, effect much good. In one of the most instructive chapters in this book of lectures, Miss Ellen Power, sums up the position in a few sentences.

"If the League of Nations is ever to be a success, it must be driven by an educated public opinion. An educated public opinion will recognize that, in spite of national antagonisms and divergent interests, mankind as a whole is what the League of Nations presupposes it to be—a community with common aims and a common history."

Much has been written about the hopelessly inadequate knowledge of even his own country's history imparted to the average schoolboy. But what does he know as a rule about the history of other nations and states? Probably the impression left on the minds of most of us is that history is a catalogue of battles, murders and sudden deaths. Miss Power puts in a powerful plea for a more intelligent method of teaching; and, what is more to the point she shows how it can be effected.

## THE IRISH FREE STATE

BY SUSIE CHICK-JOHNSON

*'Nor let the Arbiters of Peace their task abandon'.—Ovid.*

Seven centuries, O Ireland! of strife,  
Of blood and sacrifice of human life,  
Verging on civil war, now sudden cease  
In a wise settlement of Irish Peace!  
Well may the sons of Britain's Emerald Isle  
With Erin's daughters join the kindly 'smile',  
Burying the thoughts of vengeance evermore,  
While true forgiveness from their hearts outpour  
For all the woes that disagreement caused  
Which reached the limit—when the leaders paused,  
*Determined to seek out fair settlement*  
To be glad ratified by Parliament!

Regrettable, ere grip of War and Death  
Had scarcely passed that Follies' spreading breath  
Did fan Rebellion, which too oft belies  
Our faithful Irishmen in Britain's eyes!  
But Erin's hasty sons ne'er stopped to think  
Their honour bound to Britain was in a sure link  
Eternal! yet while underneath dear Britain's flag,  
What lure of man? did tempt them so to lag

In loyalty to Britain's Empire wide  
Which fought with "tooth and nail" to stem the tide

Of Germany's aggression, but to gain  
The world to Peace and Joy, and Love again!

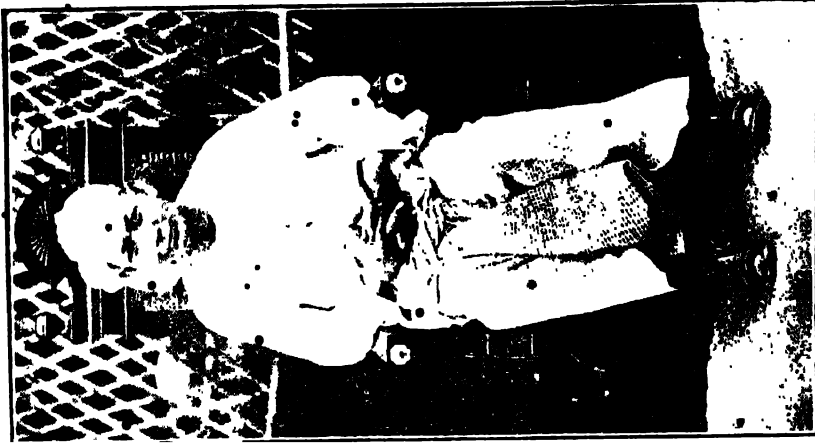
O 'twas a shame to stain dear Ireland's page,  
Which time would carry down from age to age  
But let the *Future* now drive from each heart  
The *dream*, from Greater Britain ere to part!  
Remembering that true "Unity is strength"  
And that *division* loses all at length—  
Thus Britain's every neighbouring Island-land  
Should weld themselves together—ever firmly  
stand,—

For God and Nature formed them so to be  
A British Kingdom great in *Unity*!  
O! Father and Defender of our British Isles,  
Watch over Erin, and upon her show'r Thy  
Smiles!

# Some of the Interned Nationalists in Burma



U Kun



U Chit Hlaing.



U Ba Si

## THE IRISH LEADERS



### THE MAKING OF THE IRISH FREE STATE.

Left to right: Michael Collins, de Valera and Arthur Griffith:  
the three Irish leaders. Below: the signature to the Treaty.



MAHATMA GANDHI



1. Sreemati Basanti Devi, wife of Deshbandhu Das.
2. Sreemati Suniti Devi, editress of Nari Karmamandir.
3. Sreemati Urraila Devi, sister of Deshbandhu Das.

For the first time in the history of India, these three Bengali ladies came forward to lead the women of India in the political field and to set an example for the young men of Bengal. They were arrested while picketing in the streets of Calcutta.

By courtesy of L. K. BHATT.

# INDIA—WHITHER BOUND?

BY

MR. H. E. A. COTTON, C. I. E., L. C. C.

THE "Asiatic Review" for January is filled, like its predecessors, with interesting and informative articles. Among them there are two in particular, which will arrest the attention of the Indian reader. The first is a contribution from the pen of Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, the editor of the "Bengalee," entitled "Indian Swaraj and the British Commonwealth;" the second is a lengthy review by Sir Verney Lovett on Sir Valentine Chirol's latest book on "India Old and New." A comparative examination of the two will not be altogether without profit, for, although they are written from widely different points of view, they aptly illustrate the contrast between the India of which the official of Sir Verney Lovett's type is for ever lamenting the disappearance, and the India which is in process of development before our eyes.

Sir Verney Lovett has very little to say of the future. He prefers to dwell upon the past. His affections are still centred upon the "abandoned dwelling-house" in which the "much-abused bureaucrat" reigned supreme and in which Indians lived like children in the nursery. Sir Valentine Chirol has, he thinks, conveyed an inaccurate impression when he writes that in those days "efficiency came to be regarded as the one test that mattered" in forming an estimate of what constituted good government, and that "it was a test which only Englishmen were competent to apply, and which Indians were required to accept as final, whatever their wishes or thoughts might be." How unfair is such an accusation. Can anyone (asks Sir Verney Lovett in his innocence) suppose that, in their efforts to attain the lofty ideals by which they were animated, the benevolent autocrats of yesterday dared to disregard the feelings and wishes of

the people concerned, or that their Government encouraged such "preposterous folly?" India's history, he maintains, would have been different, if the British administrator had not had behind him the support of the great majority of Indians. The condition of India to-day hardly bears out these comfortable assumptions. No doubt, it is pleasant to believe that you have been "born into the world already booted and spurred, while millions of your fellow-creatures find themselves saddled and bridled as they enter into existence.

The toad beneath the harrow knows  
Exactly where each pin prick goes;  
The butterfly upon the road  
Preaches contentment to that toad.

Sir Verney Lovett falls into the usual error of his class when he defends the attitude of hostility adopted by the Government of India towards the Congress in its early days. Just as the Tory party in England frowned upon the modest demands of the Irish Nationalists and paved the way for the Sedan of which Lord Birkenhead is so inordinately proud, even so the Anglo Indian bureaucrats laid the foundation of the unrest which has been convulsing India since Lord Curzon's foolish and ill-advised Partition of Bengal. It is the besetting sin of the office-oracle that he runs for shelter after the storm has broken. Instead of applying a radical cure when the disease is in its inception, he waits until the crisis has reached its height, and then tries the effect of a mild palliative. Sir Valentine Chirol is perfectly right when he says that the first revolutionary movement would have been disarmed, and most certainly would have been impeded, if a generous and comprehensive policy of progressive reform had been undertaken twenty years ago. The Morley-Minto scheme, for which Sir Verney Lovett professes much



admiration, was wholly inadequate, for while it provided increased opportunities for criticism, it absolutely withheld any sort of training in responsibility. It represented, in fact, the last struggle to save the citadel of autocracy from assault. Like the occupants of a sledge who are being pursued by hungry wolves, the authors of that scheme hoped to achieve safety by throwing out unopened tins of preserved food. Unfortunately for them, public opinion had by that time grown tired of shams and demanded the reality.

It may, of course, be entirely true to say, as an Oxford professor has lately been saying, with Sir Verney Lovett's complete approval, that "nationality, in one shape or another, is to day the most powerful and the most troublesome element in the whole complex of world politics". It is equally true that the method of dealing with Indian nationalism, which goes by the name of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, is still upon its trial. Sir Valentine Chirol holds (and the present writer agrees with him) that those reforms were the best possible solution of a tangled problem and that, although the ship of dyarchy is voyaging across an uncharted sea, its journey must be watched in a hopeful mood. His criticism is not so sure. The spirit of the old Adam still possesses him so strongly that he shrinks from the condemnation which Sir Valentine Chirol passes upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and the rest of the "jack-boot" crowd who have so successfully poisoned the Indian atmosphere, and have made it so difficult to forecast the future. Like Danton, they have left everything in a frightful welter.

Nevertheless, it has become more than ever necessary that the Indian politicians of to day should equip themselves with candour, courage and commonsense, and, above all, that they should be endowed with a full perception of proportion. All these essential qualifications are exhibited by Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray in his article. There

are, he points out, two political ideals before the mind of India at the present moment. The one is the attainment of Dominion Home Rule within the Empire: the other is the shadowy "Swaraj" which Mr. Gandhi, its chief exponent, has scrupulously abstained from defining, but which clearly aims, notwithstanding, at the establishment of a sovereign independent State. Mr. Ray discusses both these ideals in turn with the utmost frankness. He combats with the hard logic of facts the notion that India is blessed with the finest natural defences in the world and that no foe is knocking at her gates. An army and a navy cannot be improvised in the twinkling of an eye: and even with the protective agencies of British rule, no less than 611 raids took place during 1920 in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province, involving the loss of nearly 300 Indian lives, the wounding of nearly 400 other Indians and the kidnapping of more than 450. Moreover, beyond the Afghan border, the Bolsheviks are hungrily watching their opportunity.

"Self-determination" is a captivating word; but it has been overworked. Mr. Gandhi must have had this in mind when he warned the Congress at Ahmedabad against the danger of employing catch phrases without fathoming the depths to which a blind adherence to them must lead. Sentiments such as these from Mr. Gandhi take the breath away; and it is a thousand pities that his discovery is so belated. Mr. Robert Lansing, in his book, "The Peace Negotiations," observes that, if the right of "self-determination", as imagined by Mr. Wilson, and as proclaimed in so many quarters, were sound in principle and uniformly applicable in establishing practical allegiance and territorial sovereignty, the endeavour of the Southern States to secede from the American Union in 1861 must be held to have been wholly justifiable. National safety, he maintains, is the primary object to be attained;

and there is no escaping from the bald fact that India stands in need of the strong arm of the British Empire as much as, if not indeed more than, Australia and Canada and South Africa. Nor is it merely a question of external menace. The internal conditions cannot be ignored. "Once British authority is withdrawn from India", says Mr. Ray, "it is more likely than not that provinces and peoples will fall out among themselves", and the scenes will be repeated which heralded the rise and ushered in the decay of the Mogul power. And what of the Indian Princes? Will they throw in their lot with Mr. Gandhi? If not, what is the alternative to "rivers of bloodshed"? Moreover, the preliminaries to the establishment of "Swaraj" postulated by Mr. Gandhi himself have yet to materialize. The Moplah outbreak in Malabar and the riots in Bombay on the occasion of the Prince's visit, exhibit scanty signs of that "indissoluble union" between Hindus and Mahomedans without which Mr. Gandhi has declared "Swaraj" to be "unthinkable." Again, we have been told by Mr. Gandhi that until caste-Hindus learn to treat the "untouchables" as their blood brothers, "Swaraj is inconceivable". "We have practised Dyerism and O'Dwyerism on our own kith and kin", he has said, and there is no charge which can be brought against Englishmen that the pariah cannot fling into the face of his fellow-Indian. These pronouncements are not recalled for the purpose of decrying the capacity of the Indians to manage their own affairs. But is it possible for human-beings to exist in an Utopia, which its apostle destroys in advance.

Mr. Ray rightly dismisses as impracticable the dreams of the "Extremists". The creation of a violent and insensate anti-British feeling is probably an inevitable accompaniment of such dreams, but it tends to obscure the material issues. "No nation can ever thrive or flourish on the mere wisdom of the ostrich". There is a

saner and a better way of reaching political manhood. The ample folds of the British Empire offer the realisation of a satisfactory scheme of "Swaraj." Mr. Ray aims at constructing the future government of India upon the lines originally adumbrated by Sir Henry Cotton. An Indian Commonwealth is his ideal, operating as a limb of the English-speaking League of Nations, and composed of federal units with wide powers of autonomy. The model will be that of the United States of America; but care must be taken to avoid the cast iron mould of the American Constitution. Flexibility and liberty to develop in accordance with local requirements are absolutely essential in a country of such varieties of race, creed, speech, and social conditions as India. In other words, the idea of an Indian "Swaraj" will resolve itself into so many different provincial "Swarajes" united by a common bond, but free to travel each along its own appointed road.

Is there anything about this picture which is repugnant to the pride and patriotism and self-respect of India? Bengalis, Mahrattas, Tamils and Telugus, Punjabis, Uriyas—each of these races is marked out by Nature for separate national existence; and injustice is done to none of them when it is suggested that there are many matters which they desire to decide for themselves, and in their own way. But although the road lies straight ahead, the end is still in the far distance. Indians, like everyone else, must serve a political apprenticeship. Dyarchy is admittedly a half-way house, but it is a necessary stage. The advantages secured by the Government of India Act are solid and substantial. Why barter them for the wild and windy fantasies which are all that Mr. Gandhi has to offer? "Soul-force" is far more likely to prove efficacious in co-operation with Englishmen; and "ahimsa" is surely not nurtured on a diet of boycott and intimidation. Non-co-operation and "civil disobedience," if persisted in, are bound to provoke repression, for the maintenance of law and order must always be the primary duty of any Government, however constituted. But this is not all. The success of such a policy can achieve nothing but chaos and anarchy. A taste for indiscipline is easily implanted in the minds of the masses. It is not eradicated as readily as the votaries of the cult fondly imagine.

# BUDGET DEBATES

BY

MR. S. K. MITRA, B.A., LL.B.<sup>1</sup>

**W**ITHIN a short time budgets will be placed before the Legislatures of the different provinces and the usual interminable debates of the stereotyped class will follow in their wake. One who has watched these debates and compared them with their prototypes in England cannot but be convinced of their futile character. In England, the criticism of the budget, when necessary, is accompanied by facts and figures, which the minister in charge must refute by other facts and figures, which is often a very difficult task, because of the accurate knowledge of the critic. But here the criticism is of the nature of verbose declamation unenlightened by the least ray of knowledge and therefore can hardly stand before the array of facts and figures of the official reply. The result of this state of affairs is obvious—the budget debates often lead us nowhere. There is no economy of expenditure when economy is most desirable and can be easily effected; no judicious imposition of taxes when the greater expenditure of the future can only be met by the husbanding of our present resources; no administrative responsibility when a sense of responsibility alone can make the administration efficient. Any academical debating society could have gone through the same performance, only the thing would not have been done in the name of the public. The legislators in India, it seems, assume the role of the representatives of the people, not *pro bono publico*, but because of the publicity. The real fame is lost sight of for an evanescent name.

Our legislators may excuse themselves by saying that they are not to be blamed, for under the constitution they are powerless. There is no doubt that *expenditure hangs on policy*, and the Legislatures have no hand in shaping the policy of the different Local Governments or of the

Imperial Government. To give only one example, so long as the Governments pursue the policy of maintaining law and order by increasing the expensive military and police establishments, economy is out of the question. Law and order in the country is of prime importance, but whether larger establishments of military and police secure them is a question which the legislators up to the present, at any rate, have not been given a chance to solve. Therefore, if the legislators wash their hands off all responsibility and throw the blame on the constitution, they should certainly be pitied but not blamed.

To find excuse may not be difficult, but who can shirk the responsibility of the trust, which is almost self-imposed by a mere excuse and not make the best of their opportunities. The trust is sacred and requires devout service. It may be, as yet, nothing but a shadow, but hard work will give it form, for through hard work knowledge will come and knowledge once attained will make things easy. It is want of knowledge which makes our legislators useless and with superior knowledge the officials score. If our legislators knew the various details of the budgets, the appropriateness or otherwise of the various expenditure, the real incidence of the taxation, they could have exerted greater influence in spite of the handicap that they do not shape the policy of the Governments. The officials would have taken them more seriously and would have prepared their budgets with greater care. Before real criticism, in spite of their debonair attitude, they would have felt uneasy and then the legislators would have scored. What we want at the present moment is a band of men like Gokhale, devoting their whole life to the public service. Their knowledge of details, their grasp of the real incidence of taxation, their broad outlook and

vision of the future would have, in no time, made them formidable.

No time, therefore, should be lost by those who mean business in acquiring knowledge of the various aspects of the problems of finance. The times also are propitious. The new Finance Committees of non-official members will be of great help in giving a grounding as to the details of the various items of expenditure. Of course, the Finance Committees in India will not be as useful as they are in England in imparting a clear inside knowledge of the finance of the country, for in England, owing to the party system of government, members of such committees whichever party they may belong to, will sometime or other, with the ascendancy of their party, come into intimate touch with the inner working of the Treasury Department and are thus able to exercise a healthy influence in not only checking extravagance if necessary, but in saving much time of Parliament by putting their seal of approval on items beneficial to the country. But in spite of this drawback in India all those who take their task seriously should utilise the Finance Committees as much as possible in order to gain some idea as to the details of the nation's account even though very little inside knowledge could be obtained to offer helpful criticism or suggestion at the time of debates in the Legislature. For right criticism and suggestion and for getting inside knowledge, other means and ways should be explored with diligence. A study of authoritative works on Finance and Taxation should be considered a primary duty by every one who should take part in these debates. An intelligent comparative study of the budgets of the other civilised countries should also be of great value to our legislators. How much is spent in other countries for certain items; the quality and quantity of service rendered thereby; why certain expenditures are incurred, what are the distinguishing conditions, are some of the enquiries which cannot but

facilitate better understanding of the finances of our own country. Moreover, the legislators should scrutinize very strictly anything that savours of innovation. To give only one example to explain what I mean—They should not give their consent lightly to new taxation without first exploring the means of reducing expenditure, because they must remember as trustees of the Future that, with the expansion of administrative activities in times to come, a larger revenue must be needed to meet the growing expenses and, therefore, all the available sources should not be tapped even though they offer the easiest means to meet the present needs. Lastly, it must be remembered that the interests of the taxpayers cannot be too jealously guarded. I shall close this article with an extract from a note by the Secretary of the great Disraeli to show to what length, even in England, persons entrusted with the task of watching public finance went in order to get the true inside knowledge.

"We want a Treasury Spy—a Bromley\*—in each department to warn us of fraudulent demands and to check the expenditure of the various grants."

(Life of Disraeli by Money Penny and Buckle, Vol. IV, p 254, note at the bottom.)

\* Sir R. Bromley held a very high position in the permanent staff of the Treasury when Disraeli was the leader of the Opposition (1855—65).

## BUBBLES OF FEELING

BY WAYNE GARD

Bubbles of feeling

From overflowed hearts.

Flashes of sunlight

Apollo imparts.

Echoes of music

On Memory's strings.

Creatures of Fancy

On fetterless wings.

# HINDU CULTURE: ANCIENT & MODERN

BY

MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

ONE of the most forceful and valuable utterances of Sister Nivedita, whose love of India was as deep and pure as her vision of the eternal things of the spirit, asks us "not only to utter India to the world, but also to voice India to herself." The racial ideal must be vividly realised and applied by each generation to its own life with passionate fervour and devotion, if the ideal is not to be a mere phantom and the real is not to be blind selfishness. The poet and the musician have to draw and utter the ideal in notes of beauty and in words of beauty and power; the painter and the sculptor and the architect have to clothe in garments of visible loveliness; the artists in social life; and the statesmen have to apply it to social and political life. Then and then only will the dearest dream of our life be realised and the greater and nobler and happier India of the future will be born.

We welcome these two little \* books as praiseworthy attempts in such a direction. Sarda's *Hindu Superiority*; Pramatha Nath Bose's *Epochs of Civilisation*; *Illusions of New India*; and *Survival of Hindu Civilisation*, and Sir John Woodroffe's *Is India Civilised*, have already focussed public attention on this matter with beauty and with power. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Sadhana* and *Personality* and his great address on *The Centre of Indian Culture*, have revealed to the world the vital graces and glories of our culture. In my forthcoming volume, *Hindu Culture: an*

*Exposition and a Vindication*, I am trying to present our culture in its orderly and progressive self-realisation and in all its wealth and variety of social and spiritual blossoming and fruitage.

Mr. Buch contrasts the East and the West in his introductory chapter with ability and thoroughness. He points out how the East has always sought to conserve and develop the spiritual values in life, how it has tried and tried successfully to build the social life on a co-operative basis and to harmonise the rich and elevate the poor by throwing round them the common ties of duty and devotion, and how its ideal was more Dharma and Moksha than Artha and Kama, though these were not neglected and were given their legitimate and honoured place in a rational and balanced scheme of life. India knew how to learn and practise the military art in subordination to the arts of peace. Its aim was the perfection of man and not the perfection of mere machinery. It stressed the natural life in preference to the artificial life. It subordinated the secular sciences to the sciences of the spirit. It laid the greatest emphasis on *ahimsa* and *prema* and *santhi* (non-injury, love and peace). Its ideal was not negation of life but an affirmation of the higher life by the discipline and subordination of the lower life. Its tendency to vegetarianism, its love of village life, its non-competitive basis of life, and its adoption of the family as the social unit, are not mere freaks or accidents of human nature but are the natural and essential and inevitable manifestations of its genius. According to it man is not an economic and political animal struggling through competition to pleasure and hardly ever arriving there. As Tagore says in beautiful words in his *Sadhana*: "Essentially man is not a slave either of himself or the world; but he is a lover

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\*1. The Spirit of Ancient Hindu Culture: By M.A. Buch.—Published at Baroda.

2. Pramatha Nath Bose's National Education and Modern Progress.—Published by Kar, Majumdar and Co., Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

His freedom and fulfilment is in love, which is another name for perfect comprehension.' Charvaka and Chanakya never had and could never have the vogue that Machiavelli and Nietzsche have had in the West. To the East truth has an absolute value and not a mere pragmatic value. Again, purity in individual life and in marital life and in social life has been lifted in India to a height unknown elsewhere in the world. Reverence is another peculiar Indian virtue. Simplicity of life has always been prized and practised and possessed in our life. The tolerance of the East is not mere latitudinarianism but an inner grace and an inner realisation. India prizes goodness more than greatness. The East is more creative and less critical than the West. The vital elements of Hindu culture and the vital value of Hindu culture are thus well summed up by Pramatha Nath Bose in his *National Education and Modern Progress*. "The salvation of civilised society now lies in going back to the fundamental principles of ancient, especially Hindu, culture,—culture that would foster and promote goodwill and concord instead of illwill and discord, rural life and cottage industry instead of urban life and mill industry, self-abnegation and altruism instead of self-indulgence and egoism, peace of mind and serenity instead of worry and restlessness, health and happiness instead of disease and misery."

Mr. Buch's interpretation of Hindu literature is not so informing or illuminating as his general chapter about East and West. He misses its beauty and its vital and crescent energy and says that it is static and uncreative. It is certainly inconsistent to praise the Hindu culture as dynamic and creative and to decry the Hindu literature which is the embodiment of Hindu culture in the realm of the ideal as static and uncreative. Self-realisation in beauty and love and peace is as much a prominent note in Hindu literature or the Hindu life.

Equally unsatisfactory is his discussion of Hindu ethics. He says that "the philosophical concepts like Karma, Maya, Moksha, Atman, are far more prominent in Hindu thought than purely ethical concepts." He says further: "More labour is spent also in elaborating huge and subtly woven structures of thought than in developing ethical ideas." This shows a thorough lack of comprehension of our Dharma Shastras and our Niti Shastras. The Katha Upanishad declares that he who is not turned away from evil ways, who is not peaceful and who has not attained steadfastness, cannot attain God. Mr. Buch says: "There is no individuality about them; there is a catalogue of types, a description of different modes of life, not of different persons with strongly-marked peculiarities. There is, therefore, an utter absence of dramatic picturesqueness in literature, corresponding to a similar absence in life." To say this about books so alive, so picturesque, and so full of *verve* and variety as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and *Sakuntala* reveals an utter want of vision. Mr. Buch says further: "Hence all modern ideas of nationality, patriotism, social service, internationalism, were somewhat alien to the ancient Hindu way of thinking." A culture which glorified the *Periyabhooni*, *Argonness*, *Pagopakura*, and *Sarabhattadaga* surely deserves a better and more appreciative treatment. Mr. Buch denies that the Hindu system of life and thought had any idea of social welfare or social progress, and says that it was pessimistic. But a society that worked for the triumph of *Dharma* and included not only Moksha but also *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama* as *Purusarthas* cannot be lightly condemned by such irresponsible utterances.

In his chapter on Hindu politics, Mr. Buch gives us only a few general features. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Prof. Radhakamal Mukerji have done much in this direction and no writer on Hindu culture

can complain of lack of material when he seeks to expound the Hindu political ideals. The supreme power of Dharma, the reverence paid to *Rishis*, the various other checks on autocracy and the overruling power of popular assemblies convoked on all important and critical occasions in the national life cannot be discussed in this brief sketch but must be prominently borne in mind. Elective monarchies and republics were well known in ancient times in India. Justice was impartial and cheap and easy of access to all. The administration was personal, paternal, and direct in many respects, without interfering with village autonomy. The ideal of a world-state in which each nation could live its own life in its own way without interfering with others or being interfered with by others was well known.

Mr. Buch then discusses Hindu theology and metaphysics. Hinduism is not polytheism because it realises the oneness of God and proclaims it and is not pantheism because it affirms the Transcendence as well as the Immanence of God. Mr. Buch says about image-worship: "Image-worship is symbolic worship. It is the worship of supernal realities through the symbols which are supposed to represent them best." He points out how Hindu philosophy is the search and finding of the Eternal and Infinite amidst the fleeting and the finite, and says about the *Adwaita* system that it "is the last word of Eastern metaphysics."

But what is the use of praising Hindu culture, if we are not to make any persistent attempts to preserve it and perfect it. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose tries in his excellent book to connect it by wise education with modern progress. Hindu culture has to absorb the valuable elements of modern progress after eschewing its vicious elements, and has also to react on modern progress so as to purify and spiritualise it. Though Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose has allowed himself to be carried away into violent denunciations of

modern progress, he has done a great service in opening our eyes to its sinister aspects. Industrialism, capitalism, and militarism have been dominating modernity and have cast their baleful shadows over the earth. It is only Hindu culture which will absorb science without becoming a slave to it that can save the soul and thus spiritualise the world. We cannot afford to be rebarbarised by forgetting and losing the conquests of science. We must achieve a higher humanisation without exposing ourselves to the danger of a rebarbarisation. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose gives us various suggestions as to how Hindu culture and modern science could be applied through education to life. He asks us to vest the control of education in the hands of the people, to minimise the number of text-books, to make education less bookish and more vocational, to teach the value of our ancient customs and rules of life, to inculcate the value and beauty of the simple life, and to impart Indian culture and give a high and honoured place in the curriculum of studies to Indian languages and literature and history. We should always bear in mind his wise and concluding words: "I have to repeat that I plead for national education for ourselves not because it is national, but because it coincides with my idea of what rational, universal education for culture should be. It should be broadbased upon a solid foundation of the fundamental principles of a non-industrial ancient culture like ours. Recent advances in knowledge should, of course, be incorporated in the superstructure, but so as not to weaken the foundation." Both of these books have many deficiencies of insight and of presentation, but they are of great value as revealing to us many elements of cultural and national reconstruction which alone can bring into existence the greater and happier India of the future which can preserve and perfect and perpetuate her culture and achieve the triumph of peace and love and happiness in the world.

# THE MOPLAH REBELLION

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BY

MR. U. BALAKRISHNA NAIR.

**T**HERE are certain aspects of the present Moplah rebellion which may be truly described as historic. For, the two most momentous events in the modern history of Malabar are the Mysorean conquest in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the revolt of the Pycho Rajah at the dawn of the nineteenth: the one preceding, the other closely following, the British occupation. And the present rebellion has points in common with those grave national crises. The resemblances, indeed, are so many and so remarkable that they deserve a careful, comparative study. Such a study at the present moment will, I think, be not only seasonable and instructive, but also a source of cheery inspiration to the downhearted.

Perhaps the chief "symptoms" (so to speak) of the present rebellion are the inhuman forced conversions of Hindus, the great unceasing treks of refugees from the disturbed area, and the guerilla tactics of the rebels. And these were also features so pre-eminently characteristic of both or either of the historic events above mentioned. In a word, while the rebellion in its fanatical aspect bears a distinct family likeness to the iron rule—which lasted for a full quarter of a century—of Hyder and Tipu in Malabar, the traditional *modus operandi* of the Malavalee fighter—the Nair malcontent or Moplah rebel—remains unchanged.

The rebellion has brought to light instances innumerable, of Hindus who deliberately preferred death to a change in their ancestral faith. But Hindu steadfastness has shown itself to be no match for Moplah religious frenzy. The Moplah fanatic who is out for a general ruthless campaign of murder, arson and proselytism, knows no fear or danger. He is not deterred by man or beast; he would attack anyone regardless of conse-

quences or unhesitatingly throw himself on British bayonets. No doubt, he has a keen sense of humour, for he has been known actually to compel those who refused to embrace Islam to dig their own graves. In offering the time-honoured alternative of death or conversion to non-Muslims, he merely obeys parrot like the behests of his religious leaders. Thus the notorious Chambraseri Tangal, in a speech which has now become historic, exhorted his followers to make short work of all Hindus. Here are his own words:—

We have extorted Swaraj from the white men and what we have secured we are not going to give up so easily. The only obstacle to our success is the attitude of the Hindus who do not co-operate with us. The remedy is with us. We have the example of the Holy Prophet that it is good not to kill for God's work. The Prophet had to wage severe wars against the infidel before Islam was established in Arabia. The Jews and the Christians as believers in a revealed book may be tolerated. But the idolatrous Hindus can be allowed to live in a Muslim State only on sufferance. Even the latter alternative is dangerous. There should be only one community in our *Raj*, the Muslims. Therefore, my brethren, give the Hindus the option of *Islam or Death*.

Truly, a significant commentary on the much-talked-of Hindu-Muslim unity! Is the happy daydream of Indian Nationalists—the *entente*—after all, a "solar myth"? The greatest Mohammedan modern India has produced, the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, has felicitously likened the Hindu and Mohammedan communities to the two eyes of a comely maiden and clearly warned against the unwisdom of injuring either organ as a sure means of impairing the beauty and utility of the other. Will the wild jungle Moplah ever come to realise the political truth and practical wisdom contained in this oft-quoted simile?

The drastic proselytising methods of Hyder and Tipu find a parallel in the forced conversions of to-day. Hyder, an indifferent Muslim, and Tipu, a zealous bigot, were both as keen as mustard in the matter of conversions. It was



sound policy for Hyder to assume that the conquest of infidel lands was a paramount religious duty. But Tipu went one better. Like Louis XIV of France, he was a despot to his finger-tips and an arrant apostle of the 'divine right' of kings. "I am the State," said the French monarch, and his Indian prototype called himself *khudadad sirkar* or the 'God-given State.' He placed religion before conquest. His missionary zeal was unbounded and his methods frantic and draconian—so frantic and draconian, indeed, that compared with them the conversion stunt of Kunhi Koya Tangal, Varian-kunnath Kunhamed Haji and others is mere child's play. It is also significant that Hyder's favourite general (his so-called right hand in the hour of danger), who was Governor of Bednore at the accession of Tipu, and who, fearing death at his hands, surrendered to the ill-fated General Mathews—the famous Hyat Sahib—was originally a Nair. This prince of *chelas*—or *chela* among princes—was, as a boy, torn from his home in North Malabar and, as a slave of the palace, carried off to Mysore in the first forced immigration. He was a cadet of a well-known Nambiyar family in Chirakkal taluk. Hyder's deportations of Hindus from Malabar are matched in their cruelty by the deportations of the Israelites into Assyria, prior to the Babylonian captivity. The last-named event brings to mind Nehemiah, who, after the manner of Hyat, rose to be the Persian king's cupbearer and afterwards governor of Judah. The abduction of a Tiya convert to Islam by the Badagara Moplahs is the nearest parallel to Hyat in the present rebellion. The topic of every-day conversation in Malabar at present is—the refugees. One hears such heart-rending stories of their misery and destitution. But their plight is as nothing compared to that of the myriads of deportees from Malabar during the Mysorean epoch.

The Nairs who opposed the Mysoreans, or later, fought by the side of that "Bonnie Prince

Charlie" of Malabar, the Pyche Rajah, resorted to guerilla tactics. The same time-honoured weapon is now being used by the hard-pressed and half-disillusioned Moplahs against the military. Indeed, it is the one weapon in their armoury—barring, of course, the swords, knives and matchlocks of sorts, mostly commandeered, and the stolen police carbines! With these shafts in his quiver, "Colonel" Kunhamed Haji has been playing the role of a Fabius "Cunctator" and busy hurling defiance in the teeth of the British Government, like a second Pyche Rajah.

The Moplah rebellion is an isolated movement stiffened by badmashes and bad characters and fomented by adventurous brigands and ignorant fanatics. The Pyche enterprise was almost a national uprising led by a dispossessed chief, the scion of a ruling house and a great popular favourite, and backed by his numerous clansmen and hangers-on. It will, indeed, be doing the Chamberlainer Tangal and Kunhamed Haji too much honour to compare them to the leaders of the great Sepoy Mutiny or even to the Pyche warlord; they certainly have not the courage, grit and resourcefulness of the last named, although, of course, they possess much of his "natural reslessness and ferocity of disposition," which (it is recorded) not even his death-throes could subdue. In fine, they have the fiendish blood-thirstiness of the Nana without the generalship of Tantia Topi. The Pyche revolt lasted nine years and the Sepoy Mutiny some eighteen months. The recalcitrant Rajah and his rebels were surprised in Mysore territory on the forenoon of the 30th November 1805, by Mr. Barber, the Civil Officer, and Captain Clapham, who had chased them for fifteen hours beyond the hills and jungles of the Wynad. The rebels fought to the death but were all cut to pieces, one of the first to fall being the brave, if much misguided, Rajah. Tantia Topi was captured and hanged nearly a twelve-month after the Mutiny had been

put out. The Nana perished miserably in the jungles of Nepal. It is to be hoped that, in the interests of humanity, the Moplah Nana and Tantia Topi and all their braves will receive a short shrift and no quarter, and will soon be launched into eternity or banished into the dark shades of the silent Andamans.

Kottayath Kerala Varma—or as he is called in the old records of the East India Company, 'Cotiate Caroola Warma'—was an important personage in the early days of British rule in Malabar. In 1794, the followers of a Nair Chief of Iruvenad murdered three Moplahs in retaliation of the death of one of their body. This, it was alleged, was at the instigation of Kerala Varma, or the Pyche Rajah, who, in the following June, caused, on his own account, two of that class to be barbarously executed on a charge of robbery. This was followed by another arbitrary act on the part of the Rajah, who was reported to have "deliberately shot another Moplah through the body while retiring from his presence, whither he had gone to present a gift". About two years ago, he caused a Moplah mosque to be pulled down, and later sent an armed party "with orders to slay all the Moplahs in Kodoli". *A propos* of these proceedings, the present writer has in his possession a valuable document, official correspondence over a century old, relating to the empalement alive on a *Kazhu* (or instrument of torture) of two Moplahs by this self-same Pyche Rajah: one of the *cruces* of the Rajah's career for which he was brought to trial and temporarily deprived of all authority, until by an act of indemnity and oblivion the Governor-General again reinstated him to his district.

No torture-chamber of the Dark Ages contained a more blood-curdling engine of punishment than the *Kazhu*, or 'Eagle', so called from its peculiar shape. And no less fiendish or revolting have been the punishments now meted out by the Moplah rebels to Hindus for the most

venial of offences. Flaying alive, the classic punishment of Mohammedan kings of Delhi like Khusrū Khan and Mahomed Tughlak, appears to be a favourite one with the Moplah Archbishop of Canterbury—the Chambrasseri Tangal.

The Pyche Rajah was a past-master in Fabian tactics. When Tipu burst upon Malabar in 1789, this "most untractable and unreasonable of all the Rajahs," as the first Malabar Joint Commissioners called him, at the head of his Nair levies, defied the Sultan and in right guerilla style persistently delayed and thwarted him. Now retreating into the jungles, again as soon reappearing with a band of doughty, full-blooded Nairs, and constantly impressing men and provisions, he successfully played his game of intolerably harrying and harassing the Mysorean. And he later pursued the same policy against Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) who was in the field against him. The Rajah thus not only wore out the large detachments of foot sent out against him by marches, counter-marches, ambuscades and skirmishes without ever coming to an open engagement with them, but actually improved them off the face of an unknown country by a series of well-planned surprises and cold-blooded massacres. These slap-dash strokes were so successful that within a few months after the outbreak we find Tipu writing exultingly to Citoyen General Mangalon in April, 1797:—"At Calicut, the English have been attacked by the Rajah Kunhi Rama Rama (Congis Ramme Ramme); and the chief of Kottayam (Coutengris) who killed in three sorties a thousand Europeans and three thousand sepoys. On all sides they are attacked."

In his speech on the Debts of the Nawab of Arcot, Burke has a memorable description of Hyder Ali's invasion of the plains of the Carnatic. This was in 1767. In the previous year he had invaded Malabar and wrought no less havoc,

By the Treaty of Seringapatam, which concluded the third Mysore war of 1790-92, Tipu's newly-won possessions on the West Coast were finally ceded to the British. Malabar, accordingly, remained subject to Hyder and his son for more than a quarter of a century, during which she was occasionally wasted with fire and sword, often convulsed by the bitterest forms of religious persecution, and always suffered from the worst evils of military rule. In Tipu's own words, the "turbulent and refractory people" of Malabar "from the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty-four years . . . caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom." Those who resisted the invader tooth and nail, or indignantly spurned to be honoured with Islam, were put to the sword or enslaved; others were forcibly converted and compelled to emigrate, thousands being thus obliged to eat of beef and assume the turban, and thousands more being driven from their native homes, to the seat of empire. Such of the chiefs and principal landholders as had the temerity to fly in the face

of the Mysorean were, like the Kurangot Nair, on the merest pretext, caught and publicly hanged; such of them as came to be suspected of bad faith were, like Rama Varma, "King of the house of Palliculam of the Kingdom of Colastri," hounded to death—even their dead bodies being exposed to the grossest indignities; others, including a Rajah of Parapanad and a Nambiyar of Cuirakkal—the latter destined to become famous hereafter as Hyat Sahib—were constrained to become Muslims; and one and all were heavily mulcted, relatively to their rank—the Zamorin, who voluntarily perished in the flames in the year of Hyder's first invasion, being made, but ineffectually, to disgorge the fabulous sum of one crore of gold mohurs!

The above, *mutatis mutandis*, is a faithful picture, more or less, of Meplah frightfulness in Malabar at the present day. So harrowing, indeed, are the stories of the unspeakable atrocities that are still being committed by the Meplahs that compared to their authors, the Huns of Attila appear to be veritable good Samaritans.

## EAST AND WEST

BY MR. G. A. WILSON.

THE old paraphrase, "East is East and West is West," may still be true; but I venture to think a glorious combine is both apparent and welcome. The long and noble record of Eastern ideals are taking a forward place in the world's progression and are being applied with continual success in both politics and economics. A constitution which embraces all racial creeds, which voices the united will of the people, is making for just effort and purpose. The dalliance to this bright and hopeful prospect is only due to the slow process of tuning the Eastern ideal to the particular trend of the need for swift industrial activity and modern thought. The world of to-day, the aftermath of a great struggle for justice and civilisation, is a steady moving torrent and leaves no opportunity for the loiterer; the

clamour of the people must be backed by integral worth, the leader must be sure of his ground, and prompt and just to impress his views on his followers. The East must hold to advantage the great industrial and the broad commercial education willingly proffered by the West, must hold secure the world's money market by heartfelt co-operation. A great tide of prosperity lies at the grasp of the British Empire, the Empire unsullied and honourable from the battlefield, from the ocean's toil; and only by united effort and purpose, true allegiance to the King Emperor, love of country, love of people, can the consummation be reached as in the heart of Queen Victoria "India" of all the Empire spelt faith and loyalty; so the India of to-day is OUR HOPE.

A REVIEW BY

MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A., B.L.

THIS is a timely contribution\* to the current problems of Indian politics, which deals with all aspects of the Indian situation in the writer's well-known arresting and telling



COL. J. C. WEDGWOOD

manner. In his short preface introducing the book, Lord Haldane says:

"What we have to do is to cultivate in ourselves and in our neighbours the larger outlook upon our national lines. We all need more knowledge, intellectual and spiritual. Both fall within the forms of knowledge, and without both, the world will remain incomplete. Rule by the sword is progressively becoming impossible. The military failure of Germany in the world-war is the last and most convincing demonstration of this. Understanding and power are now seen to be closely allied. The lesson has not yet been adequately assimilated. But it is being learned rapidly. The author of this book seems to me to be preaching just this gospel."

"The object of this book," says the author, "is to show how England can ensure peace by fitting

the Empire to become the nucleus of world-union, by becoming herself the centre of a commonwealth of free peoples enjoying equal rights." The co-operation of America would be needed for creating this world-wide federation of freedom and equality, and this can be secured only by reforming the Empire fundamentally, and by freely extending to America, those equal rights within the Commonwealth that British citizens will enjoy.

The lesson sought to be inculcated in the book is that a united people, whether in the East or in the West, if they really want freedom, cannot be held in subjection. The old idea of the sleepy East has been effectually dissipated by the war, which has certainly created national consciousness throughout the East, just as the Napoleonic wars did in the West a century ago. "India, Ceylon, Burma, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine will either join a liberalised Indo-British Commonwealth, or they will split off in spite of all our power; and then, there will be re-started from Asia, all the narrow nationalist rivalries that disfigured the nineteenth century in Europe and ended in the Great War."

Nationalism must be buried, and buried quickly, in the grave it dugged for itself in the Great War, and in its place, World-union should be built up by the fostering care of reformed English-speaking peoples. World-union must precede the brotherhood of man.

We would earnestly recommend a thoughtful perusal of the book to all schools of Indian politicians, and especially to those of the mailed fist persuasion who still cling to brute force and that negation of all law which goes by the name of "Martial" law.

\* *The Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth:* By Col. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M. P. With a preface by Viscount Haldane, F.R.S., K. T., O. M. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

# THE TEACHER AND THE TAUGHT

BY

PROF. P. M. BHAMBHANI, M.A.,  
*Professor of Logic, Agra College.*

A general sense of dissatisfaction with what is modern is abroad. A cry of 'back to the past' as exhorting in its effect as it is acute in its bearing is being raised. Those who are responsible for this exhortation maintain that the world is not what it used to be. The old order hath changed, giving place to a new and, perhaps, a worse one. Poets and birds sing of those blessed days in which every one loved his neighbour as himself and egoism and altruism were friends. They cry out with a sigh that those blessed days are gone, perhaps just in the same strain in which Burke in his own time, in the course of his reflections on the French Revolution, cried out: "The days of chivalry are gone." There seems to have existed a perpetual war between Feeling and Reason, between duty and personal gain, between sympathy and fellow-feeling on one side and apathy and antipathy on the other. Aided by scientific discoveries and the resulting constructive achievements of art, sensibility seems to have grown more serious about self-gratification, making the war more difficult to be won by reason. The conflict has, therefore, continued to grow more intense, till we find, with utter dismay, that its result has obvious leanings on the side of lucre, luxury, ease and self-aggrandisement.

Thus, the higher view-point or aim of the life-activity seems to have given place to a lower one. Originally money was meant to be given in return for service; but now-a-days service is rendered in return for money. Originally the quality of the work done was meant to be the determinant of the amount of money paid; but now-a-days the amount of money paid has become the determinant of the quality of the work done. Originally personal acquisition and ability were to determine the amount of money payable; now-a-

days the amount of money expected determines the amount of labour to be expended on the acquisition of ability. Originally knowledge was to be acquired for itself and service and usefulness were for their own sake; and money was given because the able and the learned must be fed and kept comfortable, and because money was fixed upon as the only medium of exchange. But now-a-days ability, choice of profession, fitness—all must be sacrificed at the altar of Mammon and have no justification for their existence, except as marketable commodities: that profession must be sought which brings in more money; service and usefulness have no concern and must be regarded as meaningless terms without the prospect of an income. The logic of this point of view is the following.—

"May I become a doctor or a lawyer or a merchant; or shall I start a factory? Shall I take up the Arts or the Sciences or a professional course of studies?" To answer this question a counter-question 'is' asked, "Which of these will bring in more money" and not, "For which of these am I best fitted? or which line of work will make me most useful to my fellow-men and enable me to become a good citizen and a good man?"

The result is obvious: the aim of life becomes not spiritualistic but materialistic; money becomes not a servant but a master and the archangel or the spring of life to control all its activities, to fashion the will and the conduct from the lower point of view, and reduce one to the extremely low level of a hired man, and to effect in him a complete dislocation of morals.

It is a pity that this change of the point of view has created a new and a degraded environment—an environment which has told very heavily even upon the teaching profession. One feels sorry to hear many teachers saying "If we are not properly paid why should we care for the students or work for them so well as we are expected to

do?" They would not take the suggestion that the duty of a teacher is to teach or to instruct and educate, and that a teacher falls from his level and detracts from the essence and worth of a teacher if he returns an indifference to duty. Not that a teacher must not endeavour to better his material circumstances—on the contrary, he should, for he cannot live on air—but that in the event of a conscious or unconscious indifference on the part of his employers to his merits, he should also be indifferent to his duty savours of a fall or denies that such a teacher ever rose at all to a consciousness of his worth as a teacher. A bad teacher is a contradiction in terms. He is not a teacher at all and has mistaken his vocation. Moreover, education is at the root of moral progress. One of its essential functions is to form character, whatever else it may promise to do. The importance of a teacher in educating a youth is, therefore, obvious; he is at the root of the whole social machinery. It works well if he works well. No department of its existence can work right if the teacher goes wrong. He teaches the arts, he teaches the sciences, he teaches the methods of their application, and, above all, he awakens the sense of remaining true to the post of duty or that of the right performance of one's function. If the teacher goes wrong education goes wrong, and if education goes wrong the whole machinery of the society goes wrong from top to toe, because it is at the very root. Well begun is half done, but ill begun is whole undone. The teacher is a prop of the society and if he falls the whole tumbles down. It is important to consider, therefore, the duty of the teacher to the taught, and *vice versa*. What then ought to be the relation between the teacher and his pupils and what are its basis?

A large amount of criticism is being levelled by the parties against each other, the teacher blaming the pupil for failure in his duty and the latter recriminating the former for the same fault. It is said that if pupils are not of the

kind they should be, nor are the teachers; that true teachers and pupils were found only in the past, and that the only path of the regeneration of the relation lies in retracing our steps back to the past; there lies our salvation. The question, therefore, arises how the teacher and the taught were related in the past?

When Alexander the Great was asked why he respected his teacher more than his father, he very wisely replied that while his father had helped in bringing him from heaven down to the earth, it was his teacher who had helped in transporting him back to heaven again. This imports a great truth as to what a teacher is required to do for his pupil and with what attitude has the pupil to approach his teacher. But let us not deduce until we have described the kind of relation which existed between the pair during ancient India.

It is a matter of familiar tradition that the custom of performing the sacred thread ceremony among the Hindus was intended to begin a child's education. The sacred thread being made of three strings implied a vow in the name of the three supreme gods of the Hindus—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva—that the recipient of the sacred thread would remain a Brahmachari until he became twenty-five years old and would sincerely seek knowledge until that time of his life. This means conclusively that the home education before the child was sent out in search of knowledge was so conducted as to cultivate in him a desire for knowledge and learning: the child, that is to say, was enlightened enough, until the age of receiving his sacred thread, to be able to some extent to imagine to himself the ideal of knowledge and to cherish the hope of attaining the ideal. This is apparent in view of the fact that there being no regular schools and colleges in those days as we have them now, and education being not therefore easily attainable, the child had to go out of home to hunt out a teacher or guru for himself

and had to remain with him until he had finished his education. This implies an enormous sacrifice on the part of the child and assuredly without his mind being prepared and made willing to make it, he could not do so. Nor does the statement that in those days it was only customary to keep preparing the mind of the child for the long separation, take away anything from or lower the worth of the sacrifice. Customs are only habits of a society or a nation and if good things become habitual, their value, far from diminishing, is, on the contrary, enhanced, since, that only means the formation of good habits, which is the goal of all education.

So difficult then was education to obtain that the child had to leave his parents and remain with his teacher for years together, that is until he was twenty-five. It follows that he had to make his teacher's home his own. This must, as a matter of course, establish between the teacher and his pupil a new tie of affection without which the latter could not continue his stay with him for long. But as affection between the parties could not begin to exist all at once, the teacher must necessarily mete out to him a paternal treatment on which alone could any continued stay of the pupil with him be conditioned. This again imports in clear terms the attitude of goodwill of the teacher to the pupil.

On the pupil becoming settled at his new home, began his new trial. The teacher, as a rule, put him to very many trials to test the sincerity of his desire for knowledge, so that he might not afterwards be found unfit to receive it; and the successful going through this trial, which often amounted to an ordeal, gives an additional proof of the soundness of the training given at home, where such a desire for knowledge was originally cultivated in the child. Further, the child did not bear the mere formal relation of learning something from him and that is all. This is clearly shown by the fact of his living with him

in his household. He learned from him and, at the same time, served him. Their relation was that of mutual help like that which exists between the parent and the child. He would go out to beg for the teacher and both would feed together on the proceeds of the begging. He would graze the cattle of the teacher: in short, he would render him and his wife every service that a son might render to his father and mother. He, in fact, regarded the teacher and his wife with the same attitude of love, reverence, obedience and dutifulness as he regarded his own father and mother; and the teacher and his wife, in their turn, kept the pupil not only as a member of their household, but as their own son. Being members of the same household the parties enjoyed each other's confidence, shared in each other's difficulties and were true partners in each other's weal and woe and fully vindicated the spiritual basis on which their relation was grounded. One might here be reminded of the sacred tie between a husband and wife, but while this is capable of being interpreted as possessing a material basis alone, that could not at all be so misinterpreted, for, it is purely spiritual.

What was the instruction that the pupil received? Was it only formal? Did it, that is to say, amount only to the teaching of the particular subject which the pupil undertook to learn—Ayurved, Nyaya, Darshan, or aught else? I feel inclined to say, at the very outset, that the teacher was not only his teacher of a particular subject, but a teacher of life's problems. He took interest not merely in his learning a subject or subjects but in himself or in his life as a whole. It was his duty to ask "what would become of his pupil after finishing his education"? He made it his business to see that his plunge from the student's smaller world into the life's larger world was a successful plunge; that he would there swim and not sink; that he would make a dutiful son, a good brother, a good husband, an affectionate

father; that he would be honest in his profession; that he would know how to keep his health and would not make himself unhealthy by luxurious living or a breach of nature's law in any other way; that he would make a good citizen and, above all, would not neglect his religious duties or his duties to God,—the spring of all his activities. In short, the teacher saw that before he (the pupil) was allowed to leave school he was an all-round developed man, as also a specialist in his profession, and fit to enter the world. Then would he pat his back and utter his blessings: "Go thou my boy into the world, thou hast my blessings for success."

The conclusions which we may derive from the above description as to the relation between the parties are the following:—

1. That before joining school the pupil had already attained the stage at which he may be called a seeker after knowledge which alone can serve as a condition of his initiation into the discipleship of his guru.

2. That for this reason he was ready to make the sacrifices necessary for his education.

3. That he was already trained to possess an attitude of reverence and affection for his guru.

4. That a teacher on the arrival of his pupil so affectionately treated him as to develop his initial reverence for him.

5. That this relation of affection and love between them developed to be identical with that between the parent and the child.

6. That the teacher was a teacher of his entire life's functions and not merely of a particular subject or profession.

7. That the teacher was not only a secular but also a spiritual teacher; he was to him both a teacher and a guru; he guarded both of his worlds—this world and the next.

The above conclusions clearly define the functions of the guru, the character that he was to possess, as well as the attitude of his pupil towards him. Assuredly the teacher must be a man

of character. He must be fit to be revered as a guru by the pupil who also in his turn must have initially developed during his training at home a sufficient amount of reverential attitude towards him and the latter must have power enough to attract his reverence and feed and foster his general attitude to him.

This is the kind of relation that is needed even to-day. Without it there is no salvation. The functions of the spiritual and the secular teacher must be combined in one; and it is due to the separation of the two that the teacher and the pupil have both degraded. Each form of duty depends for its successful performance on the other. No secular teacher can remain only secular and perform his duty aright. By being merely secular he must naturally be charmed by the spell of materiality and fall into the quagmire of luxury. His function being only secular, his life itself will become secular, which is another name for material. Spirituality is the spring of duty and without it the secular duty will lose itself; it will become secular without becoming duty. The sense of duty and its right performance by using all means and resources in one's power are essentially spiritual. No man could be rightly secular without being at the same time rightly spiritual.

Nor could the merely spiritual teacher perform his functions aright. He cannot afford to be free from the material side of his nature. He must take care of his daily physical needs and must therefore be secular. But if he grows completely indifferent to them he becomes perhaps completely etherialised by becoming indifferent to his secular brother, and so becomes useless to the world with the world useless to him. The sage must make up his mind to descend from his Himalayan heights to work in the midst of the throng and be useful or he does not remain even a sage. A sage must be a sage to some one. His *sageness* must consist in his goodwill to others; and a will must be



translated into action or remain only a pious wish. "It is with good intentions that hell is proverbially paved". But if he does so he has to mind the material interests of his secular brother and so far becomes secular himself, which means once more a union of the secular with the spiritual.

But, as a rule, this does not happen. Most men are extremists and rarely keep to the Aristotelian golden-mean. Mere spirituality, therefore, often amounts to a disregard of the material side of human nature. And where this does not happen the so called sage often succumbs to the usual frailties of a human mind and returns to the material with a deplorable tenacity and keeps sighing for the joys of the flesh so that he either remains a hypocrite by indulging in sensual life under the veil and so becomes a worldly of the worst world; or openly puts off the veil and shows himself what he is at heart—a soul sworn to sensuality. Such are some of the results of the separation of the secular and spiritual functions of a teacher. A teacher, therefore, must be secular and religious both in one or it will be meaningless to say that the aim of education is the formation of character.

It is true that the modern system of education entrusts to a single teacher too large a number of students. But this objection stands only against making students members of one household. But this is immaterial. All that is meant by allowing students to remain with a teacher is to keep them for a continued period of time under his morally elevated influence, and this could be easily achieved by having the teacher's quarters inside the premises of the students' hostel. The essential point is the possession by the teacher of the ideal character to serve as an example before the pupil; the increase of numbers involves the responsibility all the more and imperatively calls for such a character in the teacher.

It may also be said that students are not worthy of the confidence which is required by this

aim to be reposed in them. And the answer is that our aim is to raise the student-world and this aim could not be fulfilled if the teacher-world is itself degenerated by falling from its ideal. Already the cry is sufficiently acute, as we have said above. Even the student in reply to criticism that is levelled against him has begun to say that if the student of the ancient ideal of thought and deed is not found, nor is a teacher of that kind found; and the rarity or exception in this case is no argument against the rule. A doubt in the character of the teacher himself and the necessity of raising the character of the pupil together strengthen the need of the fact that teachers must be men of high character. Nor could an increase in the number of teachers to each pupil be an objection at all. The greater the number of the men of high character the greater will be the influence for good exercised on the student. As "the more the merrier" in other things, so in this.

It is true that this aim could not be achieved without an agreement between the teacher and the parent, without both of them holding council together. The ancient teacher could not do the desired work on the pupil without the help of the parent sending to the teacher a pupil of the right kind, a pupil with right attitude and the required potentiality for the realisation in him of the object of education, in making him what the teacher could make him. It is necessary, therefore, to adopt such means as would bring about a mutual understanding between the teacher and the parent. Such associations as may bring the teacher and the parent together are thus a necessity.

But the world has travelled long on the path of sensuality and luxury or, in one word, materialism; and it is a pity that the attainment of the ideal is difficult. It will perhaps be long therefore before a satisfactory return to the past is effected consistently with the modern conditions, and the teachers become gurus and pupils disciples and the whole profession becomes spiritualized.

# PRINCE EDWARD'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

[In continuation of the speeches of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, published in the last two issues of the *Review*, we give below another instalment of His Royal Highness's utterances in reply to the addresses of welcome presented to him on various occasions during his visit to Patna, Calcutta, Mandalay, Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Nagpore.—*Ed., I. R.*]

## MESSAGE TO THE ARMY.

The following message was sent by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to all units of the Indian Army serving outside the limits of India and Burma whom he will not see during his Indian tour:

I find that during my tour in India I shall not be able to see all units of the Indian Army, as some of them are still serving their King-Emperor outside the limits of India, across the seas in Mesopotamia, Palestine and other countries. I much regret that I shall not have an opportunity of meeting the latter, and I desire to convey to them my disappointment at not being able to see them in India and to assure them that my thoughts are with them in the varied and responsible duties which they are so efficiently performing in the cause of the Empire. All that I see of the Indian Army in my tour in India, strengthen the admiration which I have always had for all ranks of the Indian Army from the days when they were comrades in arms in the Great War. I am confident that they will continue worthily to uphold the glorious traditions of our fighting forces.

## SPEECH AT PATNA.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrived at Patna on December 22. In reply to an address of welcome from the Patna Reception Committee, the Prince said:

I thank you most warmly for the kind address which your Committee, representing so many varied interests and communities in this province, has presented me. I shall convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor the expression of your loyal devotion. I am very glad to have been able to visit Patna. Though your province is the youngest province in India, Patna and Rajghyr are connected with the mists of ancient history and the dawn of old civilisations and empires. The sacred places of Bodh Gaya and Jagannath recall associations with two of the dominating systems of religious belief in the East, while in the public library at Patna is stored a treasure of literature dealing with the religion and history of the Muslim peoples of the world. On historical and religious grounds, therefore, your province

occupies a position of more than common interest. Apart from these features, my visit makes a special appeal to me, because Patna was visited by my grandfather and by my father, and it is by my father's command that this province took its present shape as a separate entity and that Patna became the metropolis of a Local Government.

In addition to this, I am gratified by this visit to a province where, till recently, an Indian, after a distinguished career in India and in England and after rendering conspicuous service to the Empire in the war, held the high position of the Governor. I am proud to think that Lord Sinha stood marked out by the confidence of His Majesty's Government as the head of the local administration in the ranks of those who are next to and only below His Majesty the King-Emperor's Viceroy and Governor General in India. It is with deep regret that I have heard of Lord Sinha's illness and resignation, and it is a great disappointment to me not to have been able to see him here in his own administration and at the head of his own province. I deem your province fortunate to have been the first to receive the most signal proof of that trust in the people of India and that desire to associate Indians more closely with the Government in India which has been repeatedly announced and affirmed by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

This province is possessed of vast resources and wealth. I need only mention a few of its products—the output of white sugar, the lac industry, the mineral deposits in iron, steel, coal, copper and mica and the manufacture of country cloth.

Under the Reformed Constitution the future of this fair province lies to a large extent in the hands of the enlightened classes among the people themselves. It is my prayer that you may be rightly inspired to develop and improve your resources and promote the well-being of your fellow citizens in Bihar and Orissa. I know that I shall take away the most pleasant recollections of my visit to Patna, and you may count on my warm interest, with which I shall always watch and follow the future history and fortunes of your province.

## SPEECH AT CALCUTTA

The Prince arrived in Calcutta on December 24 and in reply to the address from the Municipal Corporation, he said :

I thank you for your loyal and hearty greeting on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta. This city has extended a warm welcome to my father and my grandfather and other members of my family, grateful recollection of which is still treasured. I can assure you, gentlemen, that I have been looking forward with special interest to my visit here. I have seen many cities in the Empire, but few cities can vie with the interest which centres round Calcutta. The expansion of a small fishing village into a great manufacturing and commercial city, with a port full of shipping and vast exchange mart in daily touch with the Far East and America on one side and with Europe, Australia and Africa on the other, forms a memorable chapter in our Empire's history, of which both Great Britain and India may well be proud. The great part which this city has played in the history of India itself makes a powerful appeal to the imagination. Whether viewed as the stronghold of European commercial community, or as the capital of Bengal and the chief city of our Bengalee-speaking subjects, or in the more restricted but important aspect of a great student centre, Calcutta arrests attention and is invested with importance peculiarly its own.

Further, if we add to the city proper suburban municipalities and Howrah with which it is connected with continuous lines of roads and buildings, Calcutta can claim that, with the exception of London, no city in the Empire has a larger number of inhabitants while few, if any, have a more cosmopolitan and heterogeneous population. Gentlemen, you have alluded with becoming modesty to your responsibilities and the spirit in which you discharge them. It is, however, patent that the vast area and population entrusted to you are no light burden. That you arrange efficiently for water-supply, lighting, communications, drainage, sanitation, food-supply, health, medical relief for this vast charge amid the special difficulties and complexities which are absent in the case of other large towns and with a taxation figure per head of moderation unknown in cities of this class, speaks volumes for your energy and organisation. Notable work has also been done in town-planning and improvements by your sister body—the Improvement Trust. With great schemes still before you to lead through to a successful issue

and vast projects of Port Trust, public life in Calcutta offers a fascinating field indeed to those who are ready to devote their energies to the improvement of the welfare of their fellow-citizens.

That the citizens of Calcutta of various races and creeds have worked together in this Corporation in the past with such harmony and efficiency and shown such admirable results, is of bright augury for the British in India as a whole. If gradual development of self governing institutions in India is attended and inspired by as happy a spirit of united effort to secure the well-being of the people as animates your Corporation in municipal affairs, the future is indeed full of hope. I thank you once more for your address and your kind wishes. I am confident that I shall take away most pleasant impressions and recollections from your great city.

## LUNCH WITH ASSAM GOVERNOR.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales speaking at the lunch with the Governor of Assam on December 26 at Calcutta, said :

I am very much obliged to Sir William Harris for having so kindly asked me to lunch and given me an opportunity of meeting you all. I received your kind message of welcome from Assam on my arrival in India, and it is very gratifying to me to be able to express my thanks for it in person to-day. It is a permanent regret that I am unable to pay a visit to your province. My tour in India is, as you know, very short and much has to be fitted into it and you must not blame me for not including a visit to Assam in my tour. The fault, or misfortune rather, lies with you, for while the great rivers which run through your province and lovely hills and mountains which encircle it give Assam the peerless beauty all its own, they make it difficult of access. Some day, I trust, it may be my privilege to visit your province and see for myself that it is not only the distance that lends enchantment to the beauty of Assam. I know that warm and loyal hearts beat in your valleys and highlands, and I shall watch with keen interest and sympathy the progress of the province which, though not numbered among the larger provinces of India, made a notable effort in the great war. Assam is fortunate in possessing as her first Governor one who, for many years, has made a close study of large administrative and imperial problems and has

valuable experience of other parts of the Empire. I feel sure that the wide knowledge and breadth of view which he brings to his task will help you to maintain worthily the fine traditions of your province.

Your Excellency, I thank you again for your kind hospitality, and I ask you to be so kind as to convey my greetings to the people of your province and my expressions of regret that I am unable, during my present tour, to visit them in their own country.

### THE CALCUTTA CONVOCATION.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from the Calcutta University on December 27, said :

I thank you for the very high honour you have conferred on me by granting me the honorary degree of your University. My father, His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, received this honour at your hands in 1906 and six years later recalled the pleasure which the ceremony had afforded him in his reply to the loyal address presented to him by the representatives of your University and on the latter occasion His Majesty dwelt on the ideals which should animate the universities in India and his confidence that the labours of your governing body would be inspired by these noble standards and that you would shoulder your responsibility with a courage which would command success. At the same time His Majesty's deep interest in the cause of education was shown by his special commands to his Governor-General regarding the expansion and improvement of education generally in India. I am gratified to hear that his wishes in the latter respect have borne fruit. It will be of interest to His Majesty to learn from me that his confidence in you was not misplaced and that in the rapid expansion of educational facilities which has occurred, one of the most important features has been co-operation of bodies such as your University in measures calculated to extend and improve the system of higher education in India in proportion to the expansion and progress which is taking place in other departments of education in this country. That this co-operation is cheerfully given, in the face of financial and other difficulties, redounds to your credit.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I trust that the honorary degree with which you have presented me to-day will form a real bond of union between me and the University of Calcutta.

### THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.

Before opening the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta on December 28, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales said :

We meet together to-day. Of the ceremonies in which I am called upon to take part in India none can make a closer appeal to me than this ceremony. My father laid the foundation stone of this memorial and I feel that it is a great privilege to follow in his footsteps to set the seal on the completion of the great work among many, and as the great-grandson of the Sovereign whose name and era this beautiful and stately monument so worthily perpetuates preside at this opening ceremony and give posterity an edifice which enshrines her memory and contains works of art and of interest peculiarly connected with her reign. I like to recall to your memory some of the words spoken by His Majesty at the inauguration ceremony. His Majesty said :—"It is right and befitting that there should be memorials in all parts of India in memory of one who, though she was never privileged to see her Indian subjects in their own countries, seemed to have the peculiar power of being in touch and sympathy with all classes in this Continent. But it is still more befitting that there should be one memorial in India as a symbol of the unity and concord which came from her all-embracing love for her people and an enduring token of the affection which all Europeans and Indians, Princes and peasants, felt for Queen Victoria." These words are of special interest at the present time. In the two famous Proclamations of 1858 and 1876 Queen Victoria with her keen sympathy for Indian aspirations announced those principles which have since guided our government in India. I need only recall the following well-known words of the former Proclamation about Indian peoples :—"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment, our security, and in their gratitude our best reward" and the keynote of the utterances of 1876, which was unity of the Indian Empire. The most signal expression of the realization of that unity which has been given by India's united effort and support to the Empire in the great war at the earnest desire of the British Government to secure the contentment of her people has received abundant proof in the recently inaugurated reforms by which they have been directly associated with the work of government by gradual development of self-governing institutions

and have begun their march towards the progressive realization of responsible government within the Empire. It is fitting that this memorial to the great Queen Empress should be opened at a time when her dreams for her Indian Empire have come true. I congratulate the Executive Committee and the Trustees of this great All-India Trust on the manner in which they have performed the great work which they undertook and I fully associate myself in the tribute which Your Excellency has paid those who under their guidance have so efficiently played their part in bringing this splendid scheme to fruition. I had seen photographs of the design of that eminent architect whose absence to-day I join with you in deploring, but the reality is another matter and I am charmed with the size and beauty and proportions of the executed conception. The description which I shall be able to give His Imperial Majesty will, I feel sure, be a source of gratification to him and will convince him of the worthy manner in which the great trust imposed on you has been discharged. I should like to thank all donors, whether of money or exhibits, for their help, which has made the execution of this project possible. I associate myself with you in your tribute to Marquess Curzon. This magnificent monument owes its inception to that faithful and devoted servant, the last Governor General of Queen Victoria. I know that you realize as I do in how great a measure the first beginnings were the result of his unrivalled energy and organizing power. Though he left India before the work could be completed, his vivid interest in the progress of the scheme has never flagged. It will be a pleasure to him to hear that the great monument and its contents, which are the outcome of his artistic and historical sense, have to-day become the heritage of ages.

I thank Your Excellency for your tribute of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty the King-Empperor and Queen-Empress and for the kind words in which you have alluded to myself. I can assure Your Excellency that I am deeply grateful to you for having been given the opportunity, which I have embraced with thankfulness and pride, of presiding at the opening ceremony of the memorial to that great Queen whose venerated name has been a hallowed memory to me since my childhood. I now declare the Victoria Memorial open.

#### CALCUTTA WAR MEMORIAL.

H R H the Prince of Wales made the following speech on the occasion of unveiling the Calcutta War Memorial on December 30:

In one sense the brave men to whose memory I have the privilege of unveiling this memorial to-day, need no memorial, for, together with all those who made the supreme sacrifice in the great war, their name liveth for evermore, but it is right and fitting that in this great centre of commercial activity there should be a memorial to hand on the great tradition and patriotism for whom death's dark vale had no terrors. Amid the crowded preoccupations of life in this city, men may pause here for a while in reverence and take away inspiration to strengthen their lives. They will find here an enduring monument to nobler instincts and purer influences than those with which the daily round of existence brings them into contact; for this memorial will testify our gratitude to those who died, that we might live. It will remind the generations that come after of the loyalty and devotion to the Empire which these men placed above all other claims. It will stand as a witness to the supreme expression of those qualities of self-sacrifice and courage on which we Britons pride ourselves.

#### RANGOON MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

The Prince arrived in Rangoon on 2nd January 1922. In reply to the address from the Rangoon Municipal Committee, he said:

I thank you very warmly for the address of welcome which you have presented to me. The name which your city bears, the city of peace, or more literally the end of war, is an appropriate testimony of what Pax Britannica has done for Burma and Rangoon. No more romantic page in the annals of the development of the Empire can be found than the history of the growth of a small town of thatched huts, which passed under British occupation in 1852, into this vast metropolis and prosperous port of to-day. Where yesterday wildness, mud, labyrinths and hovels met the eye, the fair capital of the richest province of the Empire to-day lifts up her proud head. Here railways and crafts of the two great river valleys of Burma deliver up the spoils of your mines, your oil fields, your rice plantations and your forests to factories and docks of this city. The shipping of all lands seeks your port to carry your product to the four corners of the world.

There is romance, too, in the many nationalities which throng your streets and docks at the

first sight. Amidst the multiplicity of creeds and tongues of your citizens the only common tie would seem to be the bond of adherence to the British Empire under whose protection they live and prosper. In spite of such diversity of elements, your city is essentially a part and parcel of Burma and in a true sense the capital of Burma, for in your midst stands the great pagoda, the oldest of all holy places of religion, claiming a larger proportion of followers among the human race than any other, and this building is the supreme expression of the genius of the Burmese people. The fortunes of your city are entirely bound up with those of the province, for, as the main outlet for the riches of Burma, on her growing prosperity and welfare rests your increasing strength.

The great position which this city has attained in the Empire owes much to those among you who laboured in civic affairs and to the successful efforts of your Port Commissioners and your Development Committees. Great opportunities and responsibilities still lie ahead of you. I feel sure that they will be met in a spirit of mutual co-operation for the welfare of Rangoon and Burma which has animated you in the past.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I know I shall take away from Rangoon the most pleasant recollections of my stay.

#### MANDALAY MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived at Mandalay on January 5 and was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipal Committee. In reply, the Prince said:

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the warm welcome which you have extended to me. It is a very great pleasure to me, following the footsteps of Their Imperial Majesties, to visit the chief town of Upper Burma. Their Majesties will be interested to hear of the progress and expansion of your city and the prosperity and welfare of your province. I have been looking forward to my visit to Mandalay—the city of Sunshine and Pagodas. When Englishmen think of Burma and Burmese, their thoughts at once turn to Mandalay. Rangoon is the great cosmopolitan port and the city of the province. But it is to Mandalay we all wish to go to understand and enjoy all that charms us in the people of Burma. It is here that we feel that we can get to know Burmese and show our liking for them. It is here that we can succeed in understanding the real influence of the serene outlook in life and bask in the warmth of nature as joyous as their own sunshine. It is

here only that we can hope to appreciate at its true value their delicate art and talent which has had an effect of pushing beyond the limits of Burma itself. Measured in years the connection of Burma with Great Britain has been a short one, but it has not been too short for the vigorous growth of strong mutual esteem and regard. It has not been too brief to give birth to a firm trust in each other's qualities and capabilities and confidence in each other's power for good. I know that we hope that under our guidance the Burmese will be enabled to give expression to all that is best in Burma and raise themselves to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that in return the Burmese will repose trust in our power to promote their fortunes and welfare on lines sympathetic to their national character and aspirations. Gentlemen, I envy you for your responsibilities in the charge of the civic affairs of this beautiful city and wish you all success in their discharge. I thank you again for your kind address of welcome.

#### REPLY TO THE MADRAS MUNICIPALITY.

The Prince arrived in Madras on January 13. In reply to the address presented by the Municipal Corporation, His Royal Highness said:

Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for your kind address. As I entered the harbour to-day, of which my grandfather laid the foundation in 1875, and passed the stone which commemorates the landing of my father in 1905, and saw Madras and Georgetown before me which gave such a cordial reception to my uncle last year, I felt I was among old associations; and your kind welcome has made me feel I am among friends.

I have been looking forward to my visit to Madras, the birthplace of British India. Historic buildings and famous names link your city with the great men and events of the past.

Time has sped since the inauguration of your Corporation in 1885 and since the days when your members enjoyed the exclusive privilege of using umbrellas and riding on horseback in old Fort St. George; but, in spite of those old-time associations, your Corporation has not stood still; and the years that have passed have been years of steady advance and progress. To-day with your modern institutions and elected council and women suffrage you may challenge comparison with the most up-to-date municipalities in the world.

I am much interested in town improvement, and am gratified to hear that you have large schemes in hand for the extension and development of your ancient city. You are fortunate in

possessing a priceless asset for your task, fresh air, and open spaces. I feel confident that your efforts will be wisely guided and that you will strive to secure, by every means in your power, the welfare and health of your fellow citizens.

Some jealous person once described Madras as a withered beldame brooding on ancient fame. Even if, her beauty is of the old-world type, I think I shall fall a victim to it. You are naturally proud of your old history. But I know also that Madras with all her manifold activities, both in war and peace, has been making history every day, and that your city will remain in the forefront in moulding that great destiny which the future holds in store for India.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind welcome. I shall convey to the King Emperor your message of loyalty and devotion.

#### REPLY TO THE PEOPLE'S ADDRESS.

H R H. the Prince of Wales received the Madras People's Address on January 13. In reply the Prince said :

Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for your warm welcome and for the kind expressions which you have used concerning me. I receive your address with special pleasure, because it represents the sentiments of the many castes and creeds which go to make up the people of this great presidency. I shall gladly convey to the King-Emperor your message of devotion.

While with the advantage of civilization, conflicts of ideas are inevitable, it is to me an inspiring thought that personal loyalty, such as yours, provides a ground on which every community can unite.

You have your aspirations and your desires to advance. I welcome such aspirations and sympathise with them. You would be but a lifeless people if you were not stirred by some such feelings. I shall watch your progress with keen interest. I feel sure that you only need that co-operation and goodwill to which you have referred, to ensure the brightest future for the Madras Presidency.

My only regret is that my time with you is short. As the home of the old Dravidian stock, Madras appeals to me as the most Indian part of India. As a student of history, I am fascinated by a land whose story begins in the mists of ancient times when Rama came here to seek his bride. Through the history of great kingdoms, great names and great events, one passes to the years which first saw on this soil the dawn of the Indian Empire of to-day.

From the struggles of the early days of our connection with Madras, my thoughts turn to the recent great war. In that struggle you stood by our side and played a noble part. You shared in that common sacrifice which bound the Empire together. Great Britain will not forget these services; and I have come here to see again some of those who went forth from this land to serve that cause. Peace has now come; but the Empire still has need of you. Your words carry weight in her councils; and, if I mistake not, the high mental qualities of your sons mark out for you a high place in the destinies of this great land. "Gentlemen, I thank you once more for your warm welcome. The future progress of the people of Madras will always command my sympathetic interest. I much appreciate your kind thought in associating my name with the hospital which you are generously erecting for the children of Madras."

#### REPLY TO THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE

In reply to the address of welcome presented by the Madras Legislative Council on January 13, His Royal Highness said :

Gentlemen of the Madras Legislative Council,—I thank you sincerely for the welcome which your President has extended to me in such graceful terms. It is a great pleasure to me to meet all the members of your Legislative Council and to see the Chamber in which the deliberations of the Council of the oldest presidency in India are carried on.

Only a year has passed since my uncle, the Duke of Connaught, as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, inaugurated your new reformed constitution. I am informed that in this brief space under the able guidance of your President you are justifying the extension of the wide powers which have been given you under the Reform Act and are making an advance by wise and gradual steps to your goal of full responsible government. I am sure that you realise the heavy responsibilities which rest on you as representative of the people of this presidency and I feel confident that you will always act with steady purpose and balanced judgment to secure the progress and prosperity of all classes and communities.

It will give me great pleasure to convey to His Majesty the King Emperor your message of loyalty and devotion. I wish you all success and assure you that I shall follow your future with all the greater personal interest after the visit that I have paid you to-day.

## REPLY TO THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales received an address of welcome from the Madras University on January 13. In reply the Prince said :

I thank you most warmly, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me on behalf of the members of the Senate and students of the University of Madras. It gives me great pleasure to meet you all here to-day.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you are proud and justly proud of the fine scholars which your University is sending out into the world ; and indeed the reputation for learning and good scholarship borne by the University of Madras has already spread far beyond the confines of this Presidency. I join with you in the confident hope that in the near future this institution will become an even greater centre specially equipped for research and the diffusion of new learning.

I have now to perform the very pleasant task, which you have entrusted to me, of conferring rewards on selected Pandits who, by their exceptional merit, have earned this recognition of their scholarship and of their deep knowledge of Oriental lore. I take this opportunity of congratulating those who have been selected for this signal distinction.

## REPLY TO MADRAS LANDHOLDERS.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales made the following speech in reply to an address presented by the Madras Landholders' Association on January 13 :

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for your kind welcome. I shall convey your expressions of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor.

It has been a great pleasure to meet you, the chief landholders of this province, on my arrival here. Your position and status in the Madras Presidency fit you to take a leading part in directing its fortunes. Your aspirations are to progress and you wish for progress which will be combined with peace and order. Your hope is to advance ; and you wish for advance along lines which will strengthen your ties with the British Empire. These sentiments, Gentlemen, do you credit.

I thank you again for your warm welcome and wish you all happiness and prosperity in the future.

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## ADDRESS AT BANGALORE.

H. R. H. the Prince, replying to the address of the Bangalore Municipal Commission on the 18th January, said :

I thank you for your kind welcome. I am gratified to receive the address which represents the sentiments of all communities and creeds in the important Military and Civil Station of Bangalore. I am glad to have been able to see this centre of British administration in Southern India which was visited by my father and which has so many associations with my House. I wish you all success in your labours to provide for civic needs of this city and station. I trust that the citizens of Bangalore will have their share in peaceful progress and growing prosperity which I feel confident awaits India in future.

## MYSORE MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales received an address from the Mysore City Municipal Council on January 19, and in reply said :

I thank you for your loyal address of welcome. I am gratified to have been able to follow in my father's footsteps and pay a visit to Mysore. I have heard with pleasure the progressive spirit in civic affairs which has been shown by your Council and of your efforts for the well-being of the inhabitants of Mysore City. Your ideal to make your city capital worthy in all respects of His Highness the Maharaja and this important State is deserving of the highest praise. I am sure that I shall take away with me the most pleasant recollections of my visit to Mysore.

## THE MYSORE STATE BANQUET.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, speaking at the State Banquet at Mysore on Jan. 19, said :

I must thank Your Highness for the very warm welcome which you have extended to me and for the loyal sentiments which you have expressed. It has been Your Highness's care to see that nothing should be left undone which could interest or entertain me.

My father, the King-Emperor, visited Mysore in 1906, and it will be of great interest to him to learn from me what a fine edifice has been raised by Your Highness on the foundations which were laid during the administration of Mysore under British rule. In the 16 years which have passed since his visit, honorable advance has been effected in education, and Mysore now has a university. Great strides have also been made in material and industrial expansion, of which the Kemambadi Reservoir and Electric Power Installations are examples. Lastly, he will be gratified to learn of the close association of the people in the adminis-



tration of this State by the institution of representative and elected assemblies and by the establishment of economic conferences.

Your Highness has often acknowledged the closeness of the tie which binds Mysore to the British Crown and the magnanimity which has distinguished the relations of our Government to Mysore and its ruler. Your Highness took immediate action to prove on how real a basis these sentiments of loyalty and gratitude rested. In 1906, during my father's visit, Your Highness spoke of your Imperial Service Troops working their hardest to fit themselves for the front line of the army of the Empire. These words were prophetic. In October 1914, Your Highness's Imperial Service Lancers sailed from India for Egypt. They fought in Egypt where I had the pleasure of seeing them in 1916, and subsequently took part in the two years' desert campaign which ended in the capture of Ghaza and the fall of Jerusalem. In both the latter engagements they played a brilliant part. They then joined the famous 15th cavalry brigade and were active in advance in the Jordan valley and the final series of engagements which broke down the Turkish resistance and carried our arms into Syria. They distinguished themselves at Haifa, where they drove the enemy from strong positions on Mount Carmel, capturing seven guns and 300 prisoners. At the final action at Aleppo, they were again to the fore and in a fine charge against heavy odds they suffered severe casualties. They only returned to India in February 1920. The honors and decorations won by the corps and the frequent mention of the officers and men in the despatches bear eloquent testimony to their courage and efficiency and to the excellent spirit and tone which prevailed in the regiment.

The Imperial Service Transport Corps proceeded to Mesopotamia in 1916, and continued on active service till the end of the war. It won the highest commendations from the General Officer Commanding in Mesopotamia. All praise is due to these gallant corps, and to the officers who helped them deserved and won high reputation. In addition to keeping those units up to their full strength, 5,000 of Your Highness's subjects enlisted in the units of the Indian Army. When I turn to the more prosaic but equally important question of the ways and means for the war, I find that the assistance given by the Mysore State has been of an equally high order. At the outbreak of the war, Your Highness offered Rs. 50 lakhs towards the cost of our Expeditionary Forces. You added a further gift of ten

lakhs, and later another gift of 13 lakhs. Your State subscribed 14 lakhs to the Imperial Relief Fund and invested 105 lakhs in the war loans. The people of your State gave two lakhs to the war charities and invested 113 lakhs in the war loans. The contributions from Your Highness's State and subjects thus reached a total of nearly two crores of rupees. Besides this, the State was prominent in the supply of hides, timber, blankets and other materials necessary for the efficiency of our armies. The war record of Your Highness's State is, indeed, a notable one, and it is a great privilege to me to be able to offer my thanks and congratulations in person tonight to Your Highness on these achievements.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have detained you for some time, but I think you will feel with me that these gleanings from the pages of the annals of Mysore were worth hearing. I will now ask you to join me in drinking the health of the loyal and enlightened ruler of Mysore—Colonel His Highness Sri Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore.

#### THE HYDERABAD STATE BANQUET.

Speaking at the Hyderabad State Banquet on January 25, H. R. H. the Prince said:

I thank Your Exalted Highness for the very warm terms in which you have proposed my health and for the princely hospitality which you have extended to me. I have been looking forward to my visit to Hyderabad, as it is my desire that the traditional friendship which exists between our House and the Ruler of Hyderabad may ripen in my case by personal acquaintance into close regard and esteem for Your Exalted Highness. History has recorded in no uncertain terms the ancient ties of friendship and alliance which have subsisted between Hyderabad and the British Government. From the earliest days of British rule in India, Hyderabad and its rulers acted almost uniformly in concert with our interests. The campaigns of the 18th and early 19th centuries against Tippu Sultan, Marathas, and Pindaris, are an eloquent testimony to the closeness of this tie, and the treaties and alliances which resulted from them went far to determine the subsequent history of India. The annals of more recent times have been a fitting sequel to this auspicious beginning. Within living memory, two most important events affecting the British rule in India have been the Indian Mutiny and the Great War. Hyderabad, on both these difficult occasions, remained true to the old traditions. In the great upheaval of 1857, the staunch loyalty of Hyderabad

did much to ensure the immunity of India south of the Satpura Range from those widespread disturbances which threatened our northern provinces. In the great war, now happily concluded, Hyderabad, under its present illustrious ruler, afforded such moral and material support as to leave no doubt of Your Exalted Highness's lively and practical conception of the true meaning of the title of "Faithful Ally of the British Government"—a title which has recently received the formal recognition of the King-Emperor. Within the compass of my speech it would be impossible for me to review all the assistance which has been rendered by Your Exalted Highness. I must content myself with reference to the more striking features.

First and foremost, I would place the maintenance in the field of Your Imperial Service, Lancers and of the 20th Deccan Horse throughout the war at a cost of more than a crore and a half of rupees. The fine record of the former must be a source of pride to Your Exalted Highness, and as regards the Deccan Horse, I need only say that, in view of their services, His Majesty the King-Emperor last year conferred the title "Royal" upon them. Your Exalted Highness's personal interest as Colonel in this unit was shown in a most generous manner by arming the regiment. Financial aid was afforded in the most unstinted manner. Among other items I may mention the Rs. 164 lakhs subscribed to the war loans, £200,000 presented for anti-submarine campaign and for the provision of tanks and aeroplanes, £2,500 to the Silver Wedding Fund for the aid of the families of disabled soldiers, and Rs. 2½ lakhs to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. Whether it was the Belgian Relief Fund or Fund for the Disabled Officers, no appeal, even remotely connected with our cause, was made to Your Exalted Highness in vain. Your Exalted Highness's peace-offering took the appropriate form of a land colony for the establishment of soldiers who had fought in the war and for the families of the fallen. This was auspiciously named Sulahnagar, or the abode of peace. In these and other directions, too numerous to mention, Your Exalted Highness has shown keen personal interest in our fortunes and an abiding friendship to our cause. Your Exalted Highness bears many tokens of His Majesty the King-Emperor's regard and the historic title which has been conferred on Your Exalted Highness makes it plain to the Empire the unique record of the Hyderabad State and the proud place which its ruler occupies.

#### REPLY TO C. P. LEGISLATURE.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales received an address of welcome from the C. P. Legislative Council on January 30, and in reply he said :

I am very grateful to the members of your Legislative Council for their loyal address and for the kind words in which they have referred to me. Their Imperial Majesties visited Nagpur in 1912, and it is a pleasure to me to follow in their footsteps. I am glad to be able to learn something at first hand of the Central Provinces and its capital, and to meet the representatives of its people and Government.

The fact that only sixty years have passed since the Central Provinces were first constituted into a separate unit tempts me to compare the present conditions of this province with those which existed in the earlier part of the 19th century. In those earlier days much of the territories now included in this province has, according to the records of those times, earned the reputation of being a backward and unknown tract with no metalled roads or railways. Your province was entirely land-locked, bands of robbers made access to your country. It was an hazardous affair for pilgrims and more venturesome travellers brought back tales of vast area covered with forest whose inhabitants lived in primitive and poverty-stricken conditions and of the country mainly dependent on agriculture, but often harassed by famine. The only hint of your mineral wealth was to be seen in the few loads of coal which found its way on pack animals to country boats on the "Nerbudda" and thence to the outer world. There were either no schools, or at best few schools where itinerant teachers taught. On pilgrim routes our present record tells another story. Railways and roads have brought you into touch with other centres in this vast country. Your population has increased since 1866 from 9 to 13 millions. In the same period the area under cultivation has risen from 18 to 29 millions of acres. Good communication and the efforts of your Irrigation Department have mitigated the disasters of seasons of scarcity. Once unable even to assist your own districts you can now help other parts of India in time of want. Your cotton has deservedly a high reputation and passed through looms of Nagpur, Bombay or Manchester to help clothe the world. Your forests, once unexploited, are an asset now, bringing in an annual revenue of over Rs. 21 lakhs and are a real service to the Empire by their supply of railway sleepers, grass for the army and valuable products such as lac, •

Your mineral wealth is only partly developed, but already few packloads have been replaced by 18 coal mines with an annual output of 500,000 tons. Forty-six manganese mines produce nearly 60,000 tons of that valuable ore each year and your limestone deposits yield cement which rivals the famous product of Portland. Mills and factories and other activities give employment where at one time there were not even cottage industries.

If your material progress has been striking, your moral progress has not lagged behind. Where few students groped for learning nearly 5,000 schools to day cater for 350,000 of the rising generation. An Act has been passed for the extension of primary education, and a university is on the anvil. The people of your province have made vigorous strides in the co-operative movement, which has been the salvation of the rural populations elsewhere.

A keen interest in local self government has secured advance in this matter which other provinces in India may well envy. Lastly, your province once isolated, unknown and self-centred, took its share in the great war and assisted the Empire in its just cause. Your Government can look back with pride on the record of these 60 years. Your province is now at the starting point of what, I trust, will be an era of even greater prosperity. The first step in your progress to responsible government has now been taken. Your new council, I am informed, has made an encouraging start. I feel confident that the real sense of responsibility will guide its deliberations hand in hand with the real power in this splendid field for its labours. You may rest assured of my abiding sympathy with all that concerns the good of this province and the welfare of its people.

## PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE FOR INDIA

The Indian Fiscal Commission, which assembled at Bombay in November last under the presidency of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, has since visited the more important commercial and industrial centres of India for the purpose of taking evidence from leading witnesses, European and Indian, official and non-official. Many students of Economics, businessmen and publicists have been examined by the Commission and altogether a large mass of oral and written evidence has been collected. We print below extracts and excerpts from the memoranda of some leading witnesses, only with regard to the controversy on free trade *vs.* protection for India. The case for either is presented with perfect lucidity in the statements published in the following pages.—[*Ed., I.R.*]

### DR. GILBERT SLATER

I generally favour a policy of free trade. Had I not done so previously I think the experience of the past three years of world's history would have converted me. But for India I do not consider that a simple policy of either unadulterated free trade or out-and-out protection is possible. This general sentiment of all the opinion of India that counts is strongly protectionist, and this makes unadulterated free-trade cease to be possible now that India controls its own fiscal policy. On the other hand, owing to a combination of financial and political considerations, India requires a large and increasing revenue from customs. Hence the policy with regard to the imposition of customs duties must be guided mainly in the future, as it has been in the past, by revenue consideration. India, therefore, must have a tariff mainly for revenue, but modified by a protectionist flavour.

From the economic point of view I consider that direct taxation is the more suitable form,

and that it would be a very great benefit to India if permanent settlement were abolished and the land revenue in the first place made fairly uniform in the proportion it bears to the economic rent over the whole of India, and then were allowed to expand in proportion to the increase in the economic rent of land. There are very great and obvious political difficulties preventing this, but I think that we may hope at least for the extension of income-tax to incomes derived from land, particularly in the case of permanently-settled estates. Nevertheless, I anticipate that the financial needs of India will necessitate, in addition, an increase in the customs revenue. In so far as it is sought to obtain such an increase by putting up the rate of taxes, careful consideration must be given to what the trade will bear.

Indian sentiment specially demands protection in the cotton industry, but possibly it may be satisfied with the measure of protection already attained in view of the fact that the consumer has had to pay so dearly for the hindrances imposed

by war and tariff on the importation of Lincolnshire cottons.

If it be found absolutely necessary to establish some new industries, I think more direct measures than protection will be required.

I believe that, in India, the more Governmental assistance, by tariff or otherwise, is given to a particular industry, the more additional assistance it will demand.

I am strongly of opinion that German, Scotch, American, and Japanese and other foreign industrial firms would, if a much more protective policy than at present exists were adopted, establish themselves in India and get an ever-increasing share of the industry in their own hands. Nor do I believe that any measures that would be taken to prevent this development would be effective.

I consider that it is premature at this juncture to raise the question of Imperial Preference. Before this question is dealt with, it is necessary (1) that India's fiscal autonomy should be fully recognised by Indians themselves, and (2) that India, in making its choice, should have decided upon a protectionist policy. The fact that the idea of Imperial Preference was mooted in India, at the time when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain raised the issue in England, made it appear to Indians that a fresh scheme for still more thoroughly subordinating Indian commercial and manufacturing interests to those of the United Kingdom was on foot.

I desire for the United Kingdom a return to the free-trade policy of the pre-war period, combined with an effort to lead other nations in the same direction. In fact, I should like to see the League of Nations supplemented by a Free Trade League which any State might join for the purpose of facilitating free commercial relations with the other leagued nations.

Assuming, however, that India definitely embarks on a protectionist policy, it appears to me that commonsense and common decency would require that, as long as India relies upon the British Navy for protection by sea, India must regard it as an obvious duty to keep in view in its fiscal policy the aim of assisting the maritime trade of the Empire upon which the Navy must depend.

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## THE HON. MR. K. V. REDDI NAIDU

With Indian publicists it is perhaps an axiomatic truth that, if almost every Britisher is a born free-trader, every Indian is, more or less, a born protectionist. Great Indian writers and publicists, such as Romesh Chandra Dutt, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the late Justice Ranade, and industrialists like Sir Vitthaladas Thackersay and Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Desai have often declared that protection is the only policy for India. That the manufactures of the country must be built up is not only the desire and ambition of every Indian, but that these industries alone can grapple with the awful problem of famine and of unemployment is a recognised canon with them. Our industries are in their infant stage and they must needs be nurtured behind a high wall of protective tariffs. The Swadeshi movement of the Bengal Partition days and the more aggressive Gandhian propaganda of our own times are all forms of a voluntary protection, if one may so describe it, and considering that in all countries it is a recognised doctrine that infant industries do require protection, every Indian today believes that the industrial salvation of this country lies only in protection. In fact, there are many who believe that industries alone can raise the standard of intelligence and develop the progressive spirit of the nation. There are many who believe that a diversion of agriculturists' labour to the industrial field is an absolute necessity in the interests of the country, and that this course, far from in any way injuriously affecting agriculture, does promote that very industry by a sort of reflex action. The introduction of machinery into our agricultural industry is retarded largely by the cheap and excessive labour available in this country. If we can divert a portion of this labour to other industries, it will be more easy to induce the Indian agriculturists to take to machinery and modern methods of agriculture. The essential weakness of Indian industry is lack of initiative, and some sort of encouragement must be held out to foster, nurture and develop the sense of this initiative. That can be done only by protection. The economic reason generally advanced by free traders and those that oppose protection for India does not appeal to the average Indian. In fact, he is prepared to suffer economic losses in the beginning, if eventually his country is to rise in the scale of great industrial nations of the world.

(1) India wants to have a national commercial policy with special tariffs. (2) India does not want

free trade. (3) India cannot afford to adopt Imperial Preference, save when Imperial imports are smaller in quantity than foreign goods and save when the articles concerned cannot be produced or manufactured in India. (4) India wants protection to a considerable extent. (5) India wants a pretty high tariff for purposes of her revenue as much as for the encouragement of Indian industrial development. (6) India wants to impose high tariffs on manufactures which are made in other countries from raw materials exported from this country. (7) India wants to impose a reasonable tariff on articles which she can produce or manufacture in this country but owing to various causes, especially want of efficient machinery, she has not been able yet to make or produce as cheaply as those other countries. (8) India does not want to place any tariff upon import of raw materials or intermediates which she requires for her manufactures or upon machinery and other requisites for her industrial development. (9) India wants to impose a small export duty on her food-stuffs; on exported raw material of which she holds monopoly or nearly a monopoly, and upon raw material which is taken from this country to other countries manufactured and brought back and imported into India as finished articles, as also a prohibitive tariff upon export of manures. (10) India wants to give preference to articles produced or made in the British Empire so long as they do not clash with Indian interests.

Replying to the questions put by the President on the question of Imperial Preference, Mr. Reddy Naidu said he did not view with disfavour the probable effect which an Imperial Preference and Indian protection would have upon great English firms coming down to India and starting industries on a large scale, provided Englishmen concerned domiciled themselves in India for the time being, employed their capital on the basis of the rupee, gave a chance to Indians to subscribe for a certain portion of the shares in the concern and trained Indians in various kinds of work connected with the industry.

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## PROFESSOR C. J. HAMILTON, I. E. S.

I am generally in favour of a policy of free trade and during the fiscal controversy inaugurated in England by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, I was one of the fourteen economists who signed a manifesto in favour of that policy being maintained in Great Britain.

By generally favouring a policy of free trade I intend to imply that I accept as incontrovertible the proposition that the economic dividend to the capital and labour of nations as a whole and the national dividend of each country in particular, apart from certain special qualifications commonly recognised in economic theory, will be increased by taking full advantage of international division of labour and exchange. I accept also the usual limitation to the free-trade theory that exception may have to be made in the case of those forms of production which a nation should maintain in the interests of rational safety. I reject as unsound the arguments sometimes advanced in favour of protection that it is necessary in order to maintain a high standard of comfort among the working classes and that it benefits the consumer in the long run by securing to producers the economies of production that result from a monopoly of the home market.

I reject as unsound certain arguments frequently advanced in popular discussion in favour of protection to manufactures in India. It is sometimes supposed that the mere lack of manufactures is a prominent cause of the poverty of the Indian people as measured by the wealth per head of population. It is thought that if manufactures could be established there would, of necessity, be an improvement in the normal standard of living. This is probably no more than a crude deduction from the observed fact that those countries with the highest level of wealth per head are also the countries with the largest extent of manufactures from which the false conclusion is drawn that manufactures are in themselves a superior source of wealth to agriculture. This opinion is sometimes clothed in a quasi-scientific form when it is said that capital and labour must be more productive when devoted to manufacture than to agriculture, because the law of increasing returns applies in manufacture while that of decreasing returns applies in agriculture. This theory involves a fallacy. It ignores the fact that India now benefits from the increasing returns obtained in manufacture through the process of exchange and that the establishment of manufactures in India, if less efficient than those elsewhere, would reduce those advantages,

Much the same central idea is involved in the common belief that a country is impoverished by the export of raw materials in exchange for finished goods.

Speaking broadly, a protective tariff would lower the national dividend in India and so lower the real incomes of the majority of the Indian

While this conclusion establishes a strong presumption in favour of a free-trade policy, it does not shut out the possibility that a protective policy may be justified in so far as it is calculated to secure certain advantages that may be worth a sacrifice of present or even permanent wealth.

If the general argument in favour of the advantages to be gained from international exchange is sound, it follows that any form of tax which reduces those advantages imposes a double burden on the taxpayer; it takes the amount of the tax from his pocket and, in addition, it lessens the fund from which his taxes are paid. To this extent any form of customs duty is a bad tax which reduces the gain to be derived from international division of labour. I do not here consider the exceptional cases in which one nation may succeed in taxing another nation by means of customs duties because they are so far exceptional as not to be a valid ground for such duties in general. Even the imposition of customs duties on goods not produced within the taxing country suffers from the disadvantage that it lessens the sum of utility from exchange. It thus contravenes the maxim referred to by Lord Salisbury in one of his despatches on the question of the cotton duties, that a tax should fall on realised wealth. This maxim is perfectly sound in theory but in practice it cannot always be observed. I do not regard it as practical, at present, to do without customs duties in India. But while they may be a necessity the disadvantages attaching to them should be realised.

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## PROFESSOR H. STANLEY JEVONS

*Protection* — In the arguments for and against protection, two important points are often overlooked :

(1) That a protective tariff specially devised and modified from time to time with the object of developing infant industries for which the country is suited and which are not firmly established, is quite a different thing from an indiscriminate protective tariff which places a more or less equal burden on all goods imported.

(2) That no abstract conclusion in favour of free trade or protection can be safely applied as a guide in practice. The most advantageous policy for a country to adopt varies according to many conditions of time and place.

*Scientific Protective Tariff.* — Economic analysis shows clearly enough that a policy of protection is advantageous to a country if the protective tariff is devised with the special object of stimulating the growth of definite industries which will fulfil the following conditions :—

(1) That the industry already exists in the country, or will certainly be established if the protective duty be imposed.

(2) The natural and human resources are such as to favour a rapid growth of the industry and its permanent success if protection be afforded during the initial period of its growth.

(3) That the industries are not already sufficiently protected by the cost of transport of the commodity produced, e. g., coal mining, manufacture of furniture.

(4) That the commodity produced is not a necessity of the poorer classes, e. g., coarse cotton cloth, kerosine oil, matches.

(5) The industry is subject predominantly to the law of increasing returns.

It is obvious that in order to realise these conditions a protective tariff needs to be very carefully devised after full investigation of the conditions of production of each commodity proposed to be taxed. For example, such investigation might very probably show that if a heavy protective duty, say 25 to 35 per cent, were imposed on yarns of high counts above those generally spun in India now, there would be the opportunity of establishing a considerable industry in mule spinning of the higher counts and of weaving fine fabrics. As the labour needed could only be trained slowly, protection would need to be continued for twenty or twenty-five years. In this case a protective tariff naturally would need to be very high if there were nothing but the demand for the finished piece-goods to stimulate

the growth of long staple cotton in India. A moderate protective duty (say 25 per cent) combined with a small bounty to producers on the outturn of approved long-staple cotton would probably be the most advantageous way of stimulating the industry from the point of view of national economy as a whole.

Briefly put, my views on this aspect of the question are that free trade is the best policy of a country in which industries are already highly developed and which depends largely on foreign trade. Pre-eminently amongst comparatively small countries of this kind are England, Japan and Switzerland.

The main argument in favour of protection for any country embracing a considerable area and population is, the diversity of occupation is essential for healthy national growth. The result of the free-trade policy in India has been to destroy, more or less completely, many of the old handicraft industries rendering the occupations of the people more predominantly agricultural than they ever were before. The economic advantage which countries well off in industrial development have already gained, and which will continue to increase owing to the action of the law of increasing returns, would continue to prevent the growth of large-scale industries in India and to force the country to remain permanently an enormous mass of agricultural workers. This is not conducive to healthy national life. Excepting the great ports and one or two inland industrial towns there are no growing industrial centres. The towns of Northern India have been for decades in a state of industrial decay. This has a profoundly depressing effect upon the town life, and hence upon the national life in general, which spring mainly from the towns. A period of industrial reconstruction in India is most urgently needed which will stimulate the growth of new inland towns and the revival of some of the old cities. The buzz and hum of industries, the increased profits and earning of the people, the changed mental outlook which is stimulated by progress and success in one's own immediate locality, would have an almost unimaginable influence upon the national temperament and character. When industries become established, and thriving occupations of various kinds become open to all men, and every man can take up that which suits him best, a ladder of advancement is opened and with it the buoyancy of hope which stimulates to work and enterprise. There is, of course, the risk that the development of industries may bring evils in its train. The

character of these evils which accompany modern industrial developments is now well understood through observations of other countries; and it would be criminal negligence to neglect the provision of the proper town-planning, housing and general sanitation, and proper control of the conditions of work in factories. This needs immediate attention.

It is not, perhaps, sufficiently realized that British India is already the largest unit of free trade in the world, counting by population. In China there are numerous customs barriers and transit duties. Russia is probably the next large free trade area and the United States the next largest. India being so large a country, if she were to 'have a high protective tariff', the consequent development of her internal trade would compensate far more for the loss of foreign trade than would be the case if she were a small country with a population of twenty to fifty millions. It is impossible to contemplate a considerable development of the internal trade of India without a very great expansion of railway facilities. The internal economic development of a country, especially by the improvement of all the public utility services—irrigation canals, railways, roads and navigable rivers, posts and telegraphs—is an essential condition of reaping the advantage of a policy of protection.

#### MR. W. S. J. WILSON

We prefer free trade to protection. The existing tariff policy has fostered the steady growth of Indian industries. We do not approve the imposition of excise duty on watches manufactured in India, but we consider it advisable to impose an export duty on certain raw materials in order to encourage their retention for manufacture in India. Opposed as we are to any general system of protection, still if one be enforced we would say that a system, under which all industries receive uniform protection, is obviously preferable to one under which varying amounts of protection would be given. If, owing to the system of Imperial Preference, the imports from certain countries are diminished, we consider that this would tend to have an injurious effect on the volume of Indian exports to those countries. We consider the increase of the present tariff rates would damage the volume of imports. We do not approve of the system of *ad valorem* customs duty and prefer fixed charges of the amount, weight and measure. We are not entirely opposed to reciprocity.

# THE NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION

**T**HE fifth session of the Non-Brahmin Confederation opened at Madras on Sunday, the 15th January, under the presidentship of the Raja of Ramnad. A large body of non-Brahmin delegates and visitors attended, prominent among those being the leaders of the party and the ministers. Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar read the address of welcome, after which Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty proposed the Raja of Ramnad to the chair. The President then read a lengthy address in which he dealt with the leading topics of the day, criticising the activities of the Non-Co-operators. The Confederation resumed its sitting the next day, when a number of resolutions were passed. The first welcomed H. R. H. the Prince of Wales expressing heartfelt gratification at the Royal visit. The Confederation urged

"that retrenchment be effected by a speedier process of Indianising the services and a general reduction of salaries and abolition of such posts as could be dispensed with, that the introduction of a permanent settlement of the land revenue is urgently called for, that fiscal autonomy should be immediately granted to India."

It is agreeably surprising what a considerable part of the programme of the Confederation tallies with the resolutions passed at the Liberal Federation at Allahabad. Both the bodies are agreed that more responsibility should be vested in the Ministers in the Provinces and that Dvachy should be introduced in some form in the Central Government. The resolution moved by Mr. T. Arumainatham Pillai runs:

(a) "This Confederation is of opinion that, in view of the general success that has attended the Reforms Act so far, and the growing aspirations of the people, the time has come for the transfer, in the provinces, of all subjects to the control of Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

(b) This Confederation is of opinion that a majority of the departments in the Government of India ought to be transferred to the control of Ministers to be created responsible to the Legislature and urges that this be done before the next general election.

This is not all. For even more striking is the wording of the resolution on Swaraj which was moved by Rao Bahadur K. Gopala Krishnaiyya. It runs:

"This Confederation urges that Swaraj, i.e., full responsible Self-Government within the British Empire or Dominion Home Rule which is the definite aim of the Non-Brahman movement be granted in the quickest possible time and is of opinion that, for the attainment thereof, no methods other than constitutional be employed."

In fact, the Confederation was at one with the Liberal Federation in regard to its political programme, but unfortunately the emphasis on communal differences still persists in spite of the identity of interests all around. For how else can one explain the perversity that pervades even such a gathering of Liberals in politics when they deal with matters of communal interest. They betray a malignity, harsh and out of tune with their political liberalism. For no one can reconcile liberalism with that mischievous and petty-minded attack on Lord Sinha's supposed successor, which was moved in the open conference to the tune of such choice *ipse dixit* as:

It would be a very bad choice if Mr. Sastri were appointed successor to Lord Sinha. Brahmans had held important posts and had betrayed the trust reposed in them. Such being the case, why should Mr. Sastri be appointed? It is time the appointment should go to a non-Brahmin and in the absence of any suitable candidate, a Mahomedan might be chosen.

These sentiments carry their own condemnation, but it ill-becomes a great cause to be linked with little minds.

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### The Egyptian Deadlock

Sir Valentine Chirol writes a thoughtful article on "The Egyptian Deadlock" in the January number of the *Fortnightly Review*. The Egyptian question is not merely an Anglo-Egyptian settlement, for in its reactions upon the eastern world it affects fundamental issues of grave consequence to the future of the world. It has taken these many centuries of needless humiliation and bloodshed in Ireland before reason and statesmanship have seen the way of a final effort at reconciliation. And Sir Valentine asks: "Are we to wait for them to prevail in Egypt until the British Government has been taught the same bitter lessons there, that force alone cannot ensure either peace or security"? Yet that is the painful impression the writer gathers from a perusal of the official documents with regard to the rupture of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations.

Now, Egyptian nationalism, says Sir Valentine, is not, like Irish nationalism, of the soil race. It is not a legacy of ancient feuds.

It is largely the result—and a relatively recent result—of new conceptions of liberty and nationhood imported into Egypt under our own auspices. But it has grown and spread with the excessive luxuriance characteristic of many Western seedlings transplanted into a semi-tropical soil. Fifteen years ago, before Lord Cromer left Egypt, he realised that it would have to be seriously reckoned with. It went on growing before the war, and, if during the war it seemed to be quiescent, it gathered fresh strength in the atmosphere which the war and the war-aims professed by the Allies created all over the world.

Sir Valentine then criticises Lord Curzon's negotiations with Adly Pasha and the Egyptian Delegation which went to London in July last, and says:

The draft treaty plainly aimed at the permanence, or at least potential extension, of the pre-war military occupation, which the British Government had always declared to be merely temporary, and in practice had always been confined within narrow limits. To such a demand the Delegation, as the British Government must have known, could only reply that it simply nullified the proposed recognition of Egyptian independence. 'The project,' Adly Pasha wrote, 'confers on Great Britain the right of maintaining military forces at all times and in any part of Egyptian territory, and places at her disposition all the

ways and means of communication in the country. That is an occupation pure and simple which destroys all idea of independence, even to the extent of suppressing internal sovereignty.'

The rock on which the negotiations were shipwrecked was sheer militarism, and it is no secret that, whilst the Foreign Office was disposed to take a broader view of the political factors in the problem, the view that prevailed was that of the War Office, backed by Mr. Churchill, who, when he was in Cairo last spring, did not disguise, even in conversation with Egyptian Ministers, his hostility to the recommendations of the Milner Commission. Not only has the War Office view prevailed on the question of the army of occupation, but Lord Allenby's note, setting forth the policy of His Majesty's Government, breathes altogether a very different spirit from the Milner Report. Its tone is one of masterful reproof and sometimes of petulant irritation.

What is, no doubt, at the back of many Englishmen's minds, says the writer, is the belief "that the Egyptians are still utterly unfit for self government and the fear that, if we relax our hold, there will be a revival of all the old abuses of indigenous administration and probably of internal disorders which would give other foreign powers a pretext for asserting for the protection of their own interests and communities the rights of interference we should have ourselves surrendered."

That such a danger might exist cannot be altogether denied. But the authors of the Milner Report rightly considered it a lesser danger than that of driving the Egyptians into irreconcilable hostility by a definite refusal to fulfil the expectations raised by our own repeated promises and by all our professions of policy during and since the war, and indeed by all the still older traditions of British statesmanship. Nor, in view of the far greater material and moral ascendancy of Great Britain in Europe since the war, as well as of the ease with which at any time British reinforcements can be poured into Egypt, could we be precluded from exercising our obvious right of re-entry if the worst came to the worst and a situation were again to arise calling, as in 1882, for foreign intervention.

Sir Valentine finally criticises the Government's departure from the policy of reason and statesmanship recommended by the Milner Commission and concludes that "constituted as the British Empire is to day, no Power can less afford to give its enemies an opportunity of proclaiming that it will now yield only to successful methods of violent resistance."

### The Christian Situation in China

Mr. A. L. Warnshuis, reviewing China's progress in the last decade, especially as regards social and intellectual changes, says that attempts have been made to revive Buddhism and make Confucianism a religious force, but that all such efforts have been lacking in vitality and the Chinese individual remains an agnostic in religion. On the other hand, there is a great opportunity for Christian evangelism; the attitude of all classes towards Christianity has changed; and in the place of the former antagonism and hatred, there have come friendliness and a spirit of inquiry. Moreover, Christianity has been demonstrated not to be a denationalizing influence, and in university and college education, Christian forces have also made progress.

Thus the writer concludes his article in the *International Review of Missions* (January, 1922).

"The decade in China has been one of transition and transformation. There has occurred a breaking-up of ancestral faith, leading men to scorn what had long been revered and sweeping them abruptly into vast and incalculable world movements. The consequences, both for China and for the rest of the world, are tremendous, and nobody can afford to be indifferent. These momentous changes in China's economic, social, and intellectual life are proving to be more and more a real preparation for the Gospel. The overthrow of so many ancient customs and institutions is tending to produce an attitude of mind favourable to the claims of the Gospel and a truer appreciation of its power and value, both to the individual and to the nation. Christianity certainly never had a better opportunity in China than at the present time. The Christian forces, through progress in co-operation and united efforts, are better prepared to take advantage of this opportunity. A marked feature of this decade has been the shifting of responsibility and authority from the foreign missionary body to the Chinese Church and Christians. Individual Christians are now recognized as patriotic citizens. It is important that similar recognition should now be given to the Church as a Chinese institution—the organism of the Chinese members of the Body of Christ. To set the Chinese Church free from foreign control is now the privilege of missionary societies and their field agencies. The foreign missionary's work is not done, but only well begun as he becomes the assistant and co-worker in nurturing the growth of a naturalized Church."

### A Japanese View of the Pacific Pact.

Mr. Aiichi Nishinoiri, writing in the *Asiatic Review* for January, says that the Japanese should view the Pacific Pact only with the sincerest satisfaction. Japan has always wanted to maintain cordial relations with America, the establishment of peace with China and security for her own national development. Japan has, at the Washington Conference, willingly consented to the abrogation or disappearance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; and the New Pact has eliminated once and for all American suspicions of Japan which now hopes for an *amende honorable* in the shape of a renewal of American confidence.

"In regard to the third point of Japanese foreign policy mentioned above—namely, the security for national development—this has been at least as much misunderstood as her traditional policy of friendship towards China. The Japanese Government has been faced by a problem of great difficulty; it was necessary, on the one hand, not only to provide an ever-increasing population with the primary means of subsistence, but also to safeguard the economic development of the Island Empire by securing access to raw materials for her industries. Both these objects could only be attained by securing the co-operation of the United States on the east and of China on the west, and unfortunately the former was mistrustful and the latter in a state bordering on chaos. America's trust was needed if Japan was to develop her export trade with her; China's economic prosperity was essential if Japan was to obtain from her those supplies of raw material which she urgently required. The future economic prosperity of each of the three countries was, in fact, interdependent.

To secure these conditions was, therefore, the mainspring of Japanese policy and she was disappointed and chagrined to find that, instead of receiving the recognition of her natural aspiration for progress and development, she was accused of militaristic ambitions and a desire for the political domination of China. Happily, the Washington Conference provided a much-needed opportunity for the Japanese delegates to make their position clear: their declarations with regard to Shantung, their ready acceptance of the Root principles, and their concurrence in the proposals to abandon concessions, in common with other Powers in China, have proved their good faith to the world."

### Christian Missions and the Reforms

A Christian Missionary, writing in the current issue of the *Young Men of India* discusses the attitude of missions in India to political questions. He points out the initial defect of all Missions in this respect.

"In the first place it has to be remembered that the Missions of India are representative of many different nationalities. In regard to alien missionaries there is a general feeling among them that they are bound to respect the Government by law established, and not to do anything that might be construed as political agitation against it. As a matter of fact, foreign missionary organisations usually give an undertaking that their missionaries will not enter into any anti-Government agitation, and the missionary who does so may find that he is not able to return to India. He, therefore, has to decide as to whether it is more important for him to preach the Gospel or to apply it to national problems. The same problem does not arise in regard to British missionaries, as they have all their rights of British citizenship and, at the same time, have a special responsibility, in that they are members of the nation which exercises, for the time being, the function of political guardianship and which determines many of the higher policies in India. They cannot easily divest themselves of this responsibility, and it is true to say that to-day a great many of them desire to act in accordance with it."

Again, he points out that many missionaries are not really, however, against the reforms, even when the Anglo-Indian Press was attacking them furiously.

"The question, however, really goes deeper than mere approval of the reforms. The large majority of educated Indians do not regard these as in any sense sufficient even for to-day, and their demand is that the pace shall be greatly accelerated. They say that the smallest grant of self-government involves the grant of full Swaraj to be effective. This is, of course, the root of the reforms. How far do missionaries go with Indians in approving of self-government being given in the quickest possible time? I should say that, just as among Indians so among missionaries, there are three parties,—the Radicals, the Moderates and the Conservatives. The first class is only a small class, but it believes in constitutional propaganda, and it is helping to make the Moderates

more advanced and the Conservatives less reactionary. The last class is a constantly diminishing class. The largest group is the middle one,—the Moderates. Various causes are leading them to become more favourable to Indian Home Rule or Swaraj."

Many missionaries feel that the pace of growth of the reforms should be very slow, while a few desire to see this progress accelerated as much as possible.

"As a matter of fact, the fundamental principles of the Christian message inevitably lead men to the democratic outlook, and even though one may continue to find many missionaries rather conservative in political matters, it cannot be long before the revolutionary spirit of Christ leads them out of their fear and hesitation into progressive ideals. Even when, in the past, the official church has opposed reforms, it must be remembered that the leaders of those reforms have come from the churches, and that in the end it was the rank and file of the Christian Church which was the most potent cause in winning the victory."

### International Fetters of Young China

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in his concluding article on the above subject in the January issue of the *Hindustan Review*, refers at length to the various disabilities imposed on China by foreign governments and says:

"The right of China to live as an unfettered nation has been definitely demanding the attention of all her political leaders since, at any rate, the summer of 1917 (a few months previous to the Soviet announcements). Indeed, the most important question discussed by the pro-war as well as the anti-war party in China was the question as to the best means of fortifying her status as a sovereign state.

It is because Liang Chi-Chiao believed that active association with the allies in the war presented China with the "last opportunity to become a member of the family of nations" that he enthusiastically started the pro-war campaign. Nothing, therefore, could be more characteristic of his standpoint than the slogan, "Wanted—a Cavour."

Exactly opposite was the attitude of his political preceptors Kang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, and Tong Shao-yi, who opposed the war by all means. They believed that China's participation in the war would not place her sovereignty on any more respectable basis

than the maintenance of neutrality. For, cancellation of Boxer indemnities, abolition of extra-territoriality, retrocession of foreign concessions, and repeal or amendment of unjust treaties,—these constitute the irreducible minimum of Young China's demands as stated by Kang in his anti-war memorandum. "But none of these," said this veteran champion of China's rights, "have we demanded."

Since then, however, China's delegates to the Peace Conference have stated these claims in no unmistakable terms. But Young China at last understands with Kang that "it is absurd to expect our admission to the ranks of the first-class powers simply by being allowed a seat at the Peace Conference and by taking a side with the Entente."

The Chinese Republic does not have to repeat today the cessions of Honkong, Eastern Siberia, Indo-China, Burma, Siam, Formosa and Korea, or the "leases" of Kiao-chao, Weihei-wei, Port Arthur, and Kwang-chau-wan that the old regime had to transact between 1842 and 1898. These are ancient stories and have at the worst left only painful memories. But the inheritance of the republic from the empire in the remaining portions of Greater China as well as within the bounds of China proper is full of knotty problems."

### The Prospect of Permanent Peace

The Editor of the *Army Quarterly* (January, 22) has the following cynical note about the futility of trying to eliminate all war from the world in future by the gradual limitation and ultimate disappearance of all armaments!

"Much has been written about the Washington Conference. Its promoters have had 'a wonderful Press.' President Harding and Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, and in a somewhat lesser degree Mr. Balfour, have been hailed as the true friends of humanity, whilst unfortunate individuals like M. Briand and the Japanese representatives at the Conference, when they ventured to disagree in any respect with the American formula with regard to the limitation of armaments, have been roundly taken to task both on the platform and in the Press.

"And yet the theory that disarmaments—still less the limitation of armaments—can put a stop to war is clearly absurd. 'The story of Cain and Abel,' as Mr. Bernard Shaw points out, 'has been questioned by many Bible smashers, but never on the ground that Cain had no armament.' The limitation of arma-

ments is of course eminently desirable—if not actually necessary—in the interests of economy, but it does not in itself constitute any real guarantee for the preservation of peace—any more, that is to say, than the limitation of public houses constitutes any real guarantee against drunkenness. Mr. H. G. Wells, one of the many enthusiastic and disinterested publicists who was rushed over to Washington with so much advertisement to assist in promoting the Millennium, has discovered this truth, and in his disillusionment when faced with the realities of the Conference has expressed his opinion that when the representatives of the various Powers have stated their minimum security requirements "it becomes plain that the conferring States are to be not so much disarmed as stripped for action with a highly efficient, instead of an unwieldy and overwhelmingly expensive equipment. They do not so much propose to give up war as to bring it back by gentlemanly agreement within the restricted possibility of their austere bankruptcy."

### High Prices.

The *Calcutta Review* says that the prevailing general level of prices may be explained from the inflation of currency as well as diminution in the volume of trade, the former item being much more significant than the latter, because the volume of trade, though affected by the war, has varied in a much lesser degree than the amount of currency. This rise of prices has diminished the value of the permanent incomes of the idle fund-holders, landlords, etc., has immensely benefited the raiyats and has hit hard the salaried middle class and the wage-earning factory men, railway workers, miners, etc. The high price-level is by itself not an evil everywhere.

But there have been those incidental evils to the prevalent high prices in this country which should engage serious attention.

The Indian high price, as we have seen, has been the result of the inflation of currency which has entailed an additional burden on the Indian taxpayers through the increased expenditures on the money metal, cost of coinage, etc.

Another evil is profiteering, which has been partly the effect and partly the cause of the present high prices. The current system of profiteering, which is being complained of, as of the nature of monopolistic speculation, is a real social evil. It has followed the high prices in sequence of time and there are reasonable grounds to suspect that profiteering owes its existence to that condition.

## The Essence of Islam

A writer in the *Review of Religions* for November last, says that the essence of Islam is the spirit of humanity, abrogating the colour question and racial pride and putting merit in the forefront. "It is this humanity that made Islam abolish, once for all, the idea of celibacy and extol wedlock. It was in the interests of mankind that gambling and drinking were forbidden and the pall of wretchedness that is weighing heavily upon many western countries was, as it were, lifted with a magic wand. It was for the sake of the majority of mankind that usury and interest were prohibited and the happiness of the greatest number was inculcated. It was for the benefit of both man and woman that polygamy was permitted, lest there should be danger of the floodgates of lust being let wide open. Lest the accumulation of wealth in a few hands be the signal for a world-revolution in which Capital and Labour should come to a death grapple, Islam insisted on the division of property so that self-effort, and not birth alone should be the keystone of success. In short, to judge Islam is to judge the question of humanity. The success of Islam may be gauged from the fact that there has never been such a thing as colour question in Islam. The black and white in Islam intermingled with such a sweet reasonableness, that not even the shade of inferiority was ever felt or shown. Now that the question of humanity versus race is coming to the forefront, we know that Islam, as the champion of humanity, will surely prevail over other religions, for they lack the requisite catholicity and that their unfitness has been too evident. Christianity, for one, had a unique chance, yet Christianity has been an utter failure. Hinduism, with its caste system and the untouchables, has the word failure writ large on its face".

## National Churches

The missionaries have been frequently criticised for their failure to produce in any country a church which is really indigenous, racy of the soil, live and characteristic. A writer in the last number of *The East and the West* tries to explain the true causes of this state of affairs. Missionaries cannot foresee what the general characteristics of a national church should be :

"We may form an idea of the differentiating character of a race as we see them ; but it is a considerable step from that to go on to outline their future contribution to the understanding of the Christian Faith. For the character of the Chinese or the Indians as we see them is, at least in large measure, the resultant of their present religious beliefs, and does not, therefore, afford final or conclusive guidance as to the reaction which will be produced in them by the revelation of the Christ. It is true that it may be argued that their religions are the result of their racial characteristics, but there is certainly a complex which we cannot entirely resolve. We can get glimpses and form theories, but not with sufficient certainty to build upon."

In India the difficulties seem to be peculiar :

"The demands of the young Church are more in the sphere of administration than of worship or thought is probably characteristic of us, and of our society method of working, rather than of them. The crux here is often supposed to be the financial one, that the local churches, having made so little advance towards self-support, cannot be given administrative responsibility. There is, however, a genuine desire for self-support, which will follow naturally when self-government can be genuinely offered. The real difficulty is a more subtle one, and consists in the undue weight of the foreign missionary even in common counsel. Quite apart from misunderstandings and want of clear and complete expression which may arise from the use of different languages, there is often an unreality which fails to be recognised in apparent agreement arrived at in counsel between European and Indian, owing to the sort of prestige which the foreigner has, and which is extraordinarily difficult to eliminate. This is the kind of thing which makes it so hard to provide ways along which the characteristic development of a national Church shall run smoothly."

## Mr. Gandhi and Non-Co-operation

In a recent issue of the *Nation*, there are three articles on Mr. Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation movement. In the first, Mr. Vincent Anderson, an American, discusses the political programme of Mr. Gandhi which, the writer says, is Quixotic.

True, a gigantic Swadeshi movement—back to the spinning-wheel and home manufacture—has arisen, but for a different reason than Gandhi's. It is not because Indians are against civilization but against England, not because they are in favour of the old manner of living but because they are against the new.

What is Gandhi's solution? We are suffering, he says. We have two alternatives, to fight actively or passively. If we fight actively, we will be killed like flies by the million; we lack bodily energy, ammunition and guns. If we fight passively, we at least have a chance to win.

The writer does not believe in Mr. Gandhi's second alternative. Mr. Gandhi says that if we take a physical sword, we perish spiritually; so he wants a passive fight. But, says the writer, there is already hate in the heart of the Hindu.

"Gaunt cheeks, protruding ribs, bloated bellies of children, blear of hunger in women's eyes—these are the outward evidences of an exploitation which makes it absurd to use the same word of the lesser sufferings of the West. Can you blame the Indians if they hate the English."

Resistance is coming. A bloody revolution is not only likely but, I believe, inevitable. Gandhi fears it. But, he says, everything must be done against such an expression of India's desires.

In the second article Miss Helena Normanton, a British journalist, writes upon the significance of the Non Co operation movement thus.

The cardinal fact of Indian public life at present is the policy of non-co-operation with the British Government. And the vital fact to grasp is that the leader, M. K. Gandhi, the dreamer, the super-ascetic, surveys the whole of Western civilization with a superbly contemptuous indifference. If British power be ended in India, it is not only the power that will go. It will also be the culture, the administrative policy, the sanitation and hygiene, the art, science, and letters of the West which, for good and for evil, will depart with it. Gandhism is not merely anti-British; it is anti-civilization, except such civilization as has been evolved by India herself. And Indian civilization is a thing apart, a thing in many ways beautiful; but isolation is its bedrock.

Upon a culture based on separateness, glorying in difference, happy in isolation, averse to contact, India's great leader is rearing a political structure consolidating and confirming the whole of India's tacit repudiation of the rest of the world. Such an attitude arises from, and is sustained by, a burning sense of

injustice. Recently this has been focussed in India's anger at Great Britain's failure to redress her wrongs during the 1919 Reign of Terror in the Punjab (of which the massacre at Amritsar was only one feature) and her perturbations over the position of the Caliph of Islam.

The advent of Lord Reading seemed to mark a policy of conciliation. "The repeal of repressive laws is in the air; prison reforms are foreshadowed. A general modification of the old mood and iron despotism is going on at a more rapid pace than ever before." Liberalism is the avowed fashion. But is it genuine? The writer doubts.

For while Amritsar is unatoned for, while Islamic India is perturbed to its fanatical depths, while Indians are helots in many quarters of the British Empire, there can be no real conciliation. Hence, abandonment of the non-co-operation movement, with all its nobility, all its self-sacrifice (one Bengali barrister, C. R. Das, has given up a legal practice worth £30,000 a year), all its passive heroism, all its divine folly, all its saintly and incorruptible leadership, and also with all its nascent dangers to a world in need of unification—that is utterly improbable.

In the third article, Mr. Lajpat Rai gives a pen picture of Mr. Gandhi. He says:—

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness, and directness confound the modern politician, parliamentarian, and publicist. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognizes no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from the society of men and women. He recognizes no masters and no gurus (spiritual preceptors). He claims no *chelas* (disciples) though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Such of his countrymen as have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed a deep love for European manners and European culture neither understand nor like him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary, and dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities, because he is nearest to the verities of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilization and sophistry.

Some say he is a nihilist; others that he is an anarchist; others again that he is a Tolstojan. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian patriot who believes in God, religion, and the Scriptures..... He does not hate the European civilization, but he abhors the industrial system upon which the civilization of Europe rests, and the double-mindedness which characterises European politicians. The doctrine of non-co-operation which he preaches and practises is not a negation. It is the withdrawal of that help which the Indian people have voluntarily been giving the English which has made it possible for them to rule India and exploit her for their own ends.

### German Reparation and the Mark.

A writer in the *English Review* for January suggests a moratorium as an appropriate method for staying a collapse on the part of Germany. A moratorium for a few months or for a few instalments is of use only as a precursor of a systematic settlement, and it ought to be granted before a new fall of the German exchange has aggravated the situation.

"A moratorium alone or a funding scheme will not settle the reparation problem. But it can furnish the basis on which a thoroughgoing settlement is possible. Without deferring in some way or other a considerable part of Germany's foreign payments the German exchange will never get right. The experience of the so-called black Thursday (December 1st), when the mark rose from 1,100 to the £ to 750 within two days, has shown conclusively that the balance of foreign payments, not the amount of notes issued, is the dominant factor in the present situation, and the lesson is of great importance. The bank was printing and issuing new notes lustily, over 4 milliards in the week; yet the mere hope of a decreased demand for foreign exchange, based on quite unfounded rumours, was sufficient to raise the mark by nearly 30 per cent. Here lies a way out; indeed, a solution seems possible if Europe desires to effect recovery. The equilibrium of foreign payments is the goal to be aimed at first; when it has been reached inflation can be brought to a standstill, and the balancing of the national budget can be achieved. That is the fit order of things, indeed, the only alternative to collapse and chaos: now as this truth is to-day generally recognised and Germany has officially notified default, there would seem solid ground to hope that reparations will be detached from politics and made real for all by return to practical economics, i.e., results."

### The Positivists and the Irish Peace

Mr. T. S. Lascelles has the following in an article which he contributes to the *Positivist Review* for January as to the gratifying results of the Irish treaty recently signed. "He says:—

"This particular question—the Irish question—has, of course, an especial interest for us and is an outstanding instance of how the counsels of Auguste Comte would, had they been heeded, have led long before this to a settlement and have avoided much

suffering and bitterness. Positivists have all along tried to secure justice towards Ireland and no one has deplored more than they have the calamitous behaviour of this country which resulted in old and tried constitutional leaders being thrown over in favour of the desperate method of rebellion. What has been accomplished now might have been accomplished long before had sanity and determination to do right been more prominent in England. But leaving useless repining about the past, we may now take pleasure in the thought that a settlement has been arrived at and that, in spite of some extravagant language in certain quarters, this settlement has every prospect of being accepted and subjected ere long to the test of practical working. A great step forward has been made. All things considered, the terms are as good as could be hoped for. It is very gratifying to observe that those who signed the treaty are determined to adhere to their pledged word and that among them is the man who is everywhere acknowledged as being the most able and intellectually gifted of those who at present lead the Nationalist movement in Ireland. It seems almost impossible that all that has been accomplished can now be upset again. Almost everyone here—and apparently the great majority in Ireland—is full of hope that a lasting peace between the sister nations is in sight and even at hand. None more fervently wish that this may prove so than those who believe in the Religion of Humanity."

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

THE IMPERIAL INDIAN LEGISLATURES. By an Indian Thinker. [The "*Hindustan Review*," January 1922.]

THOUGHTS ON THE INDO-AMERICAN SITUATION. By Rustam Rustumjee [The "*Asiatic Review*," January 1922.]

PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA. By J. J. Campos, M.B. ["*Indian Business*," Jan 1922.]

AN OPEN LETTER TO H E LORD READING. By an Optimist ["*East and West*," December 1921].

THE FUTURE OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE. By J. A. Sandbrook ["*British Indian Crafts*," January 1922.]

A PEEP INTO INDIA'S PAST AND PRESENT. By Khagendranath Sikdar, M. A. ["*Prabuddha Bharata*," January 1922].

TIMUR'S APOCRYPHAL MEMOIRS. By H. Beveridge. ["*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*" December 1921.]

MALABAR RELIEF WORK. By A. N. Sudarisanam [The "*Young Men of India*" February 1922].

AT THE DAWN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA. By Bibliophile [The "*Modern Review*" February 1922].

## The Bombay Conference

The Secretaries of the Committee of the Bombay Conference, held in January, to bring about a Round Table Conference, have issued to the press the correspondence that passed between them and the Government of India on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other.

They say that the resolutions passed at the Conference were duly submitted to the Viceroy with the request that

since all shades of opinion were agreed as to the necessity of a Round Table Conference, it now rested with His Excellency to give an indication of the attitude he was prepared to take and to claim from the public all necessary co-operation to realise the common object.

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy, replying to the above, wrote to the Secretaries that

His Excellency was unable to discover in the proposals the basis for a profitable discussion on a Round Table Conference and no useful purpose would, therefore, be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms.

This reply from Government disappointed the hope of the conveners and they addressed another telegram to the Viceroy on January 30th wanting to know which terms of the Conference proposals were not acceptable to the Viceroy, in which case the Committee would endeavour to meet His Excellency's wishes.

The Committee kept Mr. Gandhi informed of the negotiations, requesting him, at the same time, to postpone his Bardoli programme. In the meanwhile Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Viceroy on the 1st February from Bardoli. In the course of the letter Mr. Gandhi pointed out that

although the terms of the Malaviya Conference were quite in keeping with the Viceroy's requirements as understood through his Calcutta speech, the Viceroy has summarily rejected the proposal.

There was nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands

and the immediate task before the country was to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi says:

If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise the postponement of civil disobedience of an aggres-

sive character till the imprisoned workers have, after their discharge, reviewed the whole situation and considered the position *de novo*.

## THE COMMITTEE ON MR. GANDHI'S LETTER

Commenting on this letter, the Committee wrote to Mr. Gandhi that they

regret that you should have thought it advisable to send this letter to the Viceroy while you were aware that correspondence was still going on on the subject of a Round Table Conference. The Committee cannot agree that your letter either meets their requirements or is unexceptionable as you say in your letter.

## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA COMMUNIQUE

The Government of India themselves, in a communique published on the 6th in reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter, repudiate his assertions and urge that

the alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness, with all its consequences, on the one hand, and, on the other, the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments.

## MR. GANDHI'S REPLY

Mr. Gandhi in a further letter refutes the Government's communique and says that the alternative is not between lawlessness on the one hand and maintenance of law and order on the other. The choice before the people is mass civil disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people.

## IN THE ASSEMBLY

Questioned in the Assembly by Dr. Gour if Government could make any statement regarding specific charges made by Mr. Gandhi, Sir William Vincent said that he would make enquiries and place any information he might receive at the disposal of the members, and he concluded with a reference to the recent tragic happenings at Gorakhpur.

In my judgment it remains for Mr. Gandhi to consider that occurrence in the light of some of the remarks which he made after the more fatal disturbances in Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi has since suspended his Bardoli programme and advised the Working Committee to stop all further activities; and Mr. Natarajan and Mr. Jayaker have written to congratulate Mr. Gandhi on his courage and statesmanship in preparing the way for reconciliation.



# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Mr. Montagu on Indian Unrest

Mr. Montagu's speech at the 1920 Club on February 9 is described as the first public utterance which the Secretary of State for India has made since the passage of the Government of India Act. Mr. Montagu admitted that the situation in India was causing grave, but confident, anxiety. Amongst the multiplicity of causes of unrest he placed in the forefront the prolongation of the war between Turkey and Greece, and pointed out that a large number of the riots had been of a Mahomedan character. In addition, economic causes, the events in Ireland, Germany, Russia and Egypt, were bound to have repercussions in India. Bolshevism, declared Mr. Montagu, had done its utmost to instil its poison into India; but it had been unsuccessful in getting to an appreciable extent across the frontier, because the soil of India was almost as uncongenial to the growth and horrors of Bolshevism as the soil of Great Britain.

Mr. Montagu contested the assertion that it was impossible to introduce democratic institutions into India and declared it was out of the question to tell India that Britain was now going to withhold what she had taught her to expect for 150 years. If the ideal of making a Federated India a partner in the Empire failed, the world would be poorer; but if it succeeded it would be the finest of the great works for humanity which Great Britain had accomplished. Mr. Montagu emphasised that the policy of Government towards India remained as laid down in August 1917, and subsequently ratified by Parliament and proclaimed in India, namely, to do its best, despite obvious difficulties and obstacles, as surely and quickly as it could, but not more quickly than circumstances demanded, and to lead India, stage by stage and step by step, to some form of Self-Government and partnership within the British Empire.

Referring to the necessity of sincerity of policy, Mr. Montagu emphasised they must show India

that progress, if slow, was not due to faltering of determination on the part of Great Britain, but because it must take time to overcome obstacles. He urged that Britain as the trustee of the destinies of India had to set her hand to a difficult task which must be pursued with consistency. The Government of India Act was the first instalment which had got to be tried and justified before the next instalment was offered. Similarly, with the Indianising of the Civil Service. If it were proved that the great traditions of the Service could successfully be carried on by Indians, he did not doubt that Parliament would be willing to entrust the Service to India. But mere demand or bullying and libelling of Indian public servants would not bring that time nearer by a single day. Mr. Montagu paid a most glowing tribute to the loyal and devoted work of the Indian Civil Service and promised his protection and support in the work it was still called upon to perform.

Mr. Montagu concluded by urging that progress was made by evolution not revolution, and there was no remedy for the disturbers of the peace of India but the rigorous enforcement of the law and the protection of law-abiding citizens. He maintained that, if they were determined, as the Government of India were, to grapple with anarchy and intimidation, such a policy was not repression but was the ordinary duty of Government which was trying to govern the country. He would say to the Moderates that one lesson of Self-Government must be that those who wanted Self-Government were prepared to say that force, which they challenged, must be the ultimate weapon of every Government, whether alien or indigenous. It was of no use to demand Self-Government and, at the same time, to shrink from supporting Government which gave protection and, therefore, Government was entitled to the support of all well-disposed Indians.

## Bhopal's New Constitution

On the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Bhopal, Her Highness the Begum made an announcement



H. H. THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL

regarding a new constitution for Bhopal. Referring to it in her speech at the State Banquet in honour of the Prince, Her Highness said :

"I was conscious at the outset of the fact that the people lacked in that most essential equipment for representative institutions—education—and to their education on modern lines I devoted my closest attention. Over two decades of arduous endeavour in the cause of public instruction have now happily reached fruition, and with the dawning of popular interest, however faint, in the affairs of the State, I have decided to give my people a share in the counsels of my Government.

"This very morning when the booming of guns from the parapets of the Fort, not far from this

hall, proclaimed the auspicious arrival in my capital of the Heir-Apparent to the Throne of the greatest democratic country in the world, was announced a new constitution for the Bhopal State, which consists in the establishment of an Executive Council of State and a Legislative Council. It was a happy augury that the Prince's visit coincided with so important an announcement, and no better or more abiding commemoration could, on the other hand, be conceived of that visit, than the formal concession by the Ruler of Bhopal to her subjects of the right to participate in the moulding of its destinies. It is, I admit, a very modest beginning; as modest, in my humble opinion, as all beginnings ought to be, but affording the people, as it does, ample opportunities for practical training and discipline. It may be safely considered as the first step towards the establishment of still closer relations between my Government and my people; for, on the cultivation by the people of that true sense of responsibility which is the keynote of all representative government will solely depend the extension of their share in the affairs of the State, and with every step forward on their part in that direction larger measures of representation will, from time to time, be unflinchingly conceded to them."

## Bhor State's Subjects

The first session of the Bhor State's Subjects Conference was held recently under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar. People from the five talukas of the State had assembled. The Mavalis of Shivaji, who formed the bulk of the State's subjects, were present in large numbers. An informal resolve was made by the Conference that, unless the representatives, with a mandate for negotiation with the Chief, were given a full and a fair hearing and many of the grievances were remedied, all the talukas would combine and resort to non payment of taxes.

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Indians in Kenya

Mr. Churchill's speech at the East African Dinner in London has provoked a bitter controversy. Every important organisation has protested against his remarks.

### MADRAS LIBERAL LEAGUE'S PROTEST

The Madras Liberal League sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy: The Madras Liberal League request Your Excellency to convey to the Secretary of State for India its deep disgust, disappointment and dismay at Mr. Churchill's pronouncement at the East African Dinner on the question of Indians in Kenya. The decisions announced by Mr. Churchill are in direct contravention of the resolution of the Imperial Conference held last June and Mr. Montagu's interpretation of the same and unjust and humiliating to the Indians in the extreme. The League desires to warn the Government that if the British Cabinet endorses Mr. Churchill's view, the result would be disastrous in India, particularly at the present juncture.

### THE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

The Legislative Assembly passed the following resolution after a heated debate on the 9th instant: This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he do represent that any failure in His Majesty's African territories to meet the lawful claims of Indians for equality of status with all other classes of His Majesty's subjects will be regarded as a serious violation of the rights of Indians to citizenship which were recognised and affirmed only so recently as at the Imperial Conference of 1921, and in particular that he do cable to the Secretary of State for India and through him bring to the notice of the British Cabinet the emphatic protest of this Assembly at the pronouncement reported to have been made recently by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Winston Churchill at the East African Dinner in London.

## MR. SASTRI'S VIEWS

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, interviewed by the *Times* in London, criticised Mr. Churchill's speech and said that it was unfortunate:

It was too late now to have misgivings on the suitability of representative institutions. Mr. Sastri was profoundly astonished at Mr. Churchill's going back upon the Imperial Conference resolution of 1921. India regards Kenya as a test case. If inequality and hardship are inflicted on Indians in Kenya, the good faith of Britain would be irredeemably shaken and the pro-English party in India would be wiped out. Politically Mr. Churchill's policy was fraught with the utmost danger to India and Britain.

### Mr. Montagu on Indians Ahroad

Mr. Montagu, addressing, on the 9th instant, the 1920 Club, which consists of Coalition Liberals, on the subject of the Indians' position in the Empire, emphasised that the sole requirements for the success of the Government's policy in India were patience and sincerity. Differentiation against Indians in other parts of the Empire would imply a lack of sincerity and render the goal of British policy in India impossible.

Replying to Mr. Winston Churchill's recent speech on the position of Indians in the Kenya Colony, Mr. Montagu declared that Mr. Churchill had announced the decisions of the Colonial Office, but the subject was being discussed by the Government, and he devoutly hoped that some way would be found of accommodating the views of Mr. Churchill's policy, announced by the Government and approved by Parliament, as the hope and aspirations of the Indian peoples.

If an Indian, continued Mr. Montagu, was fit for the Governorship of a great Province, the Membership of the Viceroy's Council, the headship of the great hospital in Mesopotamia, or citizenship in a new Colony, it was inconsistent with the sincerity of Britain's policy to say that because he was an Indian he could not hope for recognition.

# INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION <sup>141</sup>

## Madras and the Fiscal Commission

The Madras Government have issued a statement regarding their views on fiscal questions submitted before the Fiscal Committee. The conclusions at which the Madras Government have arrived may be stated broadly as follow:—

1. They advocate for India her own commercial policy with special tariffs and regulated primarily with regard to her own interests.

2. As a corollary it follows that the Government do not advocate a free-trade policy for India.

## Co-operative Movement in India

The following are extracts from the annual report on the Co-operative movement in India for the year 1919-20:—

The total number of Banks during the year 1919-20 rose from 333 to 400, with a membership and working capital of 127,026 and over Rs. 8,85 lakhs, as against 107,017 (revised figure) and Rs. 7,29 lakhs, respectively, in 1918-19. The net profit resulting from the operations of these Banks also increased from Rs. 13,70,781 to Rs. 17,50,678 in 1919-20.

It will be observed that the number of agricultural and non-agricultural primary societies increased during the year from 28,977 agricultural (excluding insurance societies) and 1,971 non-agricultural to 36,299 agricultural (excluding insurance societies) and 2,662 non-agricultural societies, respectively. The total membership and working capital at the close of the year were:

	Members	Capital.
	No.	Rs. (lakhs).
Agricultural ..	1,175,109	9,65
Non-Agricultural ..	339,430	2,90
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>1,514,539</b>	<b>12,55</b>

The following are the profits resulting from the operations of these societies:—

Agricultural Societies	30,78,118
Non-Agricultural Societies	11,63,877
<b>Total</b>	<b>42,41,995</b>

## German Dyes in India

The removal of restrictions on the importation of synthetic dyestuffs into India has had the effect of stimulating trade in that direction with Germany. According to the report on the sea-borne trade and administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1920-21, the total imports of dyeing and tanning substances have risen by Rs. 1.5 crore to Rs. 3.02 crore, to which Germany contributed 35 per cent., the United Kingdom 27 per cent., and the United States 21 per cent. In this group the most important imports were alizarine and aniline. Of the total imports of aniline, valued at Rs. 2.23 crore, the United Kingdom supplied 31 per cent., as against Germany's 29 per cent. The shares of Great Britain and Germany in the imports of alizarine were, respectively, 17 and 67 per cent. of the total of Rs. 55 lakhs. The imports of synthetic chemicals from Great Britain included large quantities of German reparation dyes.

## Labour Disputes in Japan

Labour disputes in Japan were comparatively few in number before the war, but after its commencement they increased suddenly, says the *Labour Gazette*. For the seven years from 1907 to 1913 there were on an average 30 strikes per year, affecting about 5,174 workers, while from 1914 to 1918 strikes averaged yearly 207 affecting 29,587 workers per year. At the time of the armistice the situation improved slightly, but a record figure for strikes was reached in 1919, when there were 497 involving 63,137 workers. This state of affairs continued until the end of March 1920. In the first three months of that year there were 122 strikes affecting 13,806 workers; but with the beginning of trade depression dating from April the number of strikes decreased considerably, and from April to the end of December there were only 160 strikes affecting 22,565 workers, bringing the totals for 1920 up to 282 strikes with 36,371 workers.

# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## Cane Sugar Industry

Writing in the *Indian Business* for December, Sirdar Jogendra Singh, Editor of *East and West*, discusses the future of the cane sugar industry of India. The present position of sugar industry in foreign countries is not good. Cuba is in a very bad condition owing to "foolish speculation and finance." It seems, says the Sirdar, that it will not maintain its production of four millions a year. In Java the rate of wages has been doubled and there are other factors which make competition with India almost impossible. Russia



THE HON SIRDAR JOGENDRA SINGH is out of the market altogether, while in America the industry is in a bad way financially. The expansion in the Philippines has also come to nought. "India, therefore, has not only its own market but the markets of the world at its disposal."

There need be no fear that, on the industry setting right in the above-mentioned countries, the market for Indian sugar will contract.

India needs a million tons of sugar for home consumption. It can export to England from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 million tons of sugar. Most of the sugar-producing countries have reached their limit of production while consumption of sugar within the last decade has increased in the United States of America by 24 per cent, in the United Kingdom by 14 per cent, and other European countries by 8 per cent. The market in India itself is expanding enormously and with the coming prosperity it will expand even more, so that there need be no fear of contracting markets.

There are three factors which should be attended to for a successful scheme of development. First, it is necessary "to provide compact blocks of land for the growing of cane as was done in Java so that science, energy and enterprise may concentrate over these areas." Java factories control their own plantations.

A factory would be wrong to establish itself without the assurance of raw material. Their owners might hold it up if they so desire. Cane deteriorates in transport and the factory has to be in the centre of a plantation. A cane factory works only 100 days in the year and cannot take risks of short supplies. The larger the factory the better the results: the difference in a factory crushing 100 tons a day is not less than Rs. 30 per ton on the sugar produced. The Government can provide compact blocks of land by giving forest areas now under grass, and by private arrangement.

Next, discussing the aspect of modern methods, the writer says that a large amount of oil cake will be required as manure and for this he suggests the crushing here of the large quantity of oil seeds which hitherto had been exported. This not only helps the cane sugar cultivation but also produces new wealth to the extent, says the writer, of 26 million l.

On the manufacturing side it is necessary to use modern mills so as to extract a larger amount of juice. Under present methods, the general average amount of juice extracted is only 52.4, while the modern multiple milling with maceration takes out 80.4 per cent. of the juice in the cane.

There can be no doubt that if we save our crushing and boiling losses we can produce 700,000 tons of sugar a year from the crop already grown. An additional million ton can be secured by growing thick canes on the present areas in place of thin canes under improved methods and if another  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 million acres from unused forest and waste lands were provided for the crop, we can depend on getting another million ton of sugar.

The third factor is capital. The writer estimates the capital required at 200 crores spread over twenty years, his period of the programme, at 10 crores a year. It is impossible to raise the ten crores in India alone.

The enterprise calls for both England and India to jointly raise the capital and share in the profits.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.

**Success.** By Lord Beaverbrook. Stanley Paul & Co., London.

The contents of this volume originally appeared as weekly articles in a London periodical and they were widely quoted. Lord Beaverbrook is happily reminiscent in his sketches and he offers some shrewd suggestions and not a few lessons culled from a life of success achieved through enterprise. They afford pleasant reading, but success has seldom been achieved by reading books on how to succeed. It is essentially a matter of temperament and the ironic point, as Lord Morley said, "depends on your standard of success."

## Reference Books.

We have received for review a number of reference books for the year 1922, each of them useful in its own way. *The Indian Guide and Directory* (Arnold White & Co., Calcutta) is a ponderous volume of 1,750 pages, packed with information well classified and arranged alphabetically for easy reference. *The Daily Mail Year Book* (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London), for the current year is amplified with a number of special articles on topical subjects. *Whitaker's Almanac*, the 54th annual edition of which is just to hand, is enriched with a mass of information and statistics relating to Trade and Finance, and the recent census of the British Empire. *Pears' Cyclopaedia* is practically crammed with information on everyday subjects of every conceivable variety, beginning with a dictionary of the English language and ending with a ready reckoner.

**Chitta Ranjan.** By Sukumar Ranjan. Indian Book Club, Calcutta.

Mr. C. R. Das, like Mr. Motilal Nehru, has made, perhaps, the biggest sacrifice in the cause of non-co-operation and no wonder that his arrest gave such a fillip to the movement in Bengal. A sketch of his life must appeal to the young with peculiar force.

**Wars and Treaties—1815 to 1914.** By Arthur Ponsonby. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

This book is an easy guide to the study of the international problems as it sets forth, in a brief compass, the more important wars that have been waged during the last one hundred years. This period, generally considered as the most peaceful and enlightened, is yet full of conflicts fraught with serious consequences, and the author records no less than forty-two of them in a brief and succinct manner.

**Asoka, and other Poems** By N. V. Thadani, Hindu College, Delhi.

The author has a ready command of the familiar forms of English versification; his themes and ideals are patriotic and eastern, but we doubt whether these attempts to express the East in the terms of the West will succeed in getting any better recognition than sympathy. There is a great deal of feeling and eloquence, suppressed passion and delicate imagery in the portraits, but in the main they remain rather artificial, and just fail to awake the genuine echo of true poetic insight and feeling. From the point of view of India's claims to success in new and almost untrodden fields, the author must be congratulated on the high level of his attainments in a strictly limited sphere of human endeavours.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN RACE. By Bhagavan Das Pathak, Jhanda St., Dehra Dun. Rs. 2.

SOCIALISM. Its Embryonic Development in India. By D. Pant. B. Com. The Punjab Assn. Club., Lahore.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CIVIL PROCEDURE CODE. By Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Weekly Notes Printing Works, 3, Hastings St., Calcutta.

VEDIC JIWAN, Part I. By Shiv Nath, Vaidic Jivan Ashram, Dehra Dun.

RIG VEDA SARASANGRAHA. By Shiva Natha, Abithagin, Vaidik Jivan Ashram, Dehra Dun.

SANMARGA DEEPIKA. Edited by S. K. Rangaswami Dikshitar, Kumbakonam.

THE WHEEL OF DESTINY. By C. P. Saradhi. Victoria Press, Vellore.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 22. The death is announced of Viscount Bryce.
- Jan. 23 Agreement has been made between the Algeria and Bokhara Governments
- Jan. 24. The Irish Rice Congress opened at Paris
- Jan. 25. The British Government have presented three small naval ships to the Government of India.
- The first Session of the Bhor State's Subjects Conference was held to-day, at Piona
- Jan. 26. A riot took place among the mill hands at Titagar, near Calcutta
- Persia has recognised the Irish Free State
- Jan 27 Anglo French conversations regarding Near East peace conditions have begun
- Jan. 28. The 2nd Session of the Oriental Conference was inaugurated at Calcutta, Dr Salvaïn Levi presiding
- Jan 29 Sir Ernest Shackleton is dead
- Mr. Lung Shih yi, Premier of China, has resigned
- Jan. 30 The Science Congress met at Madras
- Jan 31 Messrs Lajpat Rai, K. Santanam, Malik Khin and Dr. Gopi Chand were released to-day but Mr. Lajpat Rai was re-arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908
- Feb 1 The Legislative Assembly passed a resolution for the removal of sex disqualification of voters in the Assembly elections
- Mr. Gandhi has addressed an ultimatum to Government
- The delegates of the five Great Powers have assented to the treaty for the reduction of naval armaments
- Feb 2 Zighlul Pasha and other expelled Egyptians have been deported to the Seychelles
- Feb. 3. Sir William Pope's Committee on the Indian Institute of Science have submitted their report to the Government of India.
- Feb. 4. Rioting and attack on a police station in Gorakhpur.
- Feb 5 The Shin tung Treaty has been signed.
- A new Constitution establishing an executive council and a legislative council for Bhopal was announced to day at Bhopal
- Feb 6 Cardinal Achilles Ratti has been elected Pope
- Death is announced of General de Wet of South Africa
- Feb 7 The King opened Parliament to day
- Feb 8 Sinn Fein raid on Ulster border
- Mr. Hudyal Nag, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, was released unconditionally
- Feb 9 The Ahmedabad Municipality has been suspended and the Collector has taken over its work
- The House of Commons has passed the first reading of the Irish Free State Bill
- Feb 10 The Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to Cachar and Nowgong Districts in Assam
- Feb 11 The Karnataka Conference met at Mangalore, Mrs Sarojini Naidu presiding.
- Feb 12 The Coronation of the new Pope was held to day
- The Congress Working Committee has suspended mass civil disobedience
- Feb 13 The Legislative Assembly cabled a message of confidence to Mr. Montagu
- Feb 14 Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. B. N. Sasmal were sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment under Sec. 17 Criminal Amendment Act
- The censure amendment of Mr. Joyntson Hicks to the Address on the Indian situation in the House of Commons was lost by 248 to 64 votes.
- Sheriff's meeting in Madras to protest against Mr. Churchill's speech at the East African Dinner
- The Prince of Wales arrived in Delhi.

## Literary

### On Mahomed and Khadija

A correspondent, Mr. M. Quasim, draws our attention to certain remarks made by Mr. U. B. Nair, the writer of the article on "Democratic Marriages" in the December number, and says that he has indulged in an uncalled-for attack on the social status of the Arabian Prophet in the following words: "The rich widow Khadija gave her hand to her servant Mohammed, the son of a camel driver". If this remark is allowed to go unchallenged, he continues, "it will create a very wrong impression in the minds of readers that the founder of Islam was, after all, a mere servant of the rich widow Khadija and that he had no great ancestry to claim as he was the son of a camel driver." But this is hardly supported by facts of history. The Prophet was sprung from the noblest of the Arabian tribes known as the *Koreish* and he was born in a family which enjoyed the hereditary governorship of Mecca and trusteeship of the holy temple known as the *Kaaba*, to which pilgrims had flocked from all parts of Arabia long before the days of Islam. His grandfather Abdul Mutallib was the chief (or governor) of Mecca and on his death the chiefship (or governorship) of the town passed to his son Abu Talib, one of the uncles of the Prophet, whose father Abdullah, be it noted, died in the life time of Abdul Mutallib himself.

It is a matter of common knowledge that camel-driving forms the chief occupation, to this day, of only the desert-dwellers of Arabia who are known as *Bedouins* who have no fixed abodes and are seen moving about with their whole families on the backs of camels from one oasis to another. But all the Arabs are not *Bedouins* and those living in towns are not camel drivers but traders and businessmen like other civilised people of the world.

Every reader of Islamic history knows that the Prophet was held in great respect by the people on account of his honesty and truthfulness. He became known as "*Al Amin*" or Trustee. He used to go on business along with his uncle Abu Talib to Syria. People had so much confidence in him that they made him their partner in business. Among them was one Khadija, a rich widow who began to like him so much for his moral virtues that she decided to marry him (it should be noted that widow re-marriage was permissible and still permitted by the laws of Islam). The origin and social status of the Prophet require no further elaboration from me as the things which I have mentioned are facts of history and not the outcome of a diseased mind which does not see things in their true light."

### BOOKS RECEIVED

- ESSAYS CLASSICAL AND MODERN. By F. W. H. Myers. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.
- THE LIFE OF LOKAMANYA TILAK, with a foreword by C. R. Das. By D. V. Athalye. Swadeshi Publishing Company, Poona.
- LIBERALISM AND LABOUR. By Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson. Liberal Publication Dept. London.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By Prof. M. Chakravarty, M.A. Sircar & Co., Calcutta.
- LECTURES ON THE TEFISM OF THE UPANISHADS AND OTHER SUBJECTS. By Sitanath Tattvabhushan. The Trust Society, Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
- INDIAN IMAGES, PART I. THE BRAHMANIC ICONOGRAPHY. By B. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., F.R.S.T.G.S. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.
- THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By H. A. Popley B.A. The Association Press, Calcutta.
- PHOTOGRAPHING THE INVISIBLE. By James Coates, F.A.S.N. Fowler & Co., London.
- THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ. By N. S. Takarkhav and K. A. Keluskar. K. A. Keluskar, Bombay.
- GANDHISM EXPOSED, By Argus Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.
- SPEEDOGRAPH. By G. C. L. Narayana (Higginbothams Ltd., Bangalore), is described as "an original system which is so simple that it can be easily learnt in a few hours."

### Tagore & Co's Publications

- We have received the following interesting publications from Messrs. Tagore & Co., Madras.
- The First Step and the Slavery of Our Time, By Count Leo Tolstoy.
- The Meaning of Non-Cooperation, By C. F. Andrews.
- Karl Marx, A Modern Rishi, By Har Dayal, M.A.; Advance, India.
- By Bernard Houghton, I. C. S., Retd.; The Resurrection of the Congress, By D. N. Banerjee; Ethics of Destruction, A Symposium.



## Educational

### Special Convocation at Calcutta

A Special Convocation of the University of Calcutta was held on December 17 to confer honorary degrees in commemoration of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. The attendance was large. The Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on His Excellency the Viceroy. Recipients of the Degrees of Doctor of Literature, in addition to the Chancellor, Lord Ronaldshay, were Professor W. B. Craigie, of Oxford University, Rai Sahab Dinesh Chandra Sen, well-known for his researches in the History of Language and Literature of Bengal, Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, University Professor of Indian Fine Arts, and Professor Sylvain Levi, the well-known Indologist of France. Degrees of Doctor of Science were conferred on Professor Sir William Jackson Pope, of Cambridge University, Sir M. Viswesvarayya, formerly Dewan of the Mysore State, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, an eminent educationist, the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Education Minister, Bombay, and Professor C. V. Raman. Mr. C. F. Cullis, Hardinge Professor of Calcutta University, Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeological Survey, Mr. R. Shama Shastri, a guiding spirit of Chamarajendra Samskrit College at Bangalore, Dr. G. T. Walker, Director-General of Observatories, Professor S. Krishnaswami Iyengar of Madras and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, were admitted to the Degrees of Doctor of Philosophy. Degrees were also conferred on the Right Hon. Sir Syed Amir Ali and Professor A. A. Macdonall, Boden Professor of Samskrit, Oxford University, whose unfortunate absence the Vice-Chancellor regretted.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Vice-Chancellor, in the course of his address at the Convocation,

said that the authority to confer an honorary degree implied that the University was in essence an academy of learned men banded together for the discovery of truth and was consequently entitled to draw within its sphere of recognition individuals engaged in the advancement of learning regardless of limitations of race, color, creed or dogmas, social, religious or political. It had been their constant endeavor to realise the high ideal by the creation of new intellectual agencies and new organisations for the advance of knowledge, learning and research. Judged by the extent and variety of subjects comprehended in the scope of their activities and the worth and excellence of the work accomplished, the Calcutta University was still the foremost teaching and research university.

### Prince of Wales' Medal

Referring to the note on the Prince of Wales' Medal published in the December number of the *Indian Review*, Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey, the founder of the medal, sends us the following particulars about the Medal and the Fellowship :—

The Gold Medal will be designated 'The Prince of Wales' Gold Medal' of the value of about Rs. 200, and the Fellowship will be designated, 'The Hansraj Pragji Thackersey Prince of Wales' Fellowship' of the value of Rs. 1,200 per annum and tenable for a period of one year. These will be awarded annually in connection with the examination for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine or Master of Surgery.

### Bengal Teachers' Conference

The All-Bengal Teachers' Conference was held in Dacca on the 30th December, under the presidency of Sir A. Choudhury, Kt., Barrister-at-Law. A large number of headmasters and teachers attended from the different parts of the province. A good number of resolutions were passed, which aim at the amelioration of their condition and future prospect.

## Legal

### Separation of Functions in U. P.

The report of the Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Stuart of Allahabad on the separation of the judicial and executive functions in the Provinces states that the Committee considers that there should be complete severance between the two departments; that, in the case of the provincial service, an officer should be appointed either to the executive or to the magisterial department from the beginning, and that, thereafter, there should be no transfer from one department to another and that in the case of members of the I. C. S., there should be an election at an early date and after that there should be no further transfer. The scheme involves the control of Magistrates in the first instance by Judges and supreme control by the High Court in the Province of Agra and by the chief appellate judicial authority in Oudh. But, while this is the aim of the scheme, the members are of opinion that it is neither feasible nor desirable to apply it in all districts in the United Provinces or to remove from executive officers certain quasi-judicial functions in criminal matters which are exercised by Magistrates under the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Committee works out the scheme in detail and estimates the cost of proposals non-recurring at Rs. 3,00,000 and recurring at Rs. 4,76,588.

### The "Patrika's" Apology

The *Anurita Bazar Patrika* published the following on December 18:—

In regard to the prosecution of the printer and publisher of this paper, we recognise that exception was rightly taken by the Government to articles in question, the subject-matter of prosecution, and we regret having published them. We undertake to use more care and discretion in the conduct of the paper in future.

### Racial Distinctions Committee

Giving evidence before the Racial Distinctions Committee, which held its first sitting on the afternoon of the 16th January, Mr. J. Chauduri, M.L.A., maintained that although any safeguards might be provided in the criminal law against injustice or failure of justice in the trial of Europeans by jury, yet Indian opinion would not be satisfied and placated unless the special privilege of a European accused person claiming to be tried by his own countrymen was done away with.

### Bihar Convictions

A Bihar and Orissa Government communique states that, in view of the opinion expressed in the recent debate in the Provincial Council and the undertaking given on their behalf, the Government have decided to refer the records of all cases of conviction under the Criminal Amendment Act to Justice Sir Basanta Malik, on special duty, who will advise whether the convictions are justified by evidence and recommend modification of sentence, wherever desirable. Orders will be passed by the Government under appropriate sections of the Criminal Procedure Act.

### Bengal Political Prisoners

The Bengal Government have issued a communique creating a new class of imprisonment, viz., intermediate between simple and rigorous by reason of the prisoner's social position, education and standard of living, and racial privileges are conceded to these prisoners as regards diet, bedding, clothing, etc.

### Privy Council Decision

The Privy Council have granted the Grand Trunk Railway Company leave to appeal against the finding of the Arbitration Board, appointed by the Canadian Government, that stock or company was useless. Shareholders' committee of the Company appealed to the Privy Council on September 27th.

## Medical

### School of Tropical Medicine

Lord Rghaldshay opened on February 4 at Calcutta the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene and the Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases.

The hospital has accommodation for about 100 patients. The European and Indian school has chairs of pathology and bacteriology, protozoology, pharmacology including indigenous drugs, serology, public health and chemistry, and six research appointments have been made. A striking feature was the opening of the classes for the diploma of tropical medicine.

The Government of India have in all contributed some six lakhs of ruppes towards it, the Bengal Government somewhere about five lakhs and the Indian Research Fund Association two lakhs; but over and above these sums a splendid contribution of ten lakhs has been received in the shape of private donations.

### Medical Education in India

Commenting on Colonel Gidney's resolution in the Legislative Assembly on the appointment of a Commission of English and Indian experts to suggest measures for the improvement of medical institutions in this country, so that in course of time the entire recruitment for the I. M. S. may be made in India, the *Citizen* writes. "The object is praiseworthy, but we think Col. Gidney exaggerated the defects of Indian institutions. We are glad that he excepted Madras from the scope of his observations and it is quite possible for the other medical institutions to introduce changes which would place them on a level with that of Madras. We are of opinion that the time has come for the recruitment of the I. M. S. mostly, if not entirely, in India and the Assembly must press the reform on the attention of the authorities." The resolution, it may be added, was lost.

### The New Medical Theory

The peril of lying in bed is one of the latest ideas of the doctors. "Get up and move about" is the new prescription.

Dr. R. P. Rowlands, Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, is the apostle of the "don't-lie-in-bed-too-long" creed. He expounds it vigorously in the "British Medical Journal."

It is people who have undergone operations who are in peril if they stay in bed too long.

"It cheers a patient," states Dr. Rowlands, "to know that he may move about as much as he likes in bed from the first, have the freedom of the room after four days, of the bath after seven days, and may take short walks in the open air after ten days."

Here are some of the bad effects of lying too long in bed —

The heart beats less forcibly.

Breathing becomes slower and shallower.

Appetite fails.

Digestion flags.

Action of the intestines becomes sluggish.

Risk of clots of blood forming increases.

Dangers of pneumonia much greater.

Muscles waste and lose tone.

All these are reasons against lying too long in bed, and Dr. Rowlands says that, as regards the healing of wounds, years of observation have convinced him that complete rest is unnecessary, and even harmful by interfering with general and local circulation and nutrition.

Fractures of the ribs always join promptly and well, he states, in spite of the inevitable movement of the fragments, and "gentle movements of wounded soft parts do not hinder but help the process of healing." One of the evils of the lying-in-bed system is that it deprives the patient of some of the benefits of fresh air, light and sunshine, "which have a most stimulating effect on healing of body and mind."

## Science

### Life in the Moon

In an article in *Popular Astronomy*, describing the results of two years' study of the moon, Professor William Pickering, of Harvard University, challenges the assumption of astronomers that the moon is dead, and that nothing can live on its surface. He declares his conviction that the markings often observed on the face of our satellite actually represent areas of vegetation. Two crops of this vegetation grow every day on the moon, the day of the moon being a period of 14 of our days, during which it is lighted by the sun. Professor Pickering declares that in the craters with which the surface of the moon is studded there is water and heat, and that he has observed steam issuing from them. When the moon emerges from its period of darkness the sun's rays start a mushroom-like growth in the crater fields. He has, he asserts, actually been able to distinguish the patterns of the growing fields. We find, therefore (he concludes), a living world at our very doors, where life in some respects resembles that on Mars, but utterly unlike anything on our own planet.

### The Indian Institute of Science

The Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association in their memoranda to the Committee on the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, complain that the textile industry, which is the principal industry of India, has not profited in the least by its inauguration. The textile industry afforded a fine field for scientific research work as it embodied numerous processes requiring scientific knowledge and the use of various chemicals and other ingredients in the treatment and finishing of textile goods; and the Committee averred that an efficient Institute of Science would be of immense benefit to such an industry. They have made the following suggestions for adoption by the Institute:

1. Useful knowledge might be obtained by students engaged in research work by experimenting in different mixtures of the various materials used in sizing and the various methods of preparing the size, having regard to the Indian climate.

2. In Bleaching, there was room for research in the prevention of oxy-cellulose which occurred sometimes in the present processes.

3. In the Dyeing Department, research would be useful in the after-treatment of yarn and cloth after dyeing with a view to obtain colours faster to light and washing. The use of indigenous vegetable dyes would also afford a large field for research and far-reaching results might be obtained. There was no reason why the Institute should not join in the search for new colours from coal tar or perhaps crude oil.

4. Perhaps useful work could also be done by training students in the art of calico printing.

### Planning to Rocket the Moon

Though for more than a year nothing has been heard of the American inventor who was devising a rocket that would reach the moon, plans for this fascinating experiment have not been abandoned. They have only been delayed while the originator of the project, Professor Robert H. Goddard, waited for new financial backing. This support has now been obtained and the inventor has resumed work.

Twenty men have communicated with the inventor, asking for the privilege of being the first passenger when the rocket is sent off on its long voyage. All have been answered, but no promises have been made. Dr. Goddard described all the applicants as seekers of adventure rather than trained men seeking scientific knowledge.

In the experiments to be conducted next spring Dr. Goddard expects to show that the Newton law of gravitation does not apply beyond certain terrestrial limits and that what goes up does not necessarily come down.

## Personal

### Mr. Devadhar and Malabar Relief

In our last number we gave a brief summary of the proceedings of the South Indian Social Workers' Conference at Madras over which Mr. G. K. Devadhar, of the Servants of India Society, pre-



MR. G. K. DEVADHAR.

sided. It will be remembered that Mr. Devadhar has been for some time past busy collecting funds for the relief of the distressed in Malabar. The Moplah rebellion has devastated a considerable area in that unfortunate territory and the plight of the inhabitants is miserable in the extreme. Mr. Devadhar with his colleagues went to the affected area to investigate the condition of the distressed population and has started relief work on an extensive scale. But the demands for provision and funds are ever increasing, so much so that Mr. Devadhar has toured in Bombay and Madras appealing for funds, while some of his

colleagues are working for the same purpose in the Punjab and other provinces. In his last report Mr. Devadhar indicated the extent of the relief operations in his charge and he has appealed for ten lakhs towards the help of the refugees for whom there are already 21 camps ministering to the needs of no less than 25,000 victims. We have no doubt that Mr. Devadhar will find ready support in his humanitarian work.

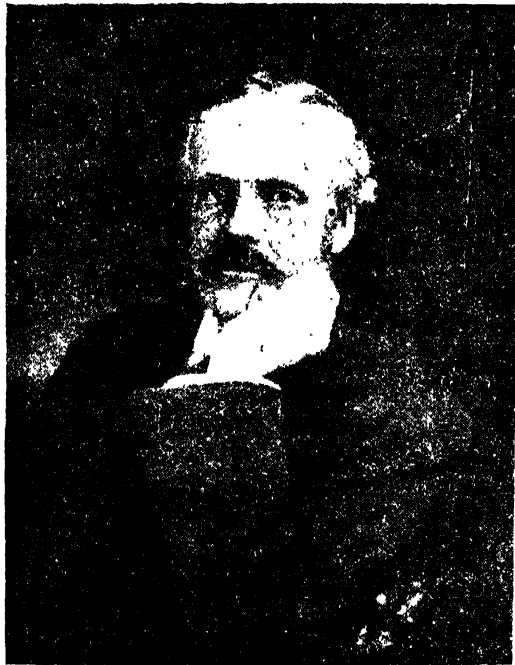
### The Late Viscount Bryce

The death of Viscount Bryce removes from the public life of England one of the outstanding personalities of the day. Born in the same year as Lord Motley, Viscount Bryce has played a leading part alike in politics and letters: but his title to fame rests on his achievements in literature rather than in his political record. Lord Bryce held various offices in the State and rose to be British Ambassador at Washington where he became highly popular. But the foundation for his diplomatic success is to be found in his "American Commonwealth," a book of singular merit which has since become a classic among American students. His earlier work—"The Holy Roman Empire"—had already won him distinction for scholarship and style and paved the way for a European reputation. But almost the last legacy of the scholar-statesman to the world of letters was "Modern Democracies" (Macmillan & Co., 2 Vols), a review of the working of the world's democratic constitutions. Lord Bryce brought to his task the learning of a lifetime and the experience of half a century in the world of affairs. The result is a book of absorbing interest, displaying his remarkable grasp of details, (in marshalling his encyclopaedic knowledge) and the judicial balance of his judgments. Lord Bryce, however, never got over his superstitious belief in the incapacity of the coloured races to govern themselves; but in this, his mentality was coloured by the ideas of what may be called the benevolent imperialists.

## Political

### Mr. Balfour's Art

Mr. Balfour has scored many triumphs in his life, but his success at Washington has been recognised as a crowning victory for peace. The British Delegation is proud of such a statesman who has played his part with characteristic distinction.



MR. A. J. BALFOUR.

"In his performance there is a matinee every day and no time off for Sundays," writes Heywood Brown in *Collier's Weekly*. "The terrific handicap which he has to shoulder is the amazing extent of his knowledge. Naturally, when he goes into politics he has to stoop a little.

"Nor is the stooping entirely mental. Balfour is so long an Englishman that he has to bend over a bit for the benefit of his hearers. Otherwise only the galleries would hear him, and, politician though he be, Balfour would blush to talk to the galleries."

"A timid, puzzled peering is the attitude which Balfour has chosen to assume in public life. By dint of the greatest effort, in the world he manages to mumble his words and stammer a little whenever he makes an address.

"I assume that he first writes his speech and learns it by heart, and then takes a little practice in unlearning it, so that it will not sound glib when he delivers it. There are times during a speech when he will hesitate for several seconds, palpably and painfully fishing for a word, but if you know Balfour you realise that he has it up his sleeve all the time and is merely creating a dramatic effect.

"As soon as an embarrassing question came to him from any of the newspaper men, he would lower his head and knit his brows in what seemed to be the deepest dejection. He would stammer once and say 'or' three times. Then suddenly the answer would leap out from him—as pat and pretty as one could wish, and his newspaper adversary would be lying on his back demolished."

### Ministers' Salaries

After a lively and heated discussion lasting two days in a full House and overcrowded galleries, the Bengal Council decided a motion for fixing Ministers' salaries.

Twenty members, besides three Ministers and Sir Henry Wheeler, took part in the debate on the 26th and 27th ultimo and the President had, on several occasions, to call the speakers to order.

Of the 11 amendments aimed at the reduction of salary, one was withdrawn and all the rest were negatived. Division on three amendments showed that the highest votes recorded in favour of fixing a Minister's salary at Rs. 48,000 a year were 27 against 78. The original motion fixing the salary at Rs. 64,000 a year for each Minister was carried.

## General

### Ladies' Conference

A resolution, urging the women of India to enrol as volunteers, was passed on the 30th December by the Ladies' Conference, at Ahmedabad, presided over by the mother of Ali Brothers and attended by about 6,000 ladies. Mr. Gandhi and Sjt. Vallabhai Patel were also present. The mother of Ali Brothers, in the course of her address, contrasted the brotherly relations that existed between Hindus and Moslems under Moslem kings with the later divisions in their camps. She laid stress upon the wrongs suffered by India and sounded the call to all women to take their proper share in the struggle for the liberation of India. A resolution calling upon all ladies to enrol as volunteers was moved by Swami Satyadev. It was supported by Mrs. Shamlal Nohru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Gandhi and adopted amidst cheers.

### Cantonment Conference

The third All-India Cantonments Conference met at Meerut on January 13th, the Hon'ble Mr. Haroon Jaffer (Poona) presiding. Mr. Jaffer in his address welcomed the Prince of Wales and characterised as injudicious the Government policy of handling the grave political situation by a futile programme of arrests. Referring to the scheme of Cantonment Reforms Committee of which he was a member, Mr. Jaffer criticised the grudging and halting character of the proposals of the official majority as inconsistent with the spirit of the Reforms Act and observed that the retention of the iniquitous Section 216 of the Code would undo even the little good contemplated by the Committee. Transfer of civil administration of Cantonment from Military to Civil department of the Government was a sovereign remedy for all existing ills, but before any reform was introduced general amnesty should be granted to those expelled under Section 216 of the Code so that traces of present bitterness might be removed.



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ANGORA.

With Gazi Mustafa Kemal in the Centre and Bakir Sami Bey to his right.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## MY EDUCATIONAL POLICY

BY THE HON'BLE MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN,

*Minister for Education, The Punjab*

I aim at developing a democratic atmosphere wherein the desire to render service to fellow-beings will come naturally. I aim at developing a strong sentiment of nationalism combined with the sentiment of human brotherhood. I aim at the removal of the colossal ignorance of the

It was obvious that the educational policy cannot be limited to the school and the college rooms. In the domain of primary education it has become a fashion to state that free and compulsory primary education is the goal to aim at and yet it is obvious that a very small fraction of the people come under its influence. Nay more than that, primary education cannot be fruitful of choice results, until the people amongst whom the school is situated contribute to the success of the school. Primary schools, if treated like islands in the ocean of ignorance, are bound to possess but very little advantage. One should aim at primary schools being made more useful by the co-operation of the the society in which they are established—firstly by giving good teaching to the pupils in the school, and secondly by attempting adult education outside school hours. It is only in this way that primary schools can become real and effective. Primary school teachers should be in a position to supply the necessary knowledge that the adults of the village lack and thus carry on adult education at the same time. The Inspectors of Schools of the Educational Department, the Inspectors of Banks of the Co-operative movement, the Inspectors of Agriculture belonging to the Agricultural Department, all should aim at not only supervising the various institutions under them, but also at carrying on the blessings of knowledge and of human service to the people for whose benefit those institutions exist. The masses should realise that the institutions are theirs, for them

HON'BLE MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN

masses but, while trying to make available the knowledge of facts and of sciences, I desire to impart instruction in the philosophy of the East—true salvation lies in the selfless service of others.



to manage and for them to derive benefits from and they are in no sense gifts conferred on them by an extraneous institution—Government or a Government department. It is in developing this feeling of partnership in the institutions of the beneficent departments, that the success both of the institutions and of the Reforms lies.

In the domain of the secondary education it has long been felt that the literary phase has been preponderating to such an extent as to render the utility of this department of education doubtful. General culture is a thing, not to be despised provided that it is not acquired at the sacrifice of learning modes and means of earning livelihood. Vocational teaching, therefore, should come in to a larger extent than it has done up till now. Struggle for life is becoming more and more acute every day and a system of education which does not take this into account cannot claim to be sound.

In collegiate education I am for providing efficient institutions which, to a large extent, would

render it unnecessary for students to go to the West for their studies. Our colleges should cease to occupy the position of public schools in the West. It by no means follows that for years to come it will not be necessary for specially gifted students to go to the West to study higher branches of sciences.

Our University atmosphere leaves much to be desired. Its distinguishing features should be simple living, deep thinking, and promoting generous and noble impulses to serve the best interests of humanity at home and abroad; to diffuse noble ideas in India and to carry them abroad.

I aim at primary schools, secondary schools colleges and the University, not only addressing themselves to the pupils within their folds but also going out to the pupils outside with their gifts of knowledge and of inspiration to render service to others.

## H. R. H. The Prince of Wales : A Sketch

**S**OLDIER, sportsman, "ambassador of Empire" and only twenty-seven years old! When we review the number and variety of the Prince's experiences, the delicacy and importance of the missions he has already accomplished, it seems almost incredible that he is yet little more than a boy; yet those who saw him in India during his recent tour will remember that, away from the formalities of official functions, his boyishness was very evident; that his youthful enthusiasms were still undimmed, his freshness unimpaired and love of adventure as keen as that of the least sophisticated of undergraduates. It was on the 23rd June, 1894, that the first son was born to his present Majesty King George—then Prince of Wales—at White Lodge, Richmond Park, while his great grand-mother, Queen Victoria, was still on the Throne of Great Britain. He was

baptized to the names Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, and there stood round the cradle not only the royal great grand-mother, but four grandparents acting as sponsors—a rare record in the history of any family.

His upbringing was by no means of the hampered sort that one associates with the life of young Princes of the Blood Royal in past centuries. He was indeed trained and educated very much on the same lines as hundreds of his contemporaries among the aristocracy of Britain. He was a great favourite of the late Queen, but was not kept at home for very long, as, after a few years' instruction under the care of a tutor, he was sent in 1907, at the age of thirteen, to the Naval College at Osborne, where he remained for two years before going to Dartmouth to be trained as a sailor, as was his father, King George. A

recent sketch of the Prince's career shows that, even at this early age, the Royal schoolboy had his heart in both work and play. "He has worked hard", says the writer, "and played hard, for he takes part in all kinds of sport and has become proficient in cricket, riding, tennis, swimming and other exercises." And again: "At Dartmouth he applied himself with earnestness and enthusiasm to his studies, living and working in the same way and under the same conditions as the other Cadets."

In 1911 the Prince had passed his examinations and completed his training and was appointed a midshipman on the battleship *Hindustan*, but he was not to be a sailor for long and after a single cruise he left the Navy for Oxford. Here also the same salutary rule of equality with his fellow under-graduates was maintained and he played and studied just as did the other young Englishmen who were "up" with him. This is what the head of his College said of him. We too have had experience of the Prince of Wales, whom the French, so happy in their application of names, called "the charming Prince." He has, happily, completed a whole year with us. Last October he began his course of study in our University; a youth of special amiability, modesty and courtesy, who has shown his wish to take his stand on merit and not on privilege. We have seen him from day-to-day, now hurrying to a lecture, now running along the lowpath, cheering his college boats—in one word, pursuing his studies, his games and his enjoyments like the rest of our young fellows."

Athletics have always been his pastime, and the tour in India itself was no mean test of the Prince's physical fitness. Though of slight build, his muscular development is good. During his Oxford days he trained systematically and, before he had kept his first term, it was evident he was no weakling. Just before the war His Royal Highness had gained fame as a cross country

runner and during the long years of the war he took an immense amount of exercise. He played football or took long walks and very often made lengthy trips on the humble "pushbike." "Keep fit," says a writer, was the Royal Motto in those days and the Prince lived up to it almost every hour. He had and still has a holy horror of becoming flabby. "I'm not likely to get fat" said he to a brother officer, "but I'm hanged if I mean to get flabby." As an enthusiastic member of the Officers' Training Corps at Oxford, His Royal Highness laid the foundations of military knowledge—knowledge which was to stand him in good stead a few months later. He was in fact still at College when the war broke out and three days later was gazetted a Second Lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards.

During the war, it is no exaggeration to say, the Prince was never content unless he was in or as near as he could get to the actual firing line. Courage is the badge of all his race. "There shall be no depression in this house" said Queen Victoria in the dark days of the South African War, and, when King Edward was almost killed by the bullet of an assassin while travelling abroad, he was the only unmoved member of the party. Our youthful Prince lost no time, therefore, in bearding the great Kitchener in his office at Whitehall, with a demand that he be sent at once to the front. Lord Kitchener told him he was too young and had no training, and he was forced to remain in England, "chafing against the curb." Sir George Arthur in his *Life of Kitchener* gives the story of the Prince's enthusiasm for war service. Shortly after the outbreak the Prince went to Lord Kitchener and said he was going with his regiment.

"What does it matter if I am shot?" he exclaimed. "I have four brothers."

Said Lord Kitchener: "If I were certain that you would be shot, I do not know if I should be right to restrain you. What I cannot permit is the chance—which exists until we have a settled line—of the enemy scoring you as a prisoner."

In November he was made an A. D. C. to Lord French and immediately joined the staff in France. There he was the cause of much anxiety to the authorities, for it was found impossible to keep him within the bounds of safety. Once or twice he showed such a reckless disregard of life that Lord French cautioned him that, if he were not more careful, he would be sent away from the battle front. He shared life in the trenches with the men with whom he was a popular idol. An evidence of the warm relations which existed between the army and the Prince is evidenced by the story which His Royal Highness told, on his return from Canada, of the humble Canadian woman who spoke to him, telling him that her husband had met him at the front. All the soldiers who saw him—and many who had not—liked him for his bravery, his sincerity, his freedom from “side,” his eager participation in all the aspects of military life. In 1915 he was driving in a motor car near the front line when a shell completely smashed the car and killed the chauffeur. He was constantly under fire in both Flanders and France from November, 1914, to March, 1916, and the stories about him during that period are legion. Space is, however, too brief to do more than repeat the opinion that everyone who met him during that period formed of him, that he was a good soldier and a very gallant gentleman. Many stories are told of his affability and good humour. Here is one from the war field, which deserves to be recorded. The Prince had assisted somewhere in the Reserve an officer who was in trouble with his motor. The officer asked to whom he was indebted. The Prince replied: “I am the Prince of Wales.” The officer replied: “Are you? I am King George.” Two days afterwards, the Prince found the officer starting alarmed at him across the table at dinner at Divisional Headquarters. The Prince smiled and nodded and said: “Good evening, Dad!”

In March, 1916, the Prince went to Egypt to visit the wounded soldiers there, and in May of the same year he was on the Italian front, where he took an active part in the air fighting. In May 1919 on the occasion of his admission to the Freedom of the City of London at the Guildhall the Prince referred to his war experiences and said truly:—

“The part I played was, I fear, a very insignificant one, but from one point of view I shall never forget my period of service overseas. In those four years I mixed with men. In those four years I found my manhood. When I think of the future and of the heavy responsibilities that may fall to my lot, I feel that the experience gained will stand me in good stead.”

Then came the Armistice and in August, 1919, His Royal Highness started on his long series of tours as our Royal “Ambassador of Empire.” He travelled through Canada, where he was welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes of the population wherever he went; in towns or in villages, the people assembled to cheer him. No less enthusiastic was his welcome in the United States, which he visited on his homeward journey. On his return he was given a wonderful reception and at the Guildhall, he made a speech which proved how fully he had grasped the significance of the Empire and the bonds that bind it together. His Royal Highness said:

“Our Empire implies a partnership of free nations living under the same system of law, pursuing the same democratic aims and actuated by the same human ideals. The British Empire is thus something far grander than an Empire in the old sense of the term, and its younger nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India—are now universally recognised as nations by the fact that they are signatories to the Peace Treaty which they fought so magnificently to secure.”

In March of 1920 the Prince sailed for New Zealand and Australia, where the triumphs of his earlier tour were repeated and amplified. Here, as in Canada, as in America and more emphatically still, as in this country, his triumphant success was one of personality. He has pre-eminently the gift of speech. “If this boy,” said an Australian Senator, “could speak like this to the whole

people of Australia, he would carry every one of them off his feet." It must be remembered that the Australian is by nature and training critical, but his heart was won from the start by the evident sincerity of the Royal guest; the absence of any trace of anything pretentious or "superior."

It has been the same in India, where our future King Emperor has done everything humanly possible to show that his sympathies are with the people, that he stands for freedom and fair dealing. These are the qualities that have won all hearts for him in the great dominions of the Empire and the appeal they make to the loyalty of the communities in India can be no less irresistible.

The Prince of Wales, then, now that the long journeys are almost ended, is equipped for his

future imperial sovereignty as has been none of his ancestors. He knows the greatness of his opportunity and what the Crown can do, the service the Royal House can render, by public and private example towards the uniting "of all classes within the nation and all nations within the Empire; the mitigating of the acrimony of political parties; the encouragement of all charitable and patriotic objects and the direction, through its silent persuasive energy, of the whole British Empire in those ways which tend to the progress and prosperity of mankind." Truly a noble and kingly task and a great one for such youthful shoulders to bear, but one which, every citizen of the Empire who has seen him knows, will be willingly undertaken and worthily carried out.

## Squeezing Indians out of the East Africa

By Mr. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

MR. CHURCHILL'S open championship of the white settlers in East Africa has come upon the stay-at-home Indians as a shock. And no wonder, for our people had permitted themselves to believe that our difficulties in that region were in a fair way of settlement. Now, it is to be feared, that if the Secretary of State for the Colonies can have his way, Indians will never have, in reality, equality of treatment in that Colony, or, for that matter, in any region of the British Empire which its non-coloured citizens may choose to reserve for themselves.

There seems to be a disposition upon the part of our writers to wander into the by-paths of criticism. They ask whether Mr. Churchill spoke for himself or for the Cabinet. That question hardly matters, when His Majesty's Government has not taken the trouble to repudiate the Colonial Secretary's statement, which openly defies the much-advertised resolution regarding the Indian

status in the British Empire, passed (with South Africa alone dissentient,) at the last Imperial Conference. Such a rebuke, it may be remembered, would not have been administered to the Colonial Secretary for the first time. So long as the Cabinet fails to notify the public that Mr. Churchill's Indian policy is not its Indian policy, we are entitled to regard the Churchillian attitude as the only attitude which matters.

Our people have been in the habit of permitting themselves to be lulled to sleep by pretty words—by being told that the Government of India and the India Office are fighting their battles. They forget, however, that the Government of India is, in the last analysis, a subordinate Government, and so far as international, or even Empire matters are concerned, it is without any prestige and has little if any power. Being a Government

\* These words were written long before Lord Curzon wrote his famous letter to Mr. Montagu.

which is preponderatingly composed of non-Indians, and owing no legal responsibility to the Indian people, it can over-awe no one, especially in view of the fact that it has shown not the slightest inclination to use the weapon of "reciprocity" which, we were told, was expressly forged to enable India to extort "decent treatment" from recalcitrant members of the British Empire. Until such time as India is made complete mistress in her own house, the undivided responsibility of securing such treatment must inevitably rest upon His Majesty's Government as a whole. To talk of the India Office in this connection is merely to confuse the issue.

It is not the India Office which is the ultimate arbiter of India's destiny. It has no doubt, an important voice in the formulation of the Indian policy. The ultimate responsibility, however, rests with the Government, of which the Secretary of State for India is only one out of a score or more of members, and with the Imperial Parliament, of which that Government is supposed to be the servant.

The Indian problem in East Africa is, in that circumstance, a problem which must be solved by His Majesty's Government, which lays down the policy to be pursued in that country, and which controls the administration of that policy. For that Government to complain that it is unable to guarantee the Indians there their rights, or, having guaranteed them, permit them to be cheated out of them, is a confession of failure which cannot be explained away upon so flimsy a ground as the inability of the Colonial and the India Offices to come to an agreement over the question.

It must be remembered that the difficulties which our people are experiencing in East Africa are not confined merely to that part of the Empire, and that the treatment meted out to our emigrants in Britain Overseas, rouses the ire of the most placid among us. It can, however, be said that if there is any place in the Empire where

Indian rights should be respected, that place is East Africa, which, as attested even by Mr. Churchill himself, owes much to our people.

Canting missionaries are taking up the slogan set up by the white exploiters that the white man is in East Africa upon a civilising mission. No one, however, takes them seriously. The white man is not in East Africa to save the souls of the black sons of the soil. He is there to pile up riches for himself.

There are among the white settlers men honest enough to acknowledge that they covet East Africa, that the Indians there are in their way, and must be got rid of at all costs. Such persons are much easier to deal with than those who seek to hide their selfishness under a cloak of hypocritical professions. They do not hesitate to say what they are after, and one knows that they will not scruple to employ any means to attain their object.

The British expansionist party has for years cast greedy eyes upon East Africa, and made no secret of its ambition to create a Dominion in that region. Germany's collapse has removed the one rival which could have prevented that dream from coming true. A commission consisting of white settlers and the officials with whom they dined and wined, went so far as to print a scheme for the creation of such a Dominion as an appendix to its report. From the Churchillian statement it is now clear that that project has the most influential backing in England. I should not be at all surprised if arrangements are now being made to bring the Dominion into being, because Indians can then be told that the Home Government cannot interfere with any Indian policy which the new Dominion Government may lay down in East Africa. Therein lies the real danger of the situation.

Shall the Indians in East Africa, supported by their people at home, succeed in frustrating that aim? Anyone who would answer that question

in the affirmative knows little of politics in Britain.

The British, to begin with, take little interest in Indian affairs unless they assume a critical form, in which case the rabble merely echoes the cry for coercion set up by Anglo-Indian reactionaries. There is, moreover, a disposition among even broad-minded Britons to try to prevent giving the impression that Indians can in any way influence their Imperial policy. To permit such a thing to happen, they say, would be like allowing the tail to wag the dog, a phrase which invariably comes out whenever the question of settling the Near East in a manner to pacify India crops up in England for discussion.

The war, professedly fought for freedom and to protect the rights of small nationalities, has greatly impoverished the people of Britain, and in consequence strengthened their lust for possession of lands which would enable them to recoup their losses. East Africa, with its great potential wealth, especially rouses British cupidity. Therein lies the crux of the Indian problem in East Africa.

Our people have been so gulled by interested parties that they have no conception of the stern reality with which Indians in East Africa are today confronted. The immigration laws are being so manipulated as to confine the stream of Indian immigration to that country in the narrowest possible channel. The non-Indian steamship companies are regulating traffic to ensure the same end. The hotels and restaurants, the ferry services on the lakes, and the railways, are all conducted so as to give Indians the maximum trouble in order to make them abandon the country.

An Indian nobleman, who went out to East Africa some time ago to capture cheetahs, related to me, the other day, how relentlessly he had been boycotted there. He went to hotel after hotel in Mombasa, and everywhere was told that he could not be admitted because he was an Indian. Feeling very thirsty, he begged the manager of one of the hostels to give him a drink of water, and charge him any price for it which he might choose to exact. That request was also flatly refused. They would not serve Indians in any capacity, he was told. He went to several restaurants, and begged in vain for water, and at last was compelled to go to a public tap to slake his thirst. He might have perished, had not an Indian resident, taking pity upon him, because he had been forcibly inoculated against the plague and was suffering with a high fever in consequence, offered him temporary shelter under

his roof. And my Indian friend was a man who was in the habit of putting up at the Carlton or the Ritz hotel when he visited London!

The effect produced upon the minds of the East Africans by such treatment meted out to Indians would be had enough, even if the white settlers did not actually teach them to look upon our people in their midst as semi-barbarians—as their bitterest foes. With the sort of propaganda which has been going on, especially since these settlers formed the ambition of creating a great East African Dominion, it is a wonder that there have been left any men or women of indigenous blood friendly to the Indians. I understood that such “natives” are made to suffer by the settlers. And yet canting missionaries have the effrontery to tell the world that Indians have no place in East Africa because they cannot get on with the “natives.”

Our people in East Africa have put up a brave fight, especially when it is remembered that there are few educated men among them, and that they have relied almost entirely upon non-Indian agents in England to help them in their fight. With the forces ranged against them, they will inevitably go to the wall, in spite of all their heroism, unless the people in India realise the far-reaching issue of the struggle and whole-heartedly support them.

If our people in East Africa go under, then it must be understood that no Indian abroad will be able to hold his head high; for if no place outside India has the Indian a better title than to East Africa, which, by the sweat of his brow, he opened up and made habitable. Such a catastrophe, if it takes place, will inevitably worsen the Indian position in all the other colonies, while it will give the self-governing Dominions and foreign countries which exclude Indians an unanswerable argument.

The time has come when Indians should make a determined fight against the abridgment by white settlers of their rights of migration and settlement, within and without the Empire. The East African issue provides us the right opportunity.

## LORD SINHA

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# THE PROBLEM OF MR. GANDHI

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

**A**ND so Mr. Montagu, one of the staunchest friends of our country and the greatest Secretary of State for India, has been sacrificed to the die-hards. In the face of the vaunted assurance of the new status of India as an original member of the League of Nations, Mr. Churchill, the Colonial Minister, has decreed against the interests of Indians in Kenya and no responsible Cabinet Minister has yet thought it his duty to disavow this barefaced attempt.

Taxation which is already high has been made higher still, the military expenditure as a whole consuming more than half the revenues of the state, while the Assembly is utterly impotent to effect any material reduction in it. The economic condition of the people which was bad enough before the War, has been rendered worse after it; Dyarchy, the outstanding feature of the new Reform Act, is rapidly proving itself a snare and a delusion as some would describe it. The *Times* thunders and seriously talks of the necessity of going back even on the "inadequate and unsatisfactory" Reform Act. The unwise attempt of the Bureaucracy to enforce part 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act has resulted in the addition of over 20,000 educated Indians to the jail population. And as if all these were not enough to cause anxiety, just at a time when some of the leading men of the non-co-operation movement have begun to object to the more extreme items in Mr. Gandhi's programme, when indeed it could be said that the movement is, for all practical purposes, on the decline, the authorities in their wisdom have thought it necessary to arrest and clap Mr. Gandhi into jail. And "who is this Mr. Gandhi who has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment? He is the man whom the convicting judge described "as a great patriot and a great leader, as a man of high ideals and leading a noble and even saintly life", the man in whom, as Gokhale aptly described, 'Indian humanity has really reached its high water mark' and in whom a Christian Bishop witnesseth 'the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy'. Such a man has been condemned despite his public avowal of his huge mistake, his penitence for the same, his decision to suspend his aggressive programme, and his grave warnings that it would be "criminal" to start civil disobedience in the existing

state of the country. Even some of the Anglo-Indian papers have condemned the action of the Government as a blunder; and one of these has gone so far as to characterise it as 'a masterpiece of official ineptitude.' And such a criticism cannot be described as altogether undeserved or unjust. Mr. Gandhi's agitation originated with the Rowlatt Act. It received strength on account of the calculated brutalities and humiliations of the Martial Law regime. And the climax was reached when the solemn pledges of the British Prime Minister in regard to Turkey were conveniently forgotten at Sevres. The Rowlatt Act has since been repealed, the Punjab wrongs have been admitted and an appeal has been made to "forget and forgive." Mr. Gandhi's bitter complaint that the British Ministers have not sincerely fought for the redemption of the solemn pledges to the Mussalmans has been proved to be well founded. And so the three great grievances for which Mr. Gandhi has been fighting—are grievances admitted by all to be just. In the opinion of Mr. Gandhi and most of his countrymen there would never have arisen these festering sores 'if we were in our country what others are in their own,' if in short, we too had been given "the Self-determination," for which elsewhere so much blood and treasure have been sacrificed. The whole question therefore reduces itself to one dominant problem—the problem of Swaraj. And the problem of Mr. Gandhi is no less than that. But for the lost faith of the people in the sincerity of the British, even this question would not have assumed such an acute form as we find it to-day.

You cannot solve this problem by clapping its best, brightest and noblest exponent even though his methods may be novel and his activities inconvenient and sometimes dangerous. Sir John Rees was not far wrong when he observed that "Gandhi in Jail might prove to be more dangerous than Gandhi out of it." There is a world of significance in the warning of Professor Gilbert Murray:—

"Persons in power should be very careful when they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasures, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promises, but simply determines to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul."



MAHATMA GANDHI





GHAZI MUSTAFA KAMAL PASHA  
*President, Turkish National Assembly, Angora.*

# LAW IN THE GREAT WAR

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BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE ODGERS.

SOME years ago while the world struggle was in progress, the present writer in this journal† deplored the systematic infraction by the Germans of some of the fundamental rules of International Law.

To such a pass had this come that one was then tempted to ask if the labours of the great jurists of the past, in building up the fabric of International Law, had not after all been in vain, and whether we were not thrown back on the primeval theory of brute force as the only governing power in the world. It did really seem that, when it came to the point, a system of law which depended for its sanction only on the agreement and good sense of the family of nations might after all fall to the ground and that rules of law based on humanitarian principles were of no avail in the great conflict then going on. All the more welcome then is this book by a distinguished American Professor, which re-states the Law of Nations in detail on the numerous topics dealt with and which shows that the law of Nations exists in spite of repeated and flagrant infractions of it.

The question of responsibility for breach of the law in its numerous branches is most carefully dealt with, and the practice of the belligerents adopted in the great struggle and their explanations of their conduct are subjected to close analysis and comparison with the existing authorities.

As will appear hereafter, the book, though a storehouse of learning, is not merely a lawyer's book. For instance, the right to sue and recover

from alien enemies, the effect of war on contracts, trade with the enemy, are all subjects of deep interest to merchants and all engaged in business, while the chapters on forbidden weapons, devastation, mines, submarines and aerial warfare and bombardments and destruction of historical monuments are of the widest and most general interest, and throw a lurid light on the crimes committed by our enemies in the late war.

International Law never was a mere, dry study of abstract principles, but to-day vivified as it is by its application to the greatest struggle the world has ever known, it is of the intensest living interest to all thinking men.

The Law of Nations has indeed been through the fiery furnace, we hope and believe that its principles stand to day on as sure a footing as ever they did. We hope and believe that the German maxim, that the sacred principles of humanity must yield to "whatever contributes to the attainment of the object of the war," will never be accepted by the nations.

The late struggle was a lasting and terrible example of warfare waged on the one side with one single object in view, regardless of all principles of law or dictates of humanity.

Many of us hope that war in the future may become practically impossible, all of us believe that no war will ever be waged in future in the way in which warfare was conducted by our enemies.

Further, though the war is now sufficiently distant to allow a much better and fairer perspective of events than was possible before, it is possibly a self-satisfaction to know that one's indignation at the horrible outrages committed against women, children, prisoners and wounded at the time is, in practically all instances, justified when tested by authority and legal principles.

\* *International Law and the Great War*, by James Wilford Garner, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. Longmans Green & Co, 2 Vols. £. 3-12-0 net. London 1920.

† "The Legality of War," *The Indian Review* for March 1916.

With these introductory remarks I pass to a more detailed examination of Professor Garner's work.

It is perhaps ironical that the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, whose object was to control the conduct of belligerents in the interest of humanity, should have preceded comparatively closely the outbreak of a war in which breaches of humanitarian principles were so flagrant.

As the Law stood at the outbreak of the war, the Hague Convention of 1899 was binding on all the belligerents, that of 1907 (not having been ratified by all) was not, that is to say it was not binding as such, but it was of course binding in so far as it was declaratory of the established principles of International Law. The justification for the invasion of Belgium and the bombardment of undefended coast towns put forward by German jurists was that the Convention of 1907 was not binding; but the inviolability of neutral territory is a well established principle of law and the fact that the Convention embodying it is not technically binding, cannot affect the rule of law.

The Declaration of London of 1909 dealing with war by sea was technically abrogated by both Great Britain and France and was therefore not binding as such on the Allies during the war, but in so far as it was merely declaratory of the existing law it was binding on them.

There follows a chapter on the treatment of enemy aliens, the learned author pointing out that previously these persons had either been allowed to withdraw or to continue their residence on an outbreak of war. Great Britain passed an Aliens Restriction Act by which large powers were given to the Government to regulate the movements of enemy aliens. Great Britain allowed Germans 7 days in which to leave the country; no such period of grace was allowed by Germany. By an agreement for exchange of Civilians reached in 1917 Germany released 600

or 700 British subjects and Great Britain about 7,000 German subjects, over 45 years of age.

Owing to the strong suspicion entertained against all Germans, even though naturalized, and the intense anti-German feeling throughout the Empire, Great Britain adopted a policy of general internment in May 1915. It was found that there were about 40,000 unnaturalized aliens in Great Britain at this time. The same measures had been adopted by France and Germany, earlier in the war. These acts deserve notice as they are first instances of general internments of enemy aliens known in history.

The amount of property owned in England by Germans at the outbreak of the war was £96,000,000. It was of course important to prevent this property from being used against us and a Custodian of Enemy Property was appointed in England as in this country also. The Custodian held all property in his custody till the end of the war. The treatment of enemy property by Great Britain, France, United States and Germany is compared and it emerges that Germany in the beginning took no action against enemy property or undertakings and that even when France proceeded to sequester German property, Germany only placed French property under supervision. Afterwards, however, Germany inaugurated a system of compulsory administration which especially in Alsace-Lorraine amounted to "spoliation and confiscation."

Of great interest and importance is the examination of the law as to the rights of enemy aliens to access to the courts of an adversary. There is no principle of International Law by which such right is denied; it is a matter determined by the municipal law of each belligerent.

Sir William Scott laid it down in the *Hoop* (1799) that except under particular circumstances the law of England is that the character of alien enemy carries with it a disability to sue in our Courts. There is a dispute as to the meaning of Article 23 (h) of the Hague Convention of 1907

on the subject. The British and American view is that it is simply a limitation on the action of army commanders in the field; the Continental view is opposite, i. e., that an alien enemy is to have 'locus standi' in the Courts of his adversary.

In *Porter v. Fraudenburg* (1915) 1 K. B. 857 per Lord Reading L. C. J., the old English rule was sustained, but in *Princess Thum and Taxis v. Moffitt* (1915) 1 Ch. 58 it was held that effect of registration as an enemy alien was equivalent to a license to remain in the country, and subsequently in *Schoffenius v. Goldberg* (1916) 1 K. B. 184 it was held that internment did not affect such an implied license and that the plaintiff could maintain an action.

It was established in *Robinson and Co. v. Continental Insurance Co. of Mannheim* (1915) 1 K. B. 155, that an enemy alien can defend an action brought against him and also prosecute an appeal.

This decision has been criticized as being inconsistent with the doctrine as to suspension and cancellation of contracts. Most of the French Courts allowed enemy aliens to sue and defend during the war, though there existed a view that the law of France was to the contrary.

Professor Barthélemy, arguing for the modern view, stated it was the duty of the French Courts to "preserve in the midst of the present storm the small flame that still burns at the end of the taper of international law".

The German practice suspended the right of all persons or corporations domiciled abroad, but not those domiciled within the Empire. Enemy subjects were allowed to defend actions.

Here we may conveniently notice the chapters on Trade with the Enemy, and the Effect of War on Contracts.

The common law rule is that all intercourse—at all events all commercial intercourse—is forbidden. Residence or domicile or place of business and not nationality is the test of enemy character for purposes of trade.

As a matter of fact the prohibition is entirely a matter of Municipal Law and does not belong to the region of international law at all. Following the more enlightened view with regard to the status of enemy aliens before the Courts of the land, our Courts during the war often ruled that persons of enemy nationality residing in Great Britain were not necessarily to be treated as enemies.

The British and French Governments however prepared 'black lists' and prohibited their nationals from trading with persons on these lists even though the latter resided in neutral countries.

The status of enemy-controlled companies was decided by the House of Lords in *Continental Tyre and Rubber Co. v. Daimler and Co.* (1916) 2 A.C. 507.

The German legislation was, for reasons that she benefitted largely from such trade, much less stringent. Payments to enemy persons in neutral countries was not forbidden nor the performance of contracts not requiring remittances of money.

The decision of the British Courts as to contracts was generally in accordance with the rule that all intercourse with the enemy is prohibited.

As to contracts outstanding at the outbreak of the war, the rule was to treat them as suspended till the war was over, and they could not be sued on till then, but such contracts were treated as dissolved if their performance involved trading with the enemy.

Partnerships between British and enemy subjects were treated as automatically dissolved by the outbreak of the war.

France treated all contracts entered into after the outbreak of the war with enemy subjects as null and void. The German law contained no general prohibition.

To return to a review of the subjects proper to International Law, the author deals with the treatment of enemy merchant vessels in belliger-

ent ports at the outbreak of the war. The old practice was confiscation, the modern practice is to allow a period of time within which to depart. This rule is embodied in the Hague Convention of 1907, and the right of confiscation might now be considered to be abolished but for the fact that the article of the Convention was not legally binding on any of the belligerents. Both German and British ships were detained in consequence of the German Government having refused to allow British vessels in German ports time within which to depart.

The case of the *Chili* was the first Prize Court case heard in the English Courts since the Crimean War and the decree in that case was for detention of the vessel. The French practice was to condemn ships captured on the high seas and which had sailed from their last port before the outbreak of the war. France held that the article of the Hague Convention was not binding. The United States of America took possession of many of the German vessels found in its ports at the time when the U. S. A. came into the war. It may be remembered that many of these had been disabled by their crews to prevent their being made use of by the enemy.

The Peace Conference distributed the German vessels captured in enemy ports amongst the belligerents.

The general right of a belligerent to requisition ships had previous to the war never been asserted. The right of 'angary', as it was called and which arose in the Middle Ages, was limited to ships within the jurisdiction of the country exercising the right and then only for purposes of transport.

The Privy Council in the case of the *Zamora* (Trehern Cases II 26) held that a belligerent has by International Law the right to requisition ships or goods in the custody of the Prize Court, provided that the vessel or goods are urgently needed for the defence of the realm or prosecution of the war; also that there is a real question to be tried, so that an order for immediate release

would be improper. Lastly application must be made to a Prize Court to determine whether, under the circumstances of the case, the right is exercisable. It may be remembered that Great Britain and the U. S. A. in 1918 obtained, by agreement with the Dutch Government, the use of a large number of Dutch vessels, amounting to one million tons, lying in American ports. The Dutch refused to carry out the agreement as Germany refused immunity to such vessels, which were to be used as relief ships for Belgium and Switzerland. The Governments then seized the vessels, under their rights by International law. With regard to transfers of merchant vessels from a belligerent to a neutral flag, as to which there were several instances just before the outbreak of war, the question turned upon whether the purpose of the transfers were to defeat the rights of the belligerents. The English rule is that such transfers are valid if they are *bona fide* and completely perfected neutral purchases, on the ground that ships are as much legitimate objects of trade as any other form of merchandize, the onus being on the purchaser to prove his *bona fides*.

The Declaration of London (not binding on the belligerents) created a new test, viz, that the transfer must not be made with a view of relieving the ship of liability to capture. An interesting question arises as to what rule ought to have been applied in the case of the *Dacia* which involved the question of the right of a neutral to purchase after the outbreak of war a vessel not only flying a neutral flag but owned by a company of belligerent nationality and to transfer it to a neutral registry.

The *Dacia* was a German vessel which took refuge in an American port in order to avoid capture. It is a question whether the sale of the vessel could, under the circumstances, be said to be with the object of avoiding capture and further whether the Declaration of London was ever meant to apply to transfers in neutral

ports. The British Government abrogated Article 57 of the Declaration of London which protected vessels navigated under a neutral flag and laid down that, when it was established that a ship flying a neutral flag was in fact the property of an enemy, the ship should be considered as an enemy ship.

Under the declaration numerous German vessels flying neutral flags were captured. The converse case of the sale or transfer by a belligerent of his war vessels to a neutral is illustrated by the sale of the German cruisers, *Goeben and Breslau*, to Turkey shortly after the outbreak of the war.

In the older cases (*e.g.*, the *Georgin*) such transfers were always pronounced to be illegal, and there is no doubt that the transfer of the German cruisers was also illegal.

Thus far our author may be thought to be somewhat legal and technical, but the second part of the first volume of his work is devoted to subjects which can hardly fail to arrest the interest of the layman equally with that of the lawyer. He says "a fact which differentiated the late war from all others of the past was the variety of new and ingenious instruments of destruction employed by the contending belligerents."

He first proceeds to examine the charges and counter-charges as to the use of expanding and explosive bullets, sometimes called Dum-dum bullets. Such weapons are forbidden by the Hague Convention of 1899 which was binding on the belligerents. The use of asphyxiating and poisonous gases is the next subject dealt with. It was first employed in April 1915 by the Germans at the second battle of Ypres—with what deadly results we know,—soldiers died slow torturing deaths owing to this method of German warfare.

The use of projectiles with the sole object of the diffusion of asphyxiating gases was forbidden by the Hague Convention of 1899, and it is possible that the Germans might have denied that what they did—diffusing gases by means of the wind—was within the Convention. On

the other hand the intention of the Convention most probably was to prohibit the use of such gases *in toto*. The motto of the Germans however being, as stated above, that everything necessary to attain the objects of the war was legitimate, it follows that considerations of humanity could find no place in such a code. There is no doubt whatever as to the unlawfulness of their employment of shells charged with asphyxiating gas, which the Germans admitted were being used by them. Even then the Germans affected to defend the use of such shells by stating that their sole purpose was not the diffusion of asphyxiating or poisonous gases, the emission of the gases being merely incidental to the explosion of the shell.

Another barbarous method was the employment of liquid fire used especially in hand-to-hand or trench warfare. The effect was deadly, the victims being sometimes completely burnt up. The use of poison has always been abhorred in civilized warfare, but that fact did not prevent the Germans from using it to poison wells in South West Africa. It is of course within a belligerent's rights to cut off the water supply of his enemy's army, but the poisoning of wells is directed not only against the armed forces of the enemy but also against the peaceful civilian population, whose protection is the first care of a civilized system of law.

Of deep interest is the chapter on the German practice of taking and using hostages and also that on devastation. The German invasion of France and Belgium was marked by such flagrant breaches of the law that language almost fails one in describing their atrocity. The practice of taking hostages is ancient, but it was last used in the Franco-German War 1870-71, when the Germans, as in the late war, used hostages for the protection of troop trains. This was only one of the purposes for which Germany employed hostages in the late war. They were used to insure obedience, to prevent Germans from being fired on, and as security for payment of contributions

In very many cases hostages were shot, whereas the better opinion is that hostages should at worst be treated as prisoners of war.

As to devastation, what are we to say as to the devastation of France, the looting of cities, churches, town halls, universities, libraries and historic mansions? In the words of our author the territory evacuated was, according to German accounts themselves, converted into a veritable waste and left an 'empire of death'. There cannot be a shadow of a doubt on the evidence that vengeance and not military necessity was the guiding impulse of our enemies. Absolutely useless are the precepts of the Hague Convention as to the preservation of historic monuments when a belligerent is set on a career of pillage, and wanton destruction. It must be borne in mind that the immensely greater part of the destruction wrought to historic monuments etc. by the Germans was done *after* they had taken possession of the place.

It was not done in the course of a bombardment in order to get such possession, when there might be some excuse for destruction which was unavoidable as part of the general operations.

It must suffice here to mention the burning of the University of Louvain, in September 1914, with all the priceless treasures of its library, the destruction of Rheims Cathedral and the ancient Cloth Hall at Ypres, the damage to churches in Venice by Austrian aviators—as outstanding examples of these crimes. A more appalling campaign, because it was directed against the sick and the wounded, was the systematic bombardment of hospitals, and the sinking of hospital and relief ships. Our author stigmatizes this as 'the one charge against the Germans the truth of which is beyond all question.' The German excuse for the sinking of hospital ships was generally that they were in fact being used for military purposes. If so the proper and legal course was to visit the ship and inspect its true character. To sink hospital ships without doing

this and without giving notice is sheer murder. As to relief ships, these had commissions from the Belgian Relief Commission and in nearly all cases carried safe conducts issued on behalf of the German Government. This however made no difference to the Germans.

Mines first began to play a part in warfare in the Russian-Japanese war, but the late war saw an immense increase in their employment. The Germans not only scattered mines indiscriminately along trade routes but advanced the most dangerous doctrine that large tracts of the open sea were war zones. There is no need to enlarge on the immense danger to neutral trade thus brought about. The policy of Germany was to isolate England and the northern ports of France and to starve them out. On February 4th, 1915, Germany declared the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland to be within the seat of war, and that it would endeavour to destroy any enemy merchant vessel within that zone. This purported to be in retaliation for the British blockade of the North Sea, the object of which was to prevent the German Grand Fleet from coming out and which effectively did so.

The object of the Germans was destruction,—nothing is said as to this in the British declaration. The right to destroy enemy merchantmen is of course well recognised in International Law under certain exceptional conditions, the ordinary rule is that such ships should be captured and brought into a Prize Court for adjudication. The employment of submarines made it impossible to provide for the safety of passengers and crews, or to place a prize crew on board a captured enemy merchantman, but this is no justification for a breach of the law. The only explanation is to be found in the ruthless pursuit by the Germans of the 'military object' and their carelessness as to how that object was attained.

In January 1917 Germany went further and proclaimed the whole of the North Sea, including the waters round the British Isles, the sea west-

ward from France and England for about 500 miles and southward to within a few miles of the coast of Spain—in all about 1,000,000 square miles. Certain narrow lines of safety (?) were provided for neutral shipping, under most stringent conditions, which, if violated, exposed the neutrals to destruction.

The Dutch Government protested—and rightly—that it was contrary to the law of Nations to declare a region which by reason of its vast extent could not effectively be made a sphere of immediate military operations, to be a military zone.

These proclamations of war zones start quite a novel principle in international law. The presumption is in favour of the freedom of the seas; the necessities of war may operate to convert a portion of the high seas which is the theatre of immediate military operations into a war zone; but it cannot be the right of a belligerent to appropriate a portion of the high seas and close them to the navigation of neutral vessels.

Another absorbing topic is that of submarine warfare which played such a conspicuous part in the late war. The first outstanding instance of the method of employing this agency was the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 by which 1,200 persons were drowned, 115 of them being American citizens who were then neutral. The *Lusitania* was a trading passenger vessel. She was not armed and there is no proof that she carried a large quantity of ammunition as contended by Germany.

I have said above that enemy merchantmen may be destroyed under certain circumstances; not only did these circumstances not exist in the submarine warfare waged by Germany but the treatment of the passengers and crews was in many instances most brutal. Not only was no provision made for their safety as required by law, but they were often fired on and murdered when struggling in the water or set adrift in open boats with no chance of rescue. A glaring instance of German atrocity was the deliberate

drowning of thirty-eight neutrals of the crew of the British steamer *Belgian Prince* in July 1917.

Certain of the larger merchant vessels were armed during the war and their status gave rise to a certain amount of discussion—as it had not been fixed by International Law. Were they subject to the rules applied to ships of war or those applied to ordinary sailing vessels? The U. S. A. Government at first decided to treat merchantmen armed solely for defensive purposes as belonging to the latter category; later the test applied was whether or no the ship carried a 'commission of war', the presumption being in favour of an innocent character. The Germans of course protested and declared that ships armed either for defence or offence were warships and would be sunk as such. The British instructions were that such armament was to be for purposes of defence only. As already pointed out, Germany did not visit or search any vessels and accordingly took no steps to verify their presumption that all such ships were armed for offence only. There seems to be no distinction between a merchantman who resists attack and a civilian who on land arms himself to beat off an invader.

A case which caused widespread feelings of horror was the execution of Captain Fryatt of the *Brussels*. His ship was unarmed and he tried to ram the submarine which approached his vessel in order to save the latter and the lives of the passengers on board. Captain Fryatt fell into the hands of the Germans who treated him not as a prisoner of war but as a pirate and he was shot.

The practice of the past allowed any merchantman armed or unarmed to resist attack and the German defence that "the *Brussels* being unarmed was not embodied in the armed forces" was no excuse as it does not follow that even though armed it would have been so embodied. In fact, the presumption is the other way. The act of Captain Fryatt was plainly one of self-defence and his execution a plain act of judicial murder.



With regard to bombardment, the Hague Conventions prohibit the bombardment of cities, villages, habitations or buildings which are undefended. We all remember the bombardment of Madras by the *Emden*, and the numerous air raids in England as also the bombardment of numerous towns on the east coast of England. Does the presence of fortification, a few soldiers or a land battery make a place a defended place? The better opinion seems to answer this in the negative—the fact of resistance is the test and therefore there was no excuse for the bombardment of those places, the result of which was the killing of many women and children. In all cases wherever possible notice should be given. The truth is the Germans paid no attention to the difference between defended and undefended places and even though there may have been legitimate objects of attack in these places, such as ammunition dumps, military stores, barracks or batteries, this furnishes no excuse for the indiscriminate bombarding of an entire town to destroy everything and everybody in it.

Lastly with regard to aerial warfare, the first aerial raid was by a Zeppelin air ship on the 25th August 1914 over Antwerp. Raids over England were very common from 1915 to 1917 when they practically ceased, apparently because the Germans were at length convinced that no military advantage was gained thereby.

At the time of the Hague Conference in 1899 this method of warfare had hardly come into existence. In 1907 bombardment of undefended places was forbidden by 'any means whatever'. This no doubt covered attacks by aeroplanes and there is some reason for saying that it was merely declaratory of the existing law. To be 'defended' against aerial attacks, a place must of course be specially fitted with anti-aircraft artillery and the presence of ordinary troops, land batteries etc. will not affect the question.

Another question is what are the rights of neutrals to prevent belligerent aircraft from flying over their territories?

Holland was naturally the neutral to suffer most from the aviators from both sides, but she does not seem to have protested till 1915 after the Germans had systematically violated her neutrality by passing over the country on their way to and from raids on England. The neutrality of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was likewise violated at various times. The question has been debated as to how far the air is the subject of sovereignty at all. Can states control passage through the air above their states absolutely or within a certain height; again have they absolute or limited sovereignty over the air always subject to the right of free passage for aviators? Each view has distinguished adherents, but practically all writers are now agreed that neutrals have the right to forbid belligerent aircraft from flying over their territory and marginal waters.

The legality of the aeroplane as an instrument of warfare was considered by the Institute of International Law in 1911. Many eminent jurists thought its use ought to be restricted to making observations, carrying despatches, reconnoitring and the like,—and that it should not be used as a military machine. Professor Holland was for prohibiting its use altogether.

The rule finally adopted by the Institute was to recognize aerial warfare only on condition that it involved no greater danger to the non-combatant population than the recognised methods of warfare by sea or land.

The German practice during the war of flying far behind the lines and dropping bombs on towns inhabited only by peaceful citizens was undoubtedly unlawful, and the British and French were compelled to adopt measures of reprisal. After the demonstration in the late war of the utility of the aeroplane as a machine of destruction one must take leave to doubt if future belligerents will be content to restrict its uses to non-destructive purposes only.

[To be concluded in the next issue.]

# THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

I. BY MR. A. B. LATTHE, M. L. A.

**N**OTHING would strike a student of constitutional progress as achieved by the Indian Legislature so much as the lack of organisation and common purpose among the Indian members of the two chambers now sitting in Delhi. The members seem to stand each by himself. There is no allegiance to a common leader. There are no common principles on which the elected members seem to work. What they do is on the lines of the old council which had none of the powers and opportunities that we now have. Many of us, unfortunately, do not realise it ourselves. There is still the old appeal to the Government to do this or that and, when it fails, the same old readiness, to withdraw the proposal or accept a compromise.

I think Sir William Vincent was right when he said that the Assembly had far greater powers in its possession than ever it was the intention of either Mr. Montagu or Lord Chelmsford to confer upon it. At any rate, the Assembly has far greater powers than many of its members are prepared to use. This is not so because of any absence of desire to wield authority. But what is wanting is the absence of readiness and preparedness which are presupposed in a constitutional Government. I have not forgotten that our present Cabinet is an irremovable, and therefore, an irresponsible, executive. But I do think that we cannot exercise the functions of an opposition effectively,—and that is all that we can at present aspire to do until we, the elected members, become a solid party able to give good fight on essential points, to utilise the splendid opportunities for self-assertion which the constitution has opened to us and thus to draw nearer and nearer the time when the irremovable Cabinet becomes in fact, if not even in name, responsible to our electors. The fault lies primarily with the power behind us, the electors on whom we ultimately depend. Do they send us to Delhi with any

definite purpose in view? Supposing we interpret their wishes in a certain way and refuse to allow things that do not accord with these wishes, are we sure that, when we go back to our masters in the electorates, they will understand the issue involved and vote on a principle or policy? The consciousness that the power behind the representatives is not a self-conscious, trained and organised power, that, on a dissolution, those representatives may not, without any fault of theirs or any defect in their principle, get a mandate from their constituencies—it is this that must unnerve the legislators in their attempt to assert themselves. The irresponsible executive fully understands this and thinks much too lightly of the opposition. If we have parties in the country which would educate the electors on questions which are dealt with by the Legislature and would elect members with a definite programme to be worked out by them, I am sure, even under the present constitution, our Legislature can accomplish considerably more than what it has done as yet.

• II. BY AN "I.C.S."

**T**HE keynote of the Assembly is self-concentration. It regards itself as the dominant feature of the administration. Its guiding maxim is 'L'etat, cest moi'. Whenever Government has attempted to force its policy on the members, it has failed. The Assembly may be guided; it refuses to be driven. The tactics which have invariably paid, have been to leave a matter to be decided by its good sense. In failing to recognise this fact,—in applying repression without first consulting the Assembly,—Government has recently committed a tactical blunder.

For the same reason, the Assembly will brook no interference by the Council of State. It will not admit inferiority of status. Its self-respect impelled it to demand allowances equal

to those paid to Members of the other House and the right to be styled 'Honourable'. Joint Committees on finance bills are not regarded with favour because on them the Assembly would not have a preponderant vote. Though the question of exclusive financial control was skillfully sidetracked by Mr. Hailey, it promises to be as contentious an issue in the Indian as it once was in the British Legislature. The right to withhold supplies is a most potent weapon and the Members are of opinion that they alone are entitled to wield it.

If it will not brook interference by the Council of State, it is hardly to be supposed that the Assembly views with equanimity the position of the British Legislature. Under the present Constitution, the Indian Executive is responsible to Parliament. Repeated efforts have been made to alter this state of affairs. On 19.1.22, Mr K. C. Neogy moved a resolution to the effect that Standing Committees elected by the Members of the Legislature, be associated with the different departments of the Government of India, other than the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments. The motion was strongly opposed by the Government, but was carried by 40 to 30. As such Committees exist in many of the Provinces and as they are not inconsistent with the Constitution, it is probable that effect will be given to the resolution. The Members will be elected by the most powerful party or group, and as there may be trouble in the House if their advice is disregarded, the effect of the resolution will be to centre in the Assembly a portion of the control over the Executive hitherto exercised by Parliament.

The tendency to become self-centred is also reflected in the policy of making India self-contained. The Members are strongly protectionist. They had no objection to raising import duties to 11 per cent. Cotton twist, yarn and the like would certainly have been transferred

from the free to the taxed lists had it not been feared that the poor hand-loom weaver would suffer.

Not only was the House desirous of increasing import duties as a whole, but it showed a tendency, which may become more marked hereafter, to make the foreigner pay heavily for India's raw products. The export duties on rice, jute, hides and tea were not only maintained, but an attempt was made to expand the list. This policy of making India self-contained by taxing both imports and exports, if pushed to its logical conclusion, will tend ultimately to destroy India's foreign trade.

On the other hand, the import of silver was not restricted. It suited the rich mill-owner to have cheap silver and a low rupee. Besides, there was a vague idea in the air that silver was the national metal. Indian self-respect demanded that it should not be taxed.

The same idea, imperfectly expressed as yet, is probably responsible for the failure to take decided action to stabilise exchange. As silver is the national metal, there is no necessity to link it to gold which is a foreign standard of value.

In dealing with the Army, the same tendency to make the country self-contained may be noticed. The Committee appointed to consider the Esher Report repudiated the attempt to subordinate the Indian Army to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. The Army is to be, as far as possible, a purely Indian Army, officered by Indians and existing for Indian rather than Imperial purposes.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Anglo Indian is trying to identify himself with Indians. Para XV of the Committee's report, which was inspired by Col. Gidrey, is as follows:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that Anglo Indians should be

included in 'the terms 'Indian Subjects' or 'Indians' wherever such terms occur in the above resolution."

But the policy of the Indian Members is to replace the Anglo-Indian. They prefer an indigenous to a semi-foreign agency. This tendency to make the country self-contained or independent of the Anglo-Indian is noticeable in several resolutions and in questions Nos. 155, 156, 157, 232, 233, 269, 276, 369, 382, 383, 384, 385, 416, 420, 425, 430, 449, and 450.

This brings us to the European himself. The non-official Members have so far refrained from forming a party. They recognise the justice of Indian aspirations. They mix with Indians on perfectly equal terms. They are liked and respected. As business men in an assembly of lawyers, their commercial acumen is admired. They are invariably listened to with attention. Their depreciation of the attitude assumed by the Amphyll—Sydenham party has earned for them a lasting place in the regard of the Indian Members. In spite of all this, they have exercised comparatively little influence upon the policy of the House. They have carried no motion of importance. They are essentially an exotic product. Popular as they are, there is only a narrow niche for them in the self-contained edifice which is under construction.

Somewhat similar is the position of the Muhammadans. Their ablest representative is unfortunately dead. An idea is afloat that they are inadequately represented both as regards numbers and ability. More cosmopolitan than other Indians, with extensive overseas trade, with interests centering on Mecca rather than on Delhi, they are bound eventually to come into conflict with the self-centred policy of the Hindus. A rapprochement between them and the Europeans or Parsees is a possibility.

An attempt has been made to form parties. But it is personality that counts rather than

policy. Amongst the Madras Members, Sir Sivaswami Iyer has attracted attention. But jealousy of Madras intellectuality is a feature which may have to be reckoned with. The superiority of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar in the Council of State was unchallenged. It is hardly likely that Madras will be allowed to dominate both Chambers.

In the Bombay section, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadass has created some stir. A young man in an assembly of elders, he has little prospect of advancement in the present House though he may go far in them which come after.

In the opposite camp to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadass is Dr. Gour. A Rajput by extraction, he has many of the characteristics of his caste. Napoleonic in appearance, blunt in manner, forceful in his aggressiveness, indefatigable in planning a campaign, his influence is considerable in the democratic or advanced party. In his Civil Marriage policy and in his support of a bill to codify Hindu Law, he is in conflict with the more orthodox elements of the House.

At times adverse criticism has been hurled at the House. The Members are accused of being too introspective—too self-centred. They forget to be imperial. Patriotism occasionally becomes parochial and policy provincial. Even transferred subjects are not immune from discussion.

But if the House fails, it will not be by a conflict with the provinces. It will be because it is not sufficiently self-centred. It has forgotten to dominate the proletariat. It is permitting the growth of a rival force. Whilst it thrashes the Government, it leaves Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafat party severely alone. It has neglected the advice of the poet—

"To thine own self be true

And it must follow as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Should a Round Table Conference take place, it is only natural to suppose that Mr. Gandhi will insist upon the dissolution of an assembly of lawyers and businessmen which, according to him, is not representative, which is only spasmodically in sympathy with his cult of the Veda and the Oharka.

# POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

BY

MR. B. R. KUMAR, B. A. (OXON)

**T**HE birth of the Democratic Party is a welcome sign of the recognition by some members of the Assembly of the supreme value of political parties in a popular form of Government on which the country is entering to-day. Every form of Government must necessarily have a motive force. In a Monarchy this force is the personal will of the Monarch; in an Aristocracy it is the will of a faction; in a Democracy it is the will of the majority of the voters. But the vast number of voters in the modern State cannot directly express their will; They must have a smaller intermediary body. And such a body is provided by the organisation of the party system. One might even affirm, that, as the very fundamental principles of a Monarchy or an Aristocracy preclude the existence of parties, so popular Government, by its very nature, pre-supposes their existence in however rudimentary a form in the beginning. In a personal form of Government, there can be no toleration or recognition of differences of opinion in politics. So long as "L'état, c'est moi", there can be no place for parties. But popular Government by making the Government impersonal, and basing it on the support of the masses of the citizens, scattered over a vast country—as is the case to-day—necessitates the existence of parties to interpret, guide and give effect to the will of the political sovereign.

Thus, the party system is the result of the same causes that gave birth to Representative Institutions, and the two go hand in hand. In ancient Athens where the voters all met to frame their laws and chose their rulers—who were merely the agents to carry out the will of the citizens embodied in the laws—there never existed any parties. But as soon as Representative Institutions begin to flourish in the

West, parties also make their appearance, and the more popular the Government becomes, the stronger also becomes the strength and organisation of parties. The more extensive the suffrage, the greater the interest taken by the voters in political questions, greater also became the need for an agency to control and guide his vote. Without some such agency, which at once guides and carries out the will of the voter, it is impossible to conceive of Representative Government. The very impossibility of all the citizens being able to use their powers directly, must be a sufficient justification for the existence of an agent to whom these powers may be delegated in trust.

In words memorable for all time, Burke has given the definition of party as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all united." This indeed is a high ideal, and at once distinguishes party from faction. The fact that personal and selfish interests may, and do, perhaps, enter into the formation of parties, does not detract from this ideal.

Men who sincerely believe in their politics, must inevitably take the best means to reduce them to practice. Hence they must form connections with others who think alike, in order that, by their joint efforts, they might get control of the machinery of Government and thus put their principles into practice.

The *raison d'être* of a party—its function to act as a vehicle through which the voters may express their wishes—is perhaps its most important function. As such, the party which forms the majority in the Legislature, controls the executive machinery through its committee—the Cabinet—and can thus reduce its principles to practice. And the more perfect the vehicle, the more will it respond to the permanent wishes of the voters,

It was Rousseau, who made the acute remark that the people of England think they are free, but they are really slaves; they are free only at the time of the general election. This was true of England at that time, because the voters had little control over their representatives, once they had elected them. But with the growth of political consciousness among the masses, no party to-day would dare to turn a deaf ear to the behests of its voters.

But, besides this natural function of a party, it being a living organism, it has come, in the course of time, to attend to other functions which at one time were left unattended or left to private agency. Perhaps the most important of these functions have been the two of "promotion by argument of their principles, and the carrying of elections." Both these functions go hand in hand. Each party realising the value of capturing every possible vote, endeavours to bring within its own ranks the largest number of voters. A vigorous programme of political propaganda is carried on among the voters, especially at the time of elections. Each party issues its party programme, both the press and the platform are fully utilised to capture the votes of the largest number of voters. The political education which is thus diffused among the masses of the voters, is the most valuable asset of the electioneering propaganda, and may well excuse some of its evils. As Viscount Bryce points out in "Modern Democracies", "party strife is a sort of education, for those willing to receive instruction, and something soaks through even to the less interested or thoughtful electors. The parties keep a nation's mind alive, as the rise and fall of the sweeping tide freshens the water of long ocean inlets".

The task of carrying on elections involves the choice of candidates, and funds to defray their expenses. With the increasingly bigger size of

constituencies, and the greater interest which voters take in politics, the election of an Independent will become more and more difficult.

The birth of the Democratic Party in India, therefore, is none too soon. One of the most disastrous results of the Non-Co-operation movement has been the check which it has given to the formation and growth of political parties in the Councils. The solidarity and the strength of the old and real Congress party, which might have swamped the Councils, captured the positions of Ministers, and, thus entrenched, fought hard for securing further rights, were impaired when many prominent members kept away from the Councils. Those who did enter the Councils were further hampered in all their attempts at reforms by the destructive activities of the Non-Co-operators. Faced with the prospects of anarchy on the one hand and a Government pledged to full responsible Government on the other, it is no wonder that, for the time being, ideas of fighting for further rights have to be put somewhat in the background, and all energy utilised to save the very fabric of the State.

Further, no party can have any strength or life unless it has the support of an appreciable number of voters. The members of the Councils realise the weakness of their position in this direction. They cannot press their demands on the Government because, as a member of the Government told the Council in Bengal, "the Honourable Members represent nobody but themselves." It is a most tragic fact that the enthusiasm which ought to have been behind the Council Members is running amok in destructive channels.

There is another reason for heartily welcoming the advent of the Democratic Party. The fact has to be grasped early enough that the next general election which will take place at the end of 1923 will call for vigorous work in the various constituencies in the country on a magnitude

hitherto undreamt of, and for a considerable time preceding it. In this respect the Non-Co-operators who, with whatever motive, have been very active in the work of influencing the masses, have so far as entry into the Councils is concerned, a very considerable advantage over those who now occupy them. Signs are already manifest that amongst the leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement, there are many who regard the boycott of the Councils as a political blunder of the first magnitude. "It may be taken as a practical certainty, that Mr. Gandhi's views regarding the futility of Councils, either from a moral or a political standpoint will not supervene at the time of the next election. There, of course, remains the question which no amount of foresight can help to solve, whether Non-Co-operation will be a living force two years hence, or whether the gulf between the Co-opera-

tors and the Non-Co-operators which gapes so large at present will have been completely closed. But assuming that present tendencies in politics will continue to play their part, either in an aggravated or diminished form, it becomes plain that those who would enter the Councils next time should begin now to marshal their forces. Without entering into a detailed criticism of the programme of the Democratic Party, it may be said that the mere formation of the party is a step in the right direction. Whether it makes itself felt in the decisions of the Assembly or not, will depend entirely on the inherent soundness of its programme and the amount of party loyalty and discipline displayed by the members. But at all events if it would compel the creation of a rival party, and thus bring into play the forces which now lie rather dormant, the existence of the Democratic party would have had sufficient justification.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION: A STUDY

BY MR. G. PRASAD, M. A., L. L. B.

**I**N SPITE of the repeated assurances of the Mahatmaji, the millenium seems yet far off. The promised *Swaraj* "allures from far but, as one follows, flies." The boycott of schools and colleges had, so far, little effect, and the *Charkha* has failed to paralyse the Government or even to adequately supply the needs of the country. People who have left off practice are very few indeed, while those who have resigned Government service could be counted on little finger. Again, civil disobedience spells to all thinking men nothing but ruin and anarchy. Gandhism has in some quarters been supposed to be a synonym for Bolshevism, and the destructive and devastating programme of Mahatma Gandhi has caught the country like wild fire, with results that could be better imagined than described.

The real trouble, at present, as any one can see, is the economic. The lull after the storm of the gigantic war is having its terrible effect, and the masses have begun feeling the pinch of the

reaction. At this psychological moment, anything that promises "*Ram raj*" is bound to capture the imagination and enlist the sympathies of the people, even though temporarily. In a country, where people have not yet learnt to stand on their own legs, and where bare necessities of the family and household have yet to be supplied from foreign countries, the talk of '*Swaraj*' in the near future, is a mere misnomer and moonshine. It is, unfortunately, a truism that even such small things, as bootlaces, matches, buttons, kerosene oil, glassware, umbrella, and so forth, are all brought in from outside. The question, therefore, naturally arises. "Is the country self-supporting? If not, what efforts are being made in this direction." If people instead of going to jails were to fill the industrial or commercial houses, what a gain it would be to the country.

Some people suggest that the Mahatmaji has found out a solution by cutting down one's necessities to "the irreducible minimum".

I wish him all success in his *Khaddar* propaganda, with which no sane man can have any dispute but the fear is that accustomed as the people are to the so called advanced form of civilisation and to "high living", they may not revert to it again as soon as the novelty of the thing has worn off. Then again, there is the question of competition in an open market, and the purchaser naturally first looks to his purse. If every one could be provided and remain satisfied with just a few bighas of land to maintain his livelihood, with a *Charkah* to supply him with necessary clothes and to work out his own salvation, that would really be a way out; but this is not only impracticable, but highly impossible. Much as we may talk of it, the civilisation at the dawn of history cannot be brought back now; and any attempt to open the "Future's Portal" with the past's blood-rusty key "is likely to prove futile."

The country is still steeped in ignorance. Education has got to be brought to the very doors of the people and more attention paid to the industrial training of our youths, than has hitherto been done. The latest improved methods in agriculture, industries, electrical and mechanical engineering should be taught far and wide; and some of our youths might profitably take to the study of ship building and wireless telegraphy.

The question of supplying people with good milk and ghee as the bare nourishments of life deserves careful consideration and demands better organisation as well as the utilisation of all waste lands in the country as grazing pastures. It would not be a bad idea if companies are floated and things run on more business-like principles.

Above all, what we want for the uplift of our motherland are sound organisations in all departments of activities. Even in the realm of politics and fiscal matters, things have to be better organised. If Non-Co-operators have loved their country "not wisely but too well," others have thought it proper to rest on their oars,

and look on with callous indifference in the meanwhile. The necessity is that every political party should have a regular office and a duly constituted establishment to work out its own principles and policy more consistently, vehemently and unitedly. As long as that is not done, things will take their own course and no real progress could be achieved.

This costly administration, with its wooden and inelastic rules, coupled with the vagaries of the "sun dried Bureaucrats," has rightly alienated the sympathies of a number of people. Heavy expenses, launched in the name of efficiency, could be curtailed and a judicious retrenchment could very well be experimented upon. The members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures, have not so far been able to achieve much, in spite of a non-official majority. While some have played into the hands of the government, others have been too good to understand their own business; some appear "to be friends of all countries excepting their own," and only a limited few had been crying themselves hoarse, in the vast wilderness. Here, again, a better concentration of energies is called for and certainly a more efficient organisation.

It is high time that we took stock of all our assets and liabilities. It is no use mincing matters any longer. We should see clearly where we are, what forces in the country are working together and how could they be better utilised or diverted into proper channels? A number of people, including hermits, sanyasis and beggars, are lying idle and their services could be better utilised in the cause of the country. Let us sink all differences and strain every nerve to do our best in the common cause of the motherland, working sincerely and unitedly, with a solemn vow to contribute our humble quota individually to the upbuilding of India that is to be,—instead of frittering our energies in mere destructive criticisms, or indulging in mere sickly sentimentalism.



# LABOUR : THEN AND NOW

BY

MR. U. K. DORAISWAMI PILLAI, B.A., L.T.

**A** FEW years ago, the Government of India looked askance at any expression of official sympathy for Indian labour, whose guardians they now find themselves, as a result of the programme of the League of the Nations, of which India is an original member. In 1906, when a deputation of Lancashire textile workers waited upon Mr. (now Lord) Morley, pressing for reforms on behalf of their fellow-workmen in India, the Secretary of State was plainly vexed over the question and wrote :

Looking through Government papers, I find that Cross and Gorst, who were in the office some years ago, rather murmured at the coolness of the Government of India of that day in respect of the regulation of labour.....I am anxious not to irritate the Bombay employers ("Recollections")

Compare this record with what Lord Chelmsford said on the same question, addressing the Imperial Legislative Council on the 20th of August, 1920 :

I would earnestly impress upon employers the necessity for sympathetic consideration of the demands of labour.....This is a claim that must be taken seriously. . . . .

It is not to be denied that Indian labour has been, to some extent, benefitted by the internationalisation of all questions affecting labour, as a direct result of the terms of the Peace Treaty. The conferences that met in 1919 at Washington and in 1920 at Genoa, wherein Indian representatives were present for the first time, enabled them to study labour problems arising all over the world, besides enabling labour leaders of the West to realise the peculiar conditions obtaining in India, and arousing sympathetic interest in them.

Both at the Washington conference "and in the subsequent communications with the International Labour Office, the Government of India found itself handicapped by the inadequacy of

available information regarding labour in India. Since India is an original member of the League of Nations and has assumed certain responsibilities *vis a vis* the League in regard to labour, the possession of the necessary information is a matter of considerable moment. As a first step towards this, a Labour Bureau has been created, which collects information, keeps in touch with similar organisations in other countries, and systematically gathers statistics regarding strikes, lock outs, wages and cost of living" (Prof. Rushbrook Williams, in "India in 1920.")

But surely, the Government's duty towards Indian labour does not end with the mere collection of figures. The recent appointment in Bombay of Dr. Findlay Shirras as the head of the Bombay Labour Bureau only points to this direction, and the Government have definitely stated that the department does not intend to arbitrate in industrial disputes, but will step in only when both the parties desire intervention. Labour would not be benefitted by such a measure and the high salaries paid to the officials employed to collect information would be a mere waste.

In the last few years a large number of labour unions have been established in our country, but they can scarcely be said to have done anything to ameliorate labour conditions. The one necessary attribute of a fullfledged trade union organisation, *viz*, the provision of necessary funds to meet unemployment, is still an absent item in the various unions now in existence. Leadership obtained from outside the rank of labour must give place to workmen-leaders, if the labourers are to recognise sufficiently the responsibility and the dignity of their undertakings. Besides, leaders who are not workmen themselves, cannot always be expected to work disinterestedly and are

often apt to create suspicion and mistrust, which would eventually tend to poison the healthy growth of the organisations. This statement is practically corroborated by a number of workmen, whom the writer enquired in a busy mill centre, where he resides.

Another obstacle to the healthy growth of trade unionism in India is that the majority of labour is still confined to agriculture, where the conditions are quite different from those prevailing in the tea or coffee plantations. Agricultural labour is still bound down by traditional bondage to employers, who have not shown themselves over-anxious to enquire into labour conditions, or to raise the wages of their employers to meet the high level of prices now prevailing in the country. Consequently, a large number of such

labourers are deserting agriculture to seek work in factories or mills, attracted by the high wages there. This tendency, if allowed to continue unchecked, would ultimately ruin the cause of agriculture. Mr. Joshi, one of the representatives of India at the last session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva, spoke at length on the difficulty of regulating agricultural labour in India. Nevertheless a remedy must be found, sooner or later. The regulations of the Conference in regard to hours of work, child labour, housing etc, may not be immediately applicable to Indian agricultural labour, but still, an immediate provision fixing the minimum wage for agricultural labour would tend to retain the amount of labour necessary to protect cultivation, without effecting hardship to manufactures.

## A Dark Chapter in Indian Journalism

By WAYNE GARD, A. B.

*India Correspondent for the Associated Press, (New York.)*

ON December 29, 1921, the weekly *Springfield Republican*, one of the most influential newspapers in America, printed a report in which it was stated that British residents of interior towns in India were engaged in a general exodus to the sea-coast and fortified cities in fear of a revolution which had been called for December 26. The entire article was without the least basis of fact.

This report was dated from Washington, December 21, and was given out by the American Commission to promote Self-government in India. It appeared under the head, "British Flee from Hindu Rebels. General Exodus from Interior to Coast Cities and Fortified Towns." Copies which are now being circulated among Americans in India read as follows :

British residents of interior towns in India are engaged in a general exodus to sea-coast and fortified towns in fear of the revolution which Indian Nationalist leaders have called for December 26, according to dispatches made public here to-day by the American Commission to promote Self-government in India.

The exodus was said to apply particularly to Punjab and Bengal, where the most of the disorders of 1919 took place.

Sailendra N. Ghose, National Director of the Commission, estimated there were 15,000 Americans in India, mostly missionaries and commercial travellers, and about 300,000 British and 60,000 other Europeans.

Americans and non-combatant Europeans have nothing to fear," said Ghose. "They will be protected in so far as is humanly possible by National troops. British officials, however, will be seized as hostages after December 26 to guarantee the safety of thousands of Nationalists, who have been imprisoned by British authorities during the last few weeks."

What is the result of such false propaganda on the part of Indians in America? American newspapers and press associations have been flooded with letters from Americans in India, copies of this article, with clear statements of its falsity. These letters were written partly to allay the anxiety of friends and partly to correct any misconception of the Indian political situation which might have arisen as a result of the propaganda sent out from the Indian Commission at Washington. In many cases these have been written at the suggestion of government officials or missionary authorities. As a consequence, any news that is now sent out by the American Commission to promote Self-government in India is almost entirely discredited.

Can Americans be expected to sympathise to any extent with a movement whose representatives lower themselves to such falsity?

# THE KHADDAR MOVEMENT

By MR. SURRENDRO MOHAN DATTATRYA.

**T**HE arguments in favour of Khaddar are not only economic but social, moral and political as well. I shall mention only some of them. Firstly, it is held that the only 'practicable way in which the Indian manufacturer can capture the home market is through the Indian consumer totally abstaining from the use of foreign cloth for some time. Secondly, the promotion of Khaddar manufacture—a cottage industry—as against the factory industry of the mills is desirable as it will preclude the indecencies and sordid conditions of Western industrialism from being enacted on the stage of Indian economic life. Thirdly, the creation of a market for Khaddar in our towns and cities may, in practice, prove to be a potent force in uniting villagers and townspeople and in bringing them together under the common-standard of Swarajists. Fourthly, Khaddar will serve as a mark of all-round national solidarity and as a method of national self-expression. Fifthly, the use of Khaddar universally by Indian consumers may be expected to imbue the Indian mind with an idea of equality among all Indians as Indians, and suffuse the life of Indians with a quantity of Puritan simplicity, a necessary ingredient of all real patriotism. Sixthly, Khaddar may be trusted to successfully tackle the problems of unemployment, supplementary occupation, and poverty in India.

It may thus be seen that there is an overwhelmingly strong case in favour of Khaddar. It has, however, been said that Khaddar and other Indian textiles can go hand in hand with imported fabrics, but not to the exclusion of the latter; it being alleged that there is no competition between foreign goods and goods made out of Indian cotton because of difference of quality between the two. This is a specious argument. As various qualities of apparel cloth tend to serve the same essential pur-

poses and can substitute each other, increase in the use of a certain quality almost proportionately reduces the demand for cloth of other qualities. Diminution in the imports of foreign cloth must, therefore, react on the home produce of cloth and swell it. Secondly, it is pointed out that, if resort is had solely to the hand-made Khaddar, and foreign supplies and mill production in India are stopped, there will be felt great hardship by the consumers who will not be able to get for a long time sufficient cloth to meet even their most urgent demands. To this it may be said that the hardship is a figment of the imagination, at least something highly exaggerated. There is doubtless being felt some difficulty about getting supplies, but this is because of the stage of industrial transition that we are passing through and not because the movement is taking anybody by storm or running at a breathless speed. The economic law of demand and supply is as certain as death and its operation will soon enough augment supplies to square up the growing demand. Thirdly, it is feared that, in the absence of foreign cloth in the Indian market, Indian manufacturers will become profiteers. To this the same may be said as in the case of the last argument. Profiteering can only be a temporary phase. The law of supply and demand is never idle; no sooner the evil of profiteering rears its head than it will be repressed and weeded out by competition among manufacturers. Fourthly, it may be held that, if the manufacture of varieties of cloth other than Khaddar is enormously diminished or given up altogether, the skill of the manufacturers of better quality cloth will fall into disuse and be ultimately lost to the nation. This, too, is a specious argument. The skill of the Indian weavers conserved through the centuries cannot evaporate in a few years. As soon as the art of weaving ordinary cloth has been resuscitated and begins to be pursued widely enough to satisfy the

daily growing demand for the hand-spun and hand-woven cloth of purely indigenous manufacture, the Indian weaver may be trusted to impart to this produce the finer touches of textile art which he knows of. Fifthly, it may be said that, if the import of foreign cloth—an important item in India's import trade is completely stopped or remarkably curtailed, India's export trade will suffer, more or less, as a consequence. It is clear that, when import of cloth is stopped or reduced and cloth comes to be manufactured locally, the reason for the export of raw cotton would be gone ; and in the face of the local demand it will be to India's own interest not to export cotton. To restore the balance between exports and imports she can replenish her imports by importing various kinds of machines and their accessories, etc., things which can be utilised for industrial development. But supposing that exports remain in excess of imports, the exports may be curtailed further which will only mean that the country is depleted of its grain resources or raw materials so much less. This will be to India's advantage. Food will be cheapened here, and the abundance of raw materials will stimulate industry.

The supporters of the movement need not hide from them the fact that in some quarters the movement has called forth keen opposition, and in some, only lukewarm and qualified support. Two examples may be given here, one of each kind, to represent these two views. The first view has been taken by an obscure Indian State of no importance and expressed in the form of the imposition of a threefold duty on Khaddar ; first, while it is spun ; second, while it is woven ; and, third, while it is exported. I think the levy has been imposed not because the industry has been found to be unusually prosperous in that State, not that the ruler holds its product injurious to the physical or moral health of consumers, but because he wants to gain, if

possible, some political laurels from his British masters. The second view favours Khaddar, but in a qualified manner. It should be welcomed as it comes from rather unexpected quarters. It was expressed by India's tried son, Sir Sankaran Nair, when he said, at a meeting held in London last November, that he had no objection to the multiplication of Charkhas and spinning-wheels, provided there was no attempt to deprive the poorer classes of cloth which might be got from elsewhere.

Before concluding, let me indicate the position which women occupy in relation to this movement. Much depends on them to make it the success it deserves to be. Spinning and weaving are occupations in which women have always and everywhere evinced a great interest. Two instances will suffice. Silk is one of the chief national industries of China. It is said that the wife of one of her emperors was the first spinner and weaver of silk, for which she is annually worshipped on a certain day in the ninth month. What silk means to China, wool means to England. We read that the mother of Alfred the Great was skilful in the spinning of wool, and instructed her daughters therein. At later periods the art of spinning wool was considered in England part of a good education : and the term *spinster*, as applied to unmarried females, indicated the nature of their principal occupation. Cotton occupies the same pre-eminent position in the Indian textile industry which silk occupies in China and wool in England. What the Empress of China did for the Chinese national industry of silk, what the mother of Alfred the Great and her daughters did for the English woollen industry, the women of India can surely do for the Indian cotton industry. Nations have in the past got Swaraj at the point of the sword. Mahatma Gandhi says we are going to have it at the point of the spindle. Let men and women try to get it through this bloodless means. But we can succeed only

“ When the good wife's shuttle merrily  
Goes flashing through the loom.”

# HIS HOLINESS POPE BENEDICT XV

BY REV. P. THOMAS.

**T**HE death of Pope Benedict XV deprives not only Catholics of every race and country but the whole civilised world of one of the greatest churchmen and one of the most brilliant statesmen of modern times. Though his pontificate lasted for a brief period of a little over seven years, it has been packed with notable events both for the Catholic Church and the outside world. An intense wave of nationalism has swept over the face of the globe and the history of nations never witnessed such antagonism and strife among various races and classes of people. By his admirable tact and judgment, rare administrative abilities and the habit of diplomatic



POPE BENEDICT XV.

style, Benedict XV dealt ably with all these problems and endeavoured to promote harmony and concord among all.

James della Chiesa was born at Genoa of an aristocratic Italian family of ancient origin on

the 21st of November 1854, and was ordained priest in December 1878. He entered soon after the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, the school of future diplomats of the Church. After a successful course at the Academy, he was appointed Secretary to Mgr. Rampolla, the Papal Nuncio at Madrid. When four years later Rampolla was appointed Cardinal Secretary of State, he accompanied his master to Rome. In 1907 Mgr. Della Chiesa was appointed Archbishop of Bologna and on the 25th of May 1914 he was made Cardinal and about three months afterwards, at the Conclave held after the death of Pius X, he was chosen to fill the chair of St. Peter.

He assumed office at a particularly trying and difficult period. His Catholic subjects were in opposing camps and the gruesome spectacle of the slaughter of thousands of his children filled his fatherly heart with sorrow and anguish. Benedict XV, immediately after he became Pope, urged the rulers of the world to cease this wild carnage and to forget their differences for the sake of the salvation of human society. Failing in his noble efforts for peace, he endeavoured to mitigate the horrors of war and bring solace and comfort to the wounded and stricken and to feed and clothe the starving and the needy, without any distinction of race or creed. There was one ideal, the ideal of Christian charity which lay at the root of Pope Benedict's activities, as universal benefactor.

He advocated peace by negotiation again and again and declared emphatically that it was not the weapon of brute force which would bring about peace but exchange of ideas in a spirit of conciliation and mutual goodwill. In the movement for the limitation of armaments, it was His Holiness Pope Benedict, who took the initiative. In a note addressed to the belligerent nations on the 1st of August, 1917, he laid before them concrete proposals on which a just and lasting peace

with honour to all parties could be concluded. He urged them to agree on fundamental principles to terminate the war and bring about "the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments" and thus paved the way for the Washington Conference. The Pope was firmly convinced that only disarmament based on principles of justice would ensure a durable peace.

It was by his work on behalf of the prisoners of war and of the missing that the extent of his humane labours was made known to the world. In December 1914, the Pope established at the Secretariat of State a bureau of information, to trace out the prisoners of war, many of whom were not known to be dead or alive. Thousands of soldiers whom official inquiries could not get into touch with were found out by the agents of His Holiness and put into communication with their families. It was through his merciful intervention that the son of the Rajah of Cochin was released from Germany. He entered into negotiations with the various powers on the subject of exchange of prisoners and repatriation of a certain category of civilians and prisoners of war. His humanitarian work on behalf of millions of mobilised soldiers of every country and nationality was recognised on all hands. Eulogising his work in this respect in the British Parliament on the 14th of February, 1918, Lord Robert Cecil declared :—

"There are many occasions on which the Pope has interfered in connection with the war and and interfered most benevolently and in a way which has earned the gratitude of every person in this country."

The Pope's intense sympathy and solicitude for the poor and suffering were shown in a practical form in the handsome gifts and donations he sent to the starving and the needy. The hands of the Holy Father stretched out magnanimously in answer to the countless appeals that poured on him from every quarter of Europe during the course of nearly five disastrous years. The starving and

suffering children of Belgium, Poland and laterly of the Central Powers were objects of his tender solicitude and he spared neither time nor money to come to their relief. Besides helping wretched and ruined people, he was ever willing to aid impoverished churches and religious institutions. The Catholics of India will ever remember with profound feelings of gratitude the Pope's princely donation of 125,000 lire for their national ecclesiastical college, the Papal Seminary, Kandy. During the dreadful years of the war, the work of Benedict XV shone as a brilliant light, dispensing relief to suffering humanity and leading all nations to the haven of peace and salvation. In recognition of his philanthropic work and invaluable services to the afflicted, even the Turks erected a statue in his honour in their capital city, Constantinople.

During the Pontificate of Benedict XV, the Papacy attained the highest stage of influence in European affairs. The voice of Rome commanded a respect and attention, unknown and unheard of since the Reformation. The European Governments recognised in him a potentate who could claim to speak with an international voice, owning as he did the allegiance of millions of people of every country and nation. Recognising the Papacy as the mightiest moral power in the world, they sought diplomatic relations with it. Never was the Holy See surrounded by such an influential and numerous diplomatic corps, nor were there ever so many representatives of the Holy Father at the seats of secular Governments. Thirty-one powers all over the civilised world, including England, Russia, Holland and Germany, have opened diplomatic relations with the Pope. And France, which, about sixteen years ago under the Premiership of Briand, severed its relations with the Holy See, has restored them when Briand came once more into power. This wide recognition of the spiritual authority of the Papacy was one of the most brilliant triumphs of Benedict XV. His loss to-day, when his high wisdom and unrivalled influence might have been of immense value for the solutions of world problems, is irreparable.

# THE CURRENCY QUESTION

By MR. J. A. WADIA.

I look upon the Currency Question as far more important than the fiscal or any other question. Our financial policy since 1893, the year in which the Mints were closed, I attribute to a mistaken handling of India's Currency, and to my mind it has materially affected the economic condition of the country. In 1873 with open Mints and exchange at 23d. to the rupee, the index number of retail food grain prices in India stood at 100; in 1894 with exchange at 13d. to the rupee, it stood at 114; in 1914 with exchange at 16d. to the rupee, the index number stood at 222. It is said that prices rose throughout the world. That is true, but how far and to what extent may be gathered from the index numbers of gold prices which I give below against ours. I give you a few figures which may be interesting for purposes of comparison.

## POPULATION OF INDIA.

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Millions...	253.79	287.18	294.36	315.13	319.08

The increase of population between 1901 and 1911 is given at 7.1 per cent. as compared with 2.5 and 13.2 per cent. in the two preceding periods. We must remember the terrible famines of 1897 and 1899, but even then the population showed an increase of 2.5 per cent., but the census of 1921 shows a rise of only a decimal over 1 per cent., yet during the last decade we have had no such terrible famines as of 1897 and 1899. Such have been the blessings of fixity of exchange, and high prices of commodities with the inevitable results of starvation, disease and death.

Food Grain retail prices in India.	Statist. England.	Rupees in circulation.	Currency Notes in circulation.
1893... 100	111		
1894... 114	63	120 crores.	28 crores.
1900... 192 famine	75	130 do.	22 do.
1904... 117	70	144 do.	28 do.
1910... 168	78	186 do.	40 do.
1911... 161	80	184 do.	40 do.
1912... 189	85	182 do.	44 do.
1913... 199	85	191 do.	47 do.
1914... 222	85	187 do.	50 do.
1915... 218	108	204 crores	44 crores
1916... 201	138	212 do.	53 do.

Food Grain retail prices in India.	Statist. England.	Rupees in circulation.	Currency Notes in circulation.
1917... 202	175	227 do.	67 do.
1918... 270	192	219 do.	84 do.
1919... 389	206	228 do.	134 do.
1920... 358	251	260 do.	154 do.
1921... 410 Nov.	136 Nov. 133 Dec.	{ 262 do.	172 do.

The Indian Government, after closing the Mints in 1893, commenced to coin rupees furiously and about 17 crores were coined in 1901 and the highest coinage was in 1919 when India coined 51.50 crores of rupees. You will see from the above figures what effect the volume of currency had on prices. Between 1894 and 1914 food grain prices in India rose from 114 to 222, English prices rose from 63 to 85. This rise in India handicaps our labour against English labour where the rise was much smaller and if you handicap Indian labour artificially, you also handicap Indian industries which have got to compete against highly organised British, American and other Western industries. But this handicap took place in peace times; but look at our present labour and industrial position which is still worse? English prices have fallen from 251 in 1920 to 133 in 1921. Contrast these figures with those of India which rose from 358 in 1920 to 410 to-day. The American figures are still more favourable, as per the *Statist* of the 14th January, 1922. Taking 100 for 1913 for England and the United States, the following figures are interesting:—

	United Kingdom.	United States.
1913	100	100
1914	100	65
1915	127	107
1916	160	128
1917	265	170
1918	242	202
1920	295	197
1921	160 Nov.	122

I cannot conceive of any Government with an atom of sense or any commercial, banking or legislative body inflicting on our millions such hard-

ships, such losses, such financial and commercial catastrophes in the name of a blessed fixity which is declared merely to be a convenience. It has upset municipal, provincial, and imperial budgets, it has caused losses to the working of railways owing to the high cost of labour which means a tax on commerce and industry. It is leading all over the country to labour confusion and labour strikes which are bound to affect all industries. It has aggravated, to a large extent, political discontent amongst all classes. And all for what? A mere convenience. The Government, in its misguided pursuit of fixity, lost the other day something like 35 crores of rupees in ten months' time, and it was declared by the Finance Minister that India's small remaining resources are not to be frittered away any more in a premature attempt at fixity, which is no doubt proper and sensible. But to my mind, fixity is a phantom. A gold standard without a gold currency was declared by Lord Rothschild to be a delusion and a snare. Our Gold Standard at 16d. to the rupee was a failure and a fraud; although apparently India maintained the exchange value of the rupee at 16d, the figures quoted of food grain prices show great instability of the rupee after the closing of the Mints.

To my mind the restoration of the purchasing

power of the rupee is of vital interest not only to Government but to labour and industry. It is the question before the country before which everything fails. If India goes in for protection, what is its value if what is given on the one hand is taken away on the other? What is the value to industry of an import duty of 20 per cent. if, through the medium of exchange and currency, you penalise the industry by a hundred per cent.? How could labour and capital be advantageously employed in the advancement and development of industries when they are indirectly so severely handicapped? The remedy, if applied immediately, is a simple one. It may be said that, as the exchange is no longer controlled, it has practically the same effect as opening of the mints. I do not think so. Our currency is inflated and so are prices. With an open mint superfluous rupees which are not required for currency will go into the melting pot. The rupee will become automatic and it will have a sobering influence on prices. Nobody to-day will put rupees 100 into the melting pot to get Rs. 90 in the open market. I consider this question of so much importance to labour and industry that I have ventured to place my views before the Committee. *From a Memorandum submitted to the Fiscal Commission.*

## THE GAME OF DICE IN THE JATAKAS

BY PROF. SHIBNATH BASU.

THE word *pasaka* frequently occurs in the Jatakas and it seems probable that dicing was one of the principal amusements of the great men of the times. Though it is rather difficult to draw a complete picture of the mode of the play, it is yet possible to have an idea, however partial or distorted it may be, of the game as it existed in early times.

The material of which the dice was made seems to have been gold, though it is just possible that

baser metals were used by persons of humble means. Thus in the *Andhabhuta Jataka* we read "Now he used to play at dice with his chaplain, and, as he flung the golden dice upon the silver table, he would sing this catch for a luck." (Rouse, vol. I, p. 151). Again we read in the *Vidhurapandita Jataka* "Then the king attended by a hundred kings took

(1) J. I, No. 62.

(2) J. VI. No. 545.



Punnaka and went into the gaming-hall, and they all sat down on suitable seats, and placed the *golden dice* on the silver board." (Rouse, Vol. 6 p. 437). Dice made of Vibhidaka nuts which are alluded to in the Rig Veda<sup>1</sup> and Atharva Veda<sup>2</sup> are not specified nor is there any trace of the later use of cowries as dice<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE METHOD OF PLAY

There seems to have been twenty-four different kinds of throws. The players chose the throws they pleased and then the play was begun by him on whom the first throw fell. The Vidhurapandita Jataka<sup>4</sup> gives us a very fine description of the game. After the spectators had taken their respective seats in the gaming hall, Punnaka addressing the King said:

"O King, there are *twenty four throws* in playing with dice, they are called *malika, savala, bahula, santi, bhadra*, etc.; choose thou whichever pleases thee." The King assented and chose the *bahula*. Punnaka chose that called *savala*. Then the King said, "O youth, do thou play the dice first." "O King, the first throw does not fall to me, do thou play." The King consented. (Rouse Vol. VI page 137.)

Of the twenty four different kinds of throws only the names of five are mentioned viz., *malika, savala, bahula, santi* and *chadra*, terms which are altogether obscure. The details are wanting and there isn't a single reference from which we can exactly determine the number of dice used. The nature of the throws also is altogether obscure and no dice-box seems to have been used. The throws were generally accompanied by a song supposed to bring luck to the thrower. The Andhabhuta Jataka<sup>5</sup> states that Brahmadata, the king of Benares, when playing dice with his chaplain, would sing this catch for luck:

'Tis nature's law that rivers wind;  
Trees grow of wood by law of kind;  
And, given opportunity,  
All women work iniquity.

(Rouse Vol I, page 151.)

The Vidhurapandita Jataka already referred to states:

The king remembering the goddess sang the song of play and turned the dice in his hand and threw them up into the air. (Rouse VI p. 137).

Rich men and grandees used to have a gaming room suitably adorned and provided with seats for the lookers-on. From the Vidhurapandita

Jataka<sup>1</sup> we learn that, before the play began, orders were given to get the gaming room ready. Thus:

So the king gave orders to his ministers and they quickly got the hall ready and prepared a carpet of the finest fibre cloth for the king and seats for the other kings and having appointed a suitable seat for Punnaka, they told the king that the time was come. (Rouse Vol. VI pp. 136, 137.)

A dicing table occasionally referred to as being made of silver appears to have been used on which the dice were thrown. The Andhabhuta Jataka<sup>2</sup> tells us that, when playing at dice with his chaplain, he flung the golden dice upon the silver table. (Rouse Vol I. p. 151). The Litta Jataka<sup>3</sup> states that, after the king had anointed the dice with poison so as to teach a lesson to a sharper who habitually resorted to unfair means in play, he invited the latter to a game and the latter accepting, the dice board was got ready (Rouse, Vol. I. p. 222.) Again in the Kakati Jataka<sup>4</sup> we read:

The minstrel took his lute and going to the gaming board stood before the king and in the form of a song gave utterance to the first stanza (Rouse Vol. III. p. 61).

Cheating at play was not uncommon and we have an instance of a person being punished for this sort of conduct. We are told in the Litta Jataka<sup>5</sup> that the Bodhisatta who was born in a well-to-do family often used to play at dice with a sharper who habitually used to break up the game when luck turned against him, by putting one of the dice in his mouth. When the Bodhisatta discovered the trick, he anointed the dice with poison just to punish the sharper. The latter having repeated his trick, the poison began to work and the result was that he fell senseless to the ground. As the intention of the Bodhisatta was to punish and not to kill the miscreant, he administered to him a medicine and, after he had recovered, told him not to do the same thing again. (Rouse Vol. I, pp. 221, 222) The game often led to violence "Let us conquer by fair dealing and by the absence of violence" (Rouse Vol. VI p. 137). Serious losses could be made at dicing. We learn from the Vidhurapandita Jataka<sup>6</sup> that the king staked all except his body and white umbrella. From the Andhabhuta Jataka<sup>7</sup> we learn that the chaplain was utterly ruined by the king who was an expert at dicing.

(1) VII. 86, 6; X. 34, 1.  
(2) Av. Paipp. XX. 4, 6.  
(3) Sayana, loc. cit., and on Rv. i. 41, 9; Mahidhara or Vajasaney Samhita, X. 28.  
(4) J. VI. No. 545.  
(5) J. I No. 62.  
(6) J. VI No. 545.  
(7) J. I. No. 62.

(1) J. VI No. 545.  
(2) J. I. No. 62.  
(3) J. I. No. 91.  
(4) J. 3. No. 327.  
(5) J. I. No. 91.  
(6) J. VI No. 545.  
(7) J. I. No. 62.

# Bhaú Daji and. Bhagawanlal Indrají

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BY DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

THESE two names together cover a period of more than half a century of active work in the field of Indian Archaeology, and stand out prominently as those of two pioneer Indian scholars in this somewhat novel line of work for Indians. Dr. Bhaú Daji, the elder of the two, came of humble parentage from South Bombay from the confines of Goa and Sawantvadi. After receiving general education in the Maratha Central School and later in the Elphinstone Institution, he entered life as a teacher in the Elphinstone Institution itself. He began soon after to study Sanskrit privately and undertake those tours, for the study of antiquarian remains, which remained through life the holiday that he gave himself from his regular work. The first such journey he undertook with the then Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir. E. Perry. Soon afterwards the Medical College, that is now Grant Medical College, was established. Young Bhaú Daji was one of its pupils and soon he became a favourite with Dr. Morhead and the professors. At the end of his course he became a graduate in medicine and obtained the position of an Assistant Professor in the Grant Medical College itself. He soon gave up this position and set up private practice which in time exceeded all his expectations and put him beyond need, notwithstanding the fact that he dispensed medical advice and even medicines to the poor without remuneration. Having become a medical man with a considerable extent of practice, he found the opportunity to carry on investigations into works on Hindu medicine. Thus, before reaching middle age, he became a man of means with varied interests which enabled him to carry on his investigations covering a vast range of subjects from the treatment for leprosy on the one end to the interpretations of the "cave-numerals" at the other.

In the society of Bombay he came to occupy an acknowledged position comparatively early in his life. He was the first representative of the Elphinstone Institution

and of the Board of Education before the establishment of the University, of which he was one of the Fellows mentioned in the Act of Incorporation. He was the first Indian President of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society and played a prominent part in the social, educational and humanitarian activities of the time. He was a great deal responsible for the establishment of the Bombay Association and the Bombay Branch of the East Indian Association. He was twice Sheriff of Bombay and a Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He became a Member of its Committee of Management in 1859 and five years after, one of its Vice-Presidents, which position he kept till his death. His reputation as an antiquarian was so great that, when Lord Northbrook visited the caves of Ellora, he invited Dr. Bhaú Daji to be his guide.

Dr. Bhaú Daji's work as an antiquarian and scholar extends to every branch of Archaeology. In the field of Sanskrit literature, he tried to estimate the age of the Sanskrit poet Kalidasa and exhibited such a wealth of learning for the time in which he carried on his investigation that all the advance that has since been made only heightens our admiration for his penetrating insight and sound critical acumen. It was he that was responsible for the bringing out of the Jain story of Kalakacharya into connection with the Saka invasions—a problem that remains still unsolved. He first brought to the notice of scholars the succession of pontiffs according to the *Satranjaya* and tried to settle the chronology of the Jain Pattavalis. A great deal of advance has since been made in this subject by other scholars among whom the late Dr. Hoernle deserves prominent mention. He published a note on the 'Age of Hemadri' the famous minister of the Yadava King, Mahadeva, and of his successor whose foreign minister he was. He fixed his age "as at the end of the twelfth and the commencement of the thirteenth century" which remains more or less his age as yet. He wrote short

notes on the Mukundaraja, the old Maratha scholar, Hemachandra, Madhava and Sayana.

A slightly different branch of work, but still coming under the same general head, were the brief notes he contributed on the age and authenticity of the great astronomers of India, Aryabhatta, Varāhamihira, Bhattacharya and Bhaskaracharya.

In the department of Epigraphy Dr. Bhau Daji interpreted the Girnar Inscription of Rudradaman as also the Gupta Inscription on the same rock. By a misreading he called the first the Sah Inscription, which is now known as the Saka Inscription of the famous Saka Satrap Rudradaman. His reading and interpretation of the other inscription has been productive of more important consequences. It was in the course of the reading of this, that he discovered the prevalence of the Gupta Era and inscriptions being dated in this era. He was able to proceed on this and formulate the thesis in regard to Saka, Gupta, and Vallabha eras and dynasties which remains substantially sound in spite of great advances. More remarkable than this is his collection and translation of the Ajanta Inscriptions. His work in this line included also the interpretation of the Jasdan Inscription, a short inscription at Amranath, near Kalyan, some inscriptions from Dharwar and Mysore and the inscription of Prataparudra I at Anamakonda and the inscriptions on the Bhitari Lat and the Kutb Minar.

The most important branch of it all was his interpretation of the numerals in the Cave inscription which have come to be called the "Cave Numerals". But, according to the competent authority of the late Dr. Buhler, the credit of this remarkable achievement ought to be shared by him with Bhagavan Lal Indrajī, his collaborator. Dr. Buhler's remarks are worth quoting in this connection :

"In the interest of truth I cannot suppress the remark that Pandit Bhagavan Lal's name ought to have been mentioned by Bhau Daji in his article on 'the cave numerals.' I have strong reasons for the belief that at least a considerable share of the results at which Dr. Bhau Daji arrived is due to Pandit Bhagavan Lal's industry and ingenuity."

Dr. Bhau Daji's interest did not exclude Numismatics and his works in this line are

embodied in two papers,—'Report on some Hindu coins,' "and the making out of the numerals of the 'Sah' coins." Taking the period of his work in the early stages of Indian archæological research and considering his achievement as a whole, he well deserved the praise of two such scholars as the late Professor Max-Muller who said, "I always look upon Bhau Daji as a man who has done excellent work in his life—and though he has written little, the little he has written is worth thousands of pages written by others"; and Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar who recorded it as his opinion that "No one who wishes to write a paper on the antiquities of the last two thousand years can do so without referring to Dr. Bhau's writing."

Busy man as Dr. Bhau Daji was, he engaged a number of assistants to help him in this self-imposed, but laudable department of his activities. The most conspicuous of his lieutenants was a Gujarati Brahmin, Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indrajī, for whom Dr. Bhau had high regard bordering upon affection, as an incident in the life of both puts beyond doubt. When Dr. Bhau himself was seriously ill in bed, information reached him that this indomitable assistant of his contracted Terai fever in the course of one of his tours to Nepal on behalf of his master. He summoned a European friend to his bed-side and through him conveyed a pressing message to the Resident in Nepal requesting his good offices on behalf of Bhagavan Lal; till information was received from the Resident to say that Bhagavan Lal was well-looked after, Dr. Bhau was restless, and on receipt of the news he showed himself considerably relieved, although he died before Bhagavan Lal returned from this tour to Nepal. This clearly indicates the affection of Dr. Bhau Daji to Bhagavan Lal Indrajī.

Bhagavan Lal came of a highly respectable Brahman family of Junagadh and was the younger brother of the head of the Sanskrit school maintained by the Durbar of that State. He had undergone the early Sanskrit education due to his station in life and acquired a fair knowledge of Sanskrit

classical literature. He soon got into an aversion for the traditional Shastraic studies and was attracted by the historical traditions of his native province of which the Girnar mountain is a standing monument. By his own efforts as a boy, he early picked up sufficient knowledge of Indian Palæography to read the edicts of Asoka, the inscriptions of Rudradaman and Skandagupta on the face of the Girnar rock. A little later he made further advances in the study of Palæography and came to the notice of Mr. Kinloch Forbes, through whose good offices he became introduced to Dr. Bhau Daji in 1861. He threw himself into the work of Dr. Bhau Daji whole-heartedly and copied inscriptions and took out transcripts for him sometimes with the assistance of a colleague, often without. These were interpreted by Dr. Bhau Daji and his Pandit, Gopal Pandurang Padhye. On doubtful passages, the inscriptions had to be verified again with the originals, some times new copies had to be made and occasionally new emendations had to be studied on the spot. The travelling work involved in all this and the taking out of transcripts devolved on Pandit Bhagavan Lal, which had sometimes to be repeated in the light of Dr. Bhau Daji's second line of criticism owing to information available from other sources of evidence. All this proved such a good training for young Bhagavan Lal that Dr. Bhau Daji confided to him, all his inscriptional work, namely, the copying of all land grants and the preparation of transcripts of inscriptions all over the country. Bhagavan Lal had to travel, therefore, through Gujerat and Kathiawar, Ujjain, Vidisa, Allahabad, Behar, Sarnath and Nepal. His travels for this purpose embrace the Northern half of the Bombay Presidency, a considerable part of Rajputana and Central India, the Southern half of the United Provinces, the whole of Bihar including Orissa, Nepal and considerable portions of the Punjab and the Frontier Province. He toured through these parts of the country mainly to take copies, mostly ink impressions and paper rubbings of all the more important known inscriptions. He made use of the occasion thus offered for collecting

hundreds of coins and manuscripts. These copies were carefully translated and indexed by him. In the course of this work he picked up a little English and studied Prakrit as well.

When he had done about twelve to thirteen years of this kind of work to Dr. Bhau Daji, the latter died in May, 1874. Owing to the somewhat adverse circumstances of the family Pandit Bhagavan Lal was given possession of the Mss. and transcripts that he had himself collected. Notwithstanding all these advantages together with the training he had had and in spite of the fact that archæological work was just then being organised in Western India by Dr. Burgess, Bhagavan Lal had no opportunity to find employment suitable to his taste and training, as he had not acquired enough English. He had to remain quiet for two years before he could publish a first article to the *Indian Antiquary*, through the good offices of the late Dr. Buhler. His work on the "Cave Numerals" was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1877 and thereafter he was in a better position for work by the access he had acquired to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which elected him an Honorary Member in 1877, since which date his contributions to the journal were many and valuable. His published articles were twenty eight exclusive of the large contributions he made to some volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer and smaller ones to the archæological works published by Sir. A. Cunningham. These contain in them many discoveries of permanent value and his name will remain as that of a most successful student of Indian epigraphy and history.

Apart from his contributions to the study of the 'cave numerals' he is responsible for the discovery of many letters which had never hitherto been recognised. It was to his skill we owe the best facsimiles we have of the Nasik Inscriptions. He discovered a fragment of Asoka's 8th Rock Edict at Sopara on the Konkan Coast. He was the first to take out a copy and interpret the famous Udayagiri Inscription of Kharavela and discover therein a reference to the Mauryan Era. Much work has since been

done upon this famous inscription during the last ten years, though without very substantial advance in point of results beyond of those achieved by Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indrajī, contributed to the International Congress of Orientalists. We are indebted to Pandit Bhagavan Lal for much valuable information regarding the Andhras which he made available to us by his work on the Nana Ghat Inscriptions and in the Andhra coins. He was responsible for twenty one inscriptions bearing on the dynasties of Nepal and for this service Buhler aptly described him as the 'path-finder in the history of Nepal.' His discovery of the Elura Inscription makes a substantial contribution to the history of the Rashtrakutas of the Dekhan. The existence of the once powerful Traikutaka dynasty and of its connection with the Chedi Era and the Haihayas have become possible through the efforts of this untiring scholar. His attempt at explaining the occurrence of the Chedi Era in Gujarat by ascribing its introduction to the Abhira King, Isvaradatta, and his identification of the Abhiras of Gujarat and Nasik, with the Traikutakas and Haihayas of Chedi are illuminating and are being gradually confirmed by further research. At the time of his death he was engaged on a history of Gujerat.

His contributions in other directions were not inconsiderable and he held opinions which were very considerably in advance of

his times such as that 'the religious movements in India did not consist of successive development of what he sometimes called Vedism, Brahmanism and Buddhism.' Even his epigraphical contributions indicate considerable knowledge of ancient geography and make distinct contributions to archaeology. The achievements of this eminent savant received public recognition first of all from the University of Leyden, which, on the recommendation of Prof Kern, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Shortly afterwards the Dutch Oriental Society of Netherlands and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland made him an Honorary Member. He enjoyed the esteem and privilege of many an Orientalist both in India and Europe, the most conspicuous of the latter being E. Senart and G. Buhler.

At the death of Dr. Bhaus Daji, his worldly circumstances were unsatisfactory and notwithstanding generous contributions from the chiefs of Kathiawad and occasional remuneration from Drs. Campbell and Burgess, he died in very straitened circumstances in January 1888 in his forty-ninth year. It must be placed on record to the credit of the great scholar that it was on his death-bed that he, for the first time, complained of his straitened circumstances to the late Dr. Buhler whose friendship he had enjoyed for fourteen years at the time.

## PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE FOR INDIA

[ In this number we give a further instalment of views on Protection and Free Trade culled from the Memoranda of leading witnesses before the Indian Fiscal Commission. *Ed. I.R.* ]

**SIR VITHALDAS D. THACKERSEY**

I favour a policy of Protection. I consider that customs tariff provides a more suitable form of taxation for India than direct taxation. I consider that the existing tariff policy has had a very adverse effect on the development of Indian industries. Unless the tariff is based on the policy of protecting industries, and particularly the nascent ones, it will be impossible in future to develop industries on a large scale.

I think it will be a great mistake to impose excise duties on the articles manufactured in

India simply because an import duty is placed on similar articles.

In my opinion, the tariff should be framed primarily with the object of fostering Indian industries. Under a protective tariff, industries would be developed and would give more employment to the country. I am firmly of opinion that given a chance, India will become in time, independent of other countries in regard to most of her requirements of manufactured goods.

I would favour the imposition of a general protective duty on all imported manufactures.

## MR. M. L. TANNAN

Although from the point of view of mere abstract principles I am inclined toward Free Trade, yet taking into consideration the present economic conditions of the country I favour a well considered policy of Protection. In theory Free Trade will undoubtedly lead to the maximum of production, provided there is perfect fluidity of capital and labour. It is an ideal which is not likely to be realised in the near future. Free Trade policy benefits a country whose industries are well established and which wants large quantities of food stuffs and raw materials in exchange for her manufactured goods. For a country with vast resources and a large population to depend mainly upon the mercies of the monsoon is to court poverty and disease. The chief remedy for the present condition of this country lies in her industrial development. Whereas Protection will help to bring about the industrial regeneration of the country, it is not pretended that the policy of protection alone will transform an agricultural country into an industrial one. In order to hasten the building up of manufactures it is necessary that a protective policy should be accompanied by other measures such as technical education, banking facilities and transport concessions.

## MR. B. F. MADON

There is no reason why the great bulk of the manufactured articles now imported should not, given favourable conditions, be manufactured in the country itself and the import list will have to be revised with this goal in view. If the present policy is persisted in, the industrial development of India will continue to suffer, and in future even more than in the past, because all important countries are trying to regain their equilibrium by putting up tariff walls to prevent undue imports and are straining every nerve to increase their own exports. If we do nothing to prevent the free play of these forces on this country, the result will be the dumping of foreign manufactured goods into this country—perhaps the greatest open market of the world—and making it the arena of cut-throat competition between the leading manufacturing countries of the world, each of which would try to retain and strengthen its own foothold in the Indian market. The consequence is sure to be that not only will new industries be prevented from getting a favourable start, but that even existing industries will go to the wall.

The tariffs will help the establishment of fresh industries and expand and diversify the fields of employment to every individual in the country and by larger demands made on it will tend to raise the value of all labour (whether brain or manual) in the country. These benefits also cannot be measured in £ s. d. The training and efficiency for which opportunity will be given by such industries to the population of this country is another valuable asset that cannot fail to conduce to the welfare of every unit in this country. This also cannot be measured in £. s. d.

Therefore, even granting that the consumer pays out more in increased prices, it by no means follows that he really suffers in the end. But, as I say above, he is both consumer and producer and so the question itself is misleading.

The advantages of a tariff to foster industries, in brief, are—

- (a) expansion and diversification of the fields of employment.
- (b) consequent reduction of the present undue pressure on the land,
- (c) consequent improvement in the level of average income,
- (d) consequent possibility for the great mass of the people of this country of leading a higher and better life,
- (e) more favourable balance of trade,
- (f) reduced Home Charges,
- (g) greater revenues for the Government,
- (h) higher expenditure by Government on the many crying needs of the country,

and last but not the least

- (i) making this country independent and self-contained in the matter of its most essential supplies and so better fitted to face a world upheaval than it was during 1914-1918.

There should be duties on all imported manufactures, not on a few selected articles. Then alone will the necessary conditions be created for capitalists to launch out into various industries. Capitalists do not go into industries for the mere love of the country or love of an industry. They go for profit. The profit must also be higher than can be had in other existing channels of investment or very few will venture out of the beaten path.

I would advocate protection for such industries as are vital to the very existence of the country, even at the risk of having to continue it for all time, but I would not "confine" protection to such industries only.

As the object of a protective tariff is to safeguard the home market for the Indian manufac-

rer, and as bounties and subsidies tend to defeat this very object, countervailing measures ought to be taken. The means for ascertaining exact facts will depend on individual cases.

So far as British or foreign industrial firms come here at their own risk, I would welcome them as they would bring their own processes, methods and organisation and would perforce employ mostly Indian labour. Therefore, while such companies would get the benefit of a high tariff, the country would benefit in its own turn by the introduction of new methods and the training of Indian labour.

#### MRS. ANNIE BESANT

The existing tariff policy has protected English imports as against home products, *i.e.*, has been the reverse of protection, as commonly understood. The continuance of the policy will mean the continued crippling of home industries, and the hindering of their natural expansion. It is a survival of the policy by which England destroyed the woollen trade in Ireland, and the cotton trade in India. In the 14th century, England controlled the raw wool market and spun wool into the finest thread, exporting it with a duty of 100 per cent. Flemish weavers emigrated to England from time to time, and Edward III tried to establish a native industry by importing them and settling them in the country, forbidding the export of wool under penalties of mutilation and death. Under Elizabeth, export was allowed, but was again prohibited, and only in 1825 was the law repealed. The cloth trade grew under the protection. In 1463, no woollen cloths were permitted to be brought into England except from Wales and Ireland, and broad-cloth was not completely made in England till 1667. In 1698, 11 and 12 William III, ch. 10, restricted the flourishing Irish industry, and three years later Ireland was forbidden to export woollen cloth except to Bristol and certain other English ports, where it was re-shipped in English bottoms at ruinous shipping dues, while English woollens were dumped into Ireland. Thus her woollen industry was ruined, her population thrown entirely on the land, with the result of famines, and, with emigration to America, halving her population.

The same policy was followed in India with cotton woven cloth. While English inventors were struggling to make and improve looms, 11 and 12 William III, ch. 10 prohibited the importation of Indian calicoes, which had held the

world's markets literally for millennia. In 1721, 7, George I, ch. 7 prohibited even their use. In 1781, bounties were given for all exported Lancashire cloth, and only when Lancashire produced more cloth than she could sell, did she adopt free trade. In 1617, she exported cotton goods of the value of £5,915; in 1908 the value was £81,350,275. The 'mill industry in Bombay began about 1868, and Lancashire goods were then protected by levying a countervailing duty on Indian manufactures. Protection has again been adopted in Britain of late years with regard to dyes, and only the other day, the influx of German toys at extremely low prices, owing to the depreciation of the mark, has caused a cry for protection from British toy-makers. Under these conditions we may perhaps be pardoned for taking a leaf out of the English book, and copying the English example.

#### MR. E. L. PRICE, M. L. A.

I do not consider that the tariff should be framed primarily with the object of "fostering Indian industries." Industries thus fostered cost the country more than they are worth.

If (if!) ever industrialism so develops in India that she is self-contained for manufactures and independent of all foreign goods, the industrial workers recruited will need and consume the whole balance of food production which, now in normal and favourable years, is available for export. There never being then a margin for export, in unfavourable or famine years the whole shortage will fall at once on her own people.

Comparatively small nations, like England and Italy, at times have a difficulty in securing grain supplies abroad. The world's supplies are quite incapable of giving India regularly large quantities of foodstuffs.

I therefore regard it as India's first duty to her people to maintain her balance of food-production for export in normal years, as a margin of safety for the lean years which are bound to occur at intervals.

I do not favour "protection" at all.

There are constant allegations that certain protected countries sell their products cheaper abroad than at home. The mere allegation supports the idea that prices in protected countries are always unfairly high to home consumers, and is a strong argument against protection.

I know of no damage done to India by "dumping." I should be slow to deprive Indian consumers of the boon of cheap supplies of anything, if such there be.

MR. J. A. WADIA

I am, generally speaking, in favour of protection and I do not think that any purely agricultural country can have prosperous industries within a limited time without protection. I am also of opinion that there is no large civilised country to-day which is purely free trade like India. I also most emphatically deny the right of England to consider herself a free-trade country before the last century or since. In my opinion she has been a protectionist country under the deceptive and cunning guise of her so called free-trade. Let me make my meaning clear. Lancashire has been protecting her cotton industry by compelling India to be on a free-trade basis, so that we may consume her goods in ever-increasing quantities instead of supplying our own wants by extensive cotton manufacture, which we are in a position to do to the extent of about 80 per cent. if we had protection. If Lancashire honestly believes in free-trade, why should she whine, which she is doing to-day, at the recent increase in import duties which are levied for revenue purpose in India? I do hold that all import duties are a tax on the consumer. If you want an army and navy for your protection, you have to pay for them; and as industries are equally necessary for the safety and the well-being of a country, I do not see why the people should not pay for them. India is a poor country. I therefore think that a heavy duty would be undesirable; nor do I think that it is advisable to foster any industry which requires more than 25 per cent. import duties.

Mr. KHUSHAL T. SHAH

On merely abstract grounds, and without any reference to the special circumstances of a given country, I do not consider it advisable to declare any preference in the matter of the fiscal policy, which I consider should be framed with due regard to all the local conditions, as also to the effects of the proposed measures in the tariff scheme. From an economic standpoint, an increase in the direct taxes would be more advisable, as well as more just. I do not accept the principle of tariffs for revenue purposes exclusively.

The existing principles of the customs revenue in India are, under the special circumstances of India, economically wasteful and nationally injurious. The existing tariff policy, having been framed without any regard to Indian industries, the latter cannot, by any stretch of language, be said to owe anything to that policy.

PROF. S. C. SHAHANI, M.L.A., M.A.

I favour generally a policy of protection and not of free trade. The poverty of the Indian masses and the recurring misery of famines from which they suffer necessitate an energetic policy of industrialization, which can succeed only under a scheme of protection.

I consider that the existing tariff policy has had the effect of strangling or stunting the Indian industries in the past, and I anticipate the same effect from a continuance of this policy in the future. Foreign competition has made India a mere producer of food and raw material for foreign industries. Continuance of the policy would greatly handicap the industrialization of the country on which her economic salvation depends.

## The Reconstruction of Religious Belief

By

DR. A. S. WOODBURN, M.A. Ph. D.

THE modern world is characterized by certain definite movements of thought that necessitate for the thinking man a process of reconstruction, if not a revolution, in religious belief. Dr. Gore, the former Bishop of Oxford, is aware of this fact and, at the close of a long life of service and thought, sets for himself the task of reconstructing a rational fabric of belief. The first of three volumes which are to be the fulfilment of this plan has come out under the title, *Belief in*

*God*.\* The author begins by inquiring into what grounds there are upon which any belief in God can be based, and then proceeds to an examination of his own Christian belief.

Dr. Gore is keenly aware of the movements that are current which lie at the back of the demand for reconstruction of belief. Of these the first is

\* *Belief in God*, by Charles A. Gore, D. D., formerly Bishop of Oxford, London: John Murray, 1921. Pp. XVI, 300. Price 7/6 net.



the evolutionary hypothesis in the field of science. Mediæval philosophy and theology alike proceeded on the assumption of the fixity of species. But in 1859, Charles Darwin brought forth that epoch-making work, the very title of which was evidence of a revolutionary idea, *The Origin of Species*. Our author is perfectly right in insisting that the shock which this conception brought to the world to which it came was due to the background of scholastic notions with which it stood out in contrast, and that, if such an idea had been promulgated, say in the fourth century, before the argument for the fixity of species had been set, it never would have been considered so revolutionary. The second influence which is mentioned as contributing to the intellectual upheaval of our time is the advance that has been made in the field of literary and historical criticism. Certainly this is important, for the historical method of approach means an interest in facts regardless of aprioris, religious or otherwise. To these he adds the comparative study of religion. I should have been inclined to think that the historical study of religions was a part of the preceding movement, and none can deny the broadening influence of this field. The author is not quite so clear on the further development in the same field, i.e., the psychological study of religion which is even more important for the development of modern thought than the movements mentioned. One is rather surprised that this influence should be relegated to a secondary position by one who is undertaking such a task as this. The psychological method as applied to religion has resulted in the appreciation of the functional and dynamic significance of religious practices and beliefs that is far reaching. To be sure it is a part of the movement away from structuralness and fixity attributable in part to the evolutionary movement. But it results in an understanding and appreciation of other people's religion more profound than what appears in the book under review.

The book is unfortunately characterized by one or two rather glaring inconsistencies. In the first place he proposes to reconstruct religious belief "as far as may be without assumptions." Of course, there is the qualifying phrase, "as far as may be." It is the only thing that saves the author from graver inconsistency than appears on the surface. He has two assumptions which to the philosophical mind will appear as undeniable for one who undertakes to do what Dr. Gore does. The first of these lies in his statement

that "sacramental religion was the religion for me." There is certainly no objection to Dr. Gore's preferring the type of religion that best ministers to his own need, but it is an assumption that should scarcely find a place in a book on reconstruction. The second is stated on p. 27: "Granted the truth of the foundation doctrines of Christianity" which is equivalent to the acceptance of the doctrine of the Trinity. Here again Dr. Gore has a right to his belief, but certainly, if he is going to show the rational grounds for belief, this one cannot be exempted.

The other inconsistency seems to me still more far-reaching in its significance, and has to do with the question of world-view. On p. 46 the author declares his philosophical faith in monism. It is his expressed conviction that dualism is impossible—"rationally impossible for us to day. The science of nature has demonstrated the absolute unity of nature." But the whole system of belief which he constructs or reconstructs is dualistic. Indeed he frankly says on p. 232: "The visible world and its law and order has so impressed itself on the imagination of men, and moulded their language as a thing in itself, that we need the word nature to describe it, and the word supernatural to suggest whatever may lie in the unknown beyond. The whole of his defence of revelation and miracle, including his definition of miracle (p. 231), is on the basis that the order of things is dualistic. Elsewhere he builds on the basis of human ignorance in regard to the laws of nature.

In spite of these criticisms the book is immensely attractive. The very intimacy of the style is one of its attractions. Whatever the reader may think of the argument, he cannot escape the conviction that here is a man with a real experience of religion. His interpretations may not be satisfying, but there is a contagion in his faith. Religion for him is a vital power, and after all that is more important than its interpretation, even as life is more important than categories.

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# PRINCE EDWARD'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

We publish in this issue the third instalment of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' Speeches in India delivered at Indore, Bhopal, Gwalior, Delhi and Patiala. [Ed. I. R.]

## STATE BANQUET AT INDORE

The Maharaja Holkar gave a State Banquet in his palace in honour of the Prince on February 1. In reply to the toast proposed by the Maharaja Holkar, His Royal Highness said :

I thank Your Highness for the kind terms in which you have proposed my health. I have been looking forward to visiting Indore and making Your Highness's acquaintance. I am deeply interested to see the headquarters of the Holkar State which has played such a prominent part in the history of India and to be at Indore which became the capital of this State and the permanent seat of the Holkar family in 1818, when the treaty between the British Government and the Holkar State, which still governs our relations, was concluded. I am also gratified to be able to thank Your Highness in person for the assistance given by your State in the great war. At the outbreak of the war Your Highness, with praiseworthy and characteristic loyalty, put the whole resources of your State at the disposal of the King Emperor. Your Highness's Transport Corps had the distinction of serving on three continents and on five fronts in France, Gallipoli, Salonica, Egypt and Mesopotamia. In every field this Corps won the warm commendation of the General Officers in whose command it was included. In addition, Your Highness's Mounted Escort did good service in Mesopotamia. I desire to add a special word of thanks and praise for the gallant officers who commanded these units, - Sirdar Bahadur Major Lutfahkan and Major Bhavani Singh. These officers and their Corps won reputation for the Indore State of which Your Highness may well be proud.

## LAVISH ASSISTANCE

In addition to these achievements in manpower, Your Highness was lavish in other forms of assistance. Contributions in money, which Your Highness made to help us to victory in various directions, reached a total of over Rs. 22 lakhs. Among many items I single out for special mention the contribution of Rs. 8½ lakhs to the hospital ship *Loyalty* and a sum of Rs 11 lakhs given at different times to various relief funds. These acts were worthy of the high position occupied by Your Highness's State and of

the firm trust in your loyalty to the Crown which the British Government has ever reposed in you.

## TRADITIONS OF THE PAST

There have been great names in the past history of the Holkar State, such as Malhar Rao, whose valour in arms brought the State into prominence in the eighteenth century and the famous queen alluded to in Your Highness's speech, whose name remains a by-word in Central India for justice and wise administration. The improvements which Your Highness has carried out in the administration of your State's material progress which has been secured and the keen personal interest which you take in the welfare of your subjects, mark out Your Highness as one who strives to be assigned by history and tradition, a no less honoured place than that of your illustrious forbears. That your wish may bear fruition is my earnest desire, and I feel assured that no wise act on Your Highness's part will be left undone which may enable you to emulate and surpass the reputations of the past or to stand even higher in esteem with which the King-Emperor regards you.

I must thank Your Highness again for your kind words and lavish hospitality. It has been a pleasure to me to renew, by my visit, a friendship which has long existed between my family and the House of Holkar. I shall convey to His Imperial Majesty Your Highness's assurance of devotion and attachment.

## PUBLIC DURBAR AT INDORE

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales held a Public Durbar in the Daly College, Indore, on Feb. 2, for the Reception of Princes and Chiefs of Central India. After the presentation of the Princes and Chiefs, His Royal Highness addressed the Durbar :

It gives me great pleasure to be able to follow in the footsteps of my father and visit Central India. I thank the rulers of the States of Central India for the very warm welcome which they have extended to me. Your Highnesses and Your Highnesses's States have many striking proofs in the great war of your traditional loyalty to the Crown and Empire, and I can assure Your Highnesses that your efforts and devotion have

been noted by the King-Emperor with heartfelt appreciation and gratitude. More than a century ago this part of India was the scene of recurring strife and bloodshed.

I rejoice to think that this distinguished gathering to-day is the symbol of unity and concord which now prevails in Central India. It is a source of pride to me to reflect that this peace is the outcome of the relations which have been established between Your Highnesses's States and the British Government. May the years to come hold no less tranquil future, increasing the prosperity in store for your States and strengthen our ties of mutual trust and regard.

I regret that want of time has prevented me from exchanging ceremonial visits with Your Highnesses individually. No one attaches more importance than I do to the maintenance of old ceremonial customs. These ceremonies are hallowed by tradition and sentiment, and their omission on this occasion, which is the result of causes beyond my control, forms no precedent for the future. I trust that, whenever it is possible, Your Highnesses's privileges in these matters will be fully respected, and I thank your Highnesses for having waived your ancient rights during my present visit out of consideration for me. It is a source of great pleasure to me to have been able to meet so many representatives of the Ruling Houses of Central India to-day. I trust that the personal acquaintance now made will bring to each of us that close perception, better understanding and more instinctive sympathy which is the outcome of fuller mutual knowledge. If my hope in this respect is fulfilled, our gathering to-day will indeed have had the happiest issue.

#### RHOPAL STATE BANQUET "

H. R. H. the Prince speaking at the State Banquet at Bhopal on February 4, said :

I am deeply touched by the warm and loyal greeting which Your Highness has extended me. It has been a great gratification to me to visit Bhopal and to make the acquaintance of Your Highness whose devotion to the Crown and the services to the Empire are so well known. In Your Highness my House and the British Empire have a friend whose loyalty is founded on the firm basis of ancient tradition and personal conviction. More than a century has passed since your ancestor, Nazir Muhammad, invoked the aid of the British against his foes and in return promised to help the British with his forces and co-operate in the suppression of the

Pindaris. No obligations were ever more faithfully discharged. Later, the trial of the great Mutiny came to the Bhopal State as an opportunity again to justify the trust reposed in it, and the illustrious lady, who was then at the helm of Your Highness' State, rendered signal service to the British Government at that time of perplexity and peril.

The next great crisis in our history was the out-break of the great war. Your Highness at once placed all the resources of your State and the services of your troops and your family at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Your Imperial Service Cavalry, which were established by your revered mother and named after the Great Queen Victoria, were employed in our service in India and later fought on the Wazir Frontier. It would be no easy task to relate in detail the various kinds of support which Your Highness and your State afforded to the cause of the Empire in the great struggle. Amid the many needs which Bhopal supplied I may mention a few items from the long list, the provision of artillery, drivers and horses of cavalry, remounts of aeroplanes and of munition workshops. Your Highness joined in the laudable project of the hospital ship, the *Loyalty*, to which you subscribed Rs. 2 lakhs. After an initial gift of Rs. 1 lakh to the War funds, and Rs. 3 lakhs to the Relief funds, Your Highness, at a time when the speedy conclusion of the war seemed improbable, offered Rs. 50,000 a year to help us to victory as long as the operations continued. Your Highness's family, following your noble example, actively and ably assisted our cause both in their public and private capacity. Your eldest son proceeded on active service and among the generous donations of the family I may mention the gift of his racing stud for army purposes by your son, Nawabzada Hamidullah Khan. This record of staunch loyalty and continuous service to the Crown and the Empire is one in which Your Highness and your State may take justifiable pride, and it is a great privilege to me to be able to-night to offer my thanks in person to Your Highness.

I cannot close without reference to the esteem in which Your Highness is held as a wise and enlightened ruler and to the personal interest which you ever display in ensuring the well-being of your subjects. The decision which Your Highness has announced in your speech to-day of associating your subjects more closely with your Government, is a signal proof of this interest. I

am convinced that this generous step will evoke the warmest gratitude in the hearts of your people. Outside your own State, Your Highness has been indefatigable in attending conferences which the Viceroy has called together from time to time and in offering your valuable advice in all matters connected with India and the Empire, in which it was sought or you felt that it could assist, nor can I remain silent as regards an aspect of Your Highness's work in which you stand alone and have no rival. I allude to Your Highness' services to the women of India as the only ruler of their own sex in this vast continent. Your Highness has rightly felt the claim which the women of India have upon you, and Your Highness' personal efforts to lead to their enlightenment to promote their welfare and increase their happiness have been unwearied. I know the close appeal which this aspect of Your Highness's life has made to my mother, Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress. It has been a very great pleasure to me to have Your Highness' son, Nawabzada Hamidullah Khan, attached to my Staff in India. This has drawn the ties which bind my House and Your Highness's together still closer.

#### KING GEORGE PARK

The Prince opened the King George Park in Gwalior on Feb. 8, and in doing he said :

I thank you warmly for your address and take this opportunity of thanking the citizens of Gwalior for the kind welcome which they gave me this morning. Although this is my first visit to Gwalior your lively recollections of the visits paid to your city by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught make me feel that I do not come among you as a stranger, and I am glad that the occasion should be celebrated by opening this beautiful Park. You may rest assured of the sympathy of my House in all that concerns your lives. It is my desire to be able to understand the people of India and to sympathise with their hopes and needs that I, following in my father's footsteps, have undertaken this journey to India. You in your State are fortunate in being ruled by one who both sympathises with the needs of his subjects and possesses intimate knowledge of their conditions of life. In presenting this Park to your city His Highness has not only given another example of his generosity, but has also shown his realisation of the need we all have of open spaces, fresh air and healthy exercise. I feel sure that you will enjoy these gifts and that your enjoyment will repay His Highness's munificence.

#### GWALIOR STATE BANQUET

The Prince speaking at the Gwalior State Banquet, on February 8, said :

I must thank Your Highness for the kind and loyal terms in which Your Highness has proposed my health and for your princely hospitality. It is a special pleasure to me to visit in his own home that trusted friend of my House, whom His Majesty the King-Emperor holds in such high esteem and well-deserved are the honours which have been conferred on Your Highness and very high is the position which you have won for yourself and your State.

I have cast about for the secret of this success and think that I have found it. Your Highness has but one simple aim and object and applies to all problems only one simple test.

Circumstances may arise and events occur where others hesitate and consider. Some may look on such occasion as an opportunity for ostentation, to acquire fame, or to gain increase of wealth or personal advantage. Others may scent in such situations danger or loss of reputation, or fortune, or feel the need for caution, but Your Highness applies to all such matters one test—“How in this matter can I help my country or serve any King-Emperor?” Once that question has been satisfactorily answered, Your Highness's aim is fixed and Your Highness allows no obstacle to hinder you on the road to it.

#### ERA OF CONTINUOUS PROSPERITY

More than a quarter of a century has passed since Your Highness took up the reins of administration of this State. Very happy years they have been for Your Highness's State and the British Government, as they have marked the continuous growth to fresh strength of our mutual trust and regard. There are many things which I might mention pertaining to the earlier period ; for example, how Your Highness went on service with our troops in China, how your care and liberality provided hospital ships for that expedition and how you perfected the Army bequeathed to you by your ancestors for the service of the Crown and Empire.

#### PERSONAL SERVICE IN THE WAR

But I will confine my remarks to more recent times. At the outbreak of the Great War Your Highness offered your personal services and the whole resources of your State to the King-Emperor and in characteristic fashion Your Highness at once settled down in a whole-hearted and

methodical way to the solution of how you could most and best help our cause. One and a half regiments of Your Highness's Imperial Service Infantry went on service and fought with distinction in Egypt, East Africa and Palestine. Four squadrons of Your Highness's Lancers served in India and on the North-West Frontier. Your Highness's Transport Corps went far afield to do their bit in France, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia and the Indian Frontier. Recruiting for these forces and for the Indian Army went on without intermission. Your Highness's State supplied on every hand needs too numerous to mention, such as motor cars, motor ambulances, munition workshops, aeroplanes, binoculars and remount depots.

As regards money, I need not say that it was given unsparingly. I may particularly mention the loan of Rs. 59 lakhs without interest, and the notable manner in which Your Highness came to our assistance in currency difficulties. I have read with admiration the list of donations which were given by Your Highness and Your Highness's State to the numerous war and relief funds. Your Highness's feelings were deeply stirred by the sufferings which the struggle inevitably involved. The sick, wounded and disabled, own a deep debt to Your Highness for the inception of the scheme of the hospital ship *Loyalty*, to which you gave Rs. 60 lakhs, for the establishment of a convalescent home at Nairobi and for your aid with funds designed to alleviate suffering or help the families of those who had fallen in our cause.

#### SYMPATHY WITH ENGLISH WORKERS

Throughout runs the note of Your Highness's deep personal interest in every aspect of the great adventure. Amid big things Your Highness was planning and doing, Your Highness had time to turn your thoughts to small difficulties also; small among so many big things but not small to those concerned. I do not think that the munition workers of England will readily forget that it was the Maharajah of Gwalior who helped to brighten their lives by the provision of clubs and recreation grounds for their use, after long hours of weary toil. The officers employed with the Imperial Service Troops also will gratefully remember the friend who, to relieve their anxieties about their families, offered to the latter a home in Gwalior throughout the war. In life, it is the kind personal touch that counts and in the magnificent war record of Your Highness and Your Highness's State, this shines and permeates the whole like the light in a great jewel.

#### ONLY HALF THE TALE

What I have had time to say about Your Highness alone is a tale of high achievements, but I have not mentioned the years of able administration in your State, the material improvements carried out with courage on a large scale, the institution of legislative assemblies and local bodies and the innumerable details of general progress which has been made in the Gwalior State. I have not dwelt on your services to the larger India, on your work in the Chamber of Princes and Princes's Committee, or on the helpful advice which Your Highness has given to the Government of India in many conferences. But Your Highness many rest assured that these items also contribute to the high esteem with which the King-Emperor regards you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host—His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior. May this devoted friend of the Crown and Empire long be spared to guide the destinies of the Gwalior State, and I can wish no higher destiny for his son, George Scindia, than that he may grow up to be like his father.

#### DELHI MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

The Prince arrived at Delhi on the 14th February and was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipality. In reply, His Royal Highness said :

I thank you for the welcome you have extended to me in your address. With feelings of deep interest, I find myself within the gates of your historic city. Few cities can hold out the vivid appeal which Delhi makes to me. Delhi has been connected with the Crown of India since the dawn of time. Whatever changes and vicissitudes took place in the history of India, it was written on the fate of Delhi to be the Imperial City. From the days of the Pandavas to the times of Prithwi Raj, a Hindu Empire held sway here. From the 12th century to our own times, successive Mahomedan dynasties, ending in the spacious days of the Imperial line of the Great Moghuls, chose Delhi as their capital—the scene of successive Imperial assemblages in British times. Delhi was to rise again as an Imperial City by the pronouncement of His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor, by which the seat of the Government of India was transferred to your ancient capital.

Last year, with the inauguration ceremonies which were performed here by His Majesty's

command, your city became associated with another great event in history. It is now the headquarters of the Central Government, in which Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and, indeed, all classes and communities in the Indian Empire have a direct share and take a definite part. I shall enjoy my visits to the historical buildings in and about Delhi, which recall great names and events of the past and perpetuate the taste of skill of art of bygone days. I am anxious to see the fine buildings which are being erected in the new capital area to the south of your city.

#### THE DELHI OF TO-DAY

But these are a part of the past, or of the future, and I am no less keenly interested in what belongs to the present and is essentially your domain—the Delhi of to-day. I have heard much of the labours of your Municipal Committee. I have learnt how you have worked to better the conditions of life in your city, how you have improved the streets and communications, how you have embellished the town with public buildings and have striven to advance education and public health. I have heard of your work in the planning of the city extensions, once in connexion with the housing of the poor and relief of congestion. There can be no nobler task than this to work together in harmony keeping the welfare of your fellow-citizens before you and having, as your goal, to make your city worthy of the great past and fully equipped for great position in future.

Municipal duties are in some ways a thankless task. When your schemes do not materialise as rapidly, or do not in all respects operate as they were expected to do, there is often undeserved blame. When they succeed there is too often the lack of appreciation of effort and organisation which they involved. I sympathise with the difficulties which you must experience in your complex and arduous task. I trust you are fortified by the thought that the eyes of India are turned towards the capital and that the good results which you can achieve here have an effect which passes beyond the limits of your city itself. You may feel assured that His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor continues to take very warm interest in the progress and well-being of this city and that I shall always watch your achievements with keen attention and sympathy. Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind address. May your labours on behalf of Delhi prosper.

#### EDWARD MEMORIAL AT DELHI

On February 15, His Royal Highness made the following speech on the occasion of unveiling the All-India Equestrian Statue in memory of the late King Edward VII:

Your Excellency,—The words which I have just heard have recalled memories of my grandfather—the late King Emperor. His Majesty was essentially the friend of India. He was the son of the first sovereign to bear the Imperial title. He was the first of my House to visit India, and, by his desire to be acquainted personally with Indian aims and aspirations, to show that deep and abiding interest which we feel in the princes and the peoples of the land. I deem myself fortunate to be able to day to take part in the unveiling of this memorial of which my father laid the tablet stone and to display to you this statue to King Edward's memory to which thousands of persons in India in loyal devotion have subscribed. May this statue and the beautiful garden which surrounds it tend to remind the future generations of his reign, of his strong sense of duty, of his love of peace and of his noble endeavours to lead India forward in the path of her high destiny in the Empire. May this memorial recall his deep sympathy with the peoples of India and the love and devotion with which his name is cherished.

#### DELHI STATE BANQUET

The Prince, speaking at the State Banquet at Delhi on the 15th February, said:

I thank you for the very cordial way in which you have drunk my health. I am very grateful to Your Excellency for the far too kind terms in which you have alluded to me. It is indeed a great pleasure to me to come to Delhi and to renew my acquaintance with Your Excellency, of whom, since my arrival in India, I have only had an all-too-short glimpse at Bombay. I should detain you all a very long time to-night if I attempted to do justice to Lord Reading's career. I will, therefore, confine myself to congratulating India on the possession of a most able and distinguished servant of the Crown as Governor-General.

I am now more than half through my visit to India. I need not assure you that my visit has been one of absorbing interest. I have keenly enjoyed every feature of it and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Your Excellency, whose guiding hand drew the track on the map along which I have travelled. I should also like to offer my most cordial thanks to the Govern-

ment of India and all officials and non-officials who have done so much to ensure the smooth running of all arrangements connected with my visit. I know what a lot of hard work and organisation it has entailed, and those responsible for the arrangements may congratulate themselves on the result of their labours. There are, I believe, some persons who come from England and, after spending even fewer weeks than I have in this country, give their valuable views and impressions about India to the public. You must not expect me to-night to disturb their monopoly. I am content for the present to remain a reverent student of the many wonderful things which the book of India has to unfold. There is only one impression which I have formed and to which I can give publicity to-night, and that is that the kindness which I have met in India has made me feel that I have been among friends.

#### DELHI RECEPTION, DURBAR

H. E. the Viceroy held a Durbar at Delhi on February 16 for the purpose of welcoming the Prince. In reply to the various addresses presented on the occasion, His Royal Highness said

I am very grateful for the warm welcome which you have extended to me and for the kind expressions you have used concerning me. I will convey your message of loyal devotion to His Imperial Majesty. It is a pleasure to me to receive this welcome at Delhi, which has become the capital of India by my father's command, and to meet to-day the representatives of those bodies which were brought into being by the Royal Proclamation last year and which were inaugurated on behalf of His Imperial Majesty by my uncle the Duke of Connaught. It was to have been my privilege to perform those ceremonies, but circumstances prevented my taking part in them, and it is with all the greater pleasure that I realise at last the deferred hopes in meeting you here to-day. Among the members of the Chamber of Princes I shall, I know, renew many old friendships this afternoon and form new ones. No greater proofs were needed than those furnished by our past relations and the recent splendid efforts of Indian Princes in the great war to show that, at all times, whether in days of peace or hours of trial, the Crown can rely on the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes. But in spite of this, Your Highnesses, during my tour in India, have once more, in a most unmistakable manner, impressed on me, at every stage of my journey, the great depth and strength of the tradition of loyalty in Indian States. If I, on my

part, have, in a measure, been able to convey to Your Highness the gratitude of my House for those feelings and convince you of the confidence, trust and esteem which His Imperial Majesty reposes in your order, I am satisfied. I know the high hopes which His Imperial Majesty entertains for your Chamber. May the history of the Chamber be a tale of wider part played by your order in the development of India, of an ever-strengthening bond of union between the Ruling Princes and the Empire and of steady advancement of the well being and prosperity of the people of this land.

With you, gentlemen, who are members of the Imperial Legislatures, I feel I may also claim a special tie. I come before you to-day as one who is anxious to ripen and perfect the acquaintance which has already been pleasantly begun. I have had the honour of meeting a number of the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly during my tour in the Provinces and my visits to the Legislative Councils in the Provinces and my talks with the members of these bodies, who look to you for example and inspiration, have taught me something of the problems lying before not only the Provincial Legislative Councils, but also the Central Bodies, on which you serve as the representatives of the peoples of India. In my journey through India nothing has struck me with greater force than the vastness of your task. In the aftermath of the war, legislative bodies all over the world are passing through a difficult time. Even your British Parliament, with centuries of experience and tradition behind it, with all its stores of gathered strength, of achievement and its firm foundation on the confidence of the people, has not found these new problems simple of solution, or these new needs easy of adjustment. I realise how infinitely more difficult is the task before India's Imperial Legislatures which were only created last year. The vast extent of your field of labour, the complexity of interests and diversity of the peoples and creeds of this great country would render your responsibilities specially onerous. In any case a journey along untrodden road towards the new goal would, taken by itself, be no easy adventure. But, in addition to these perplexities, you have a formidable burden of new difficulties which are taxing the powers on highly trained and experienced legislative bodies in other countries.

Gentlemen, I have heard with appreciation of the ability and sense of responsibility which has characterised the debates of the Imperial

Legislature. I have been pleased to learn of the energy and patience with which you have begun your work. I sympathise with and admire, and I know that the British nation sympathises and admires, the courage with which you are facing your work. You may count on me as one who knows your difficulties, rightly to appraise the results which, by the help of Providence, your good intentions of fortitude will secure. That you may be rightly guided to secure the well-being and prosperity of the people of India, whose interests you represent, is my earnest prayer.

### THE KITCHENER COLLEGE

On February 17, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales laid, in New Delhi, the foundation stone of the Kitchener College. In doing so the Prince said :

We are assembled here to-day to lay the foundation stone of a memorial to Field Marshal Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, one time Commander-in-Chief in India, a great soldier and a great man. This memorial will take the form of a College to be called the Kitchener College, which will provide education for the sons of that splendid body of men who form the backbone of the Indian Army—the Indian officers. I am glad that it should be my privilege to undertake this ceremony, because I have taken real interest in the Indian Army and the Indian officer ever since they were my comrades-in-arms in France, and also because Lord Kitchener has always excited my warm admiration. I am confident that no memorial to his name could have appealed to him more closely than the College at which the sons of officers will obtain an education to fit them to carry on the high traditions of the Indian Army. The details of Lord Kitchener's career are familiar to most of you. The keynote of the great success which he achieved in Egypt and South Africa was the untiring effort which he made to secure that. Every detail of his organisation was thorough and complete. His working in South Africa was hardly finished, when he was appointed your Commander-in-Chief in India. He filled this post with the highest distinction for 7 years in this country. Also he brought his talents to the task of reorganisation and training of that splendid army which fought during the great war with other armies of the Empire on many fields of battle. The magnificent work done by the Indian Army in the great war was in no small measure the direct result of his untiring labours. The concluding words of his farewell order issued on the eve of his departure from India are worth recalling. The

words were "I bid farewell to the Army in India, both British and Indian, with regret, but with full confidence in its future". How well that confidence was justified all the world knows. When the war cloud burst on the world in 1914, the country again turned to him. We may leave it to history to appraise the true value of his services. But the following facts are beyond all question. He was the first to see the vastness of the task which lay before our Empire and her Allies. He foresaw a war of years and armies of millions when lesser men were thinking in months and thousands. Again, by the magic of his name, he created armies which won for themselves and their King Emperor imperishable glory on the battlefields of France. He died, as you all know, in the sinking of H. M. S. "Hampshire" by enemy mines. His mortal remains lie in one of his King's ships beneath the waves of that sea upon which is based the strength of the Empire which he served so well. These incidents in his career point a lesson which every boy who aspires to greatness in any walk of life must learn and learn thoroughly. That lesson is that success can only be won by hard work, and by careful preparations for the coming struggle. The first stage in that preparation is education. In years to come generations of young soldiers will look on this stone which I am about to lay. I trust that they will strive to uphold the honour of this College which bears the name of so great a soldier of the Empire. I hope that they will labour as all soldiers' sons should do, to fit themselves to serve their King and their country.

### REPLY TO CHAMARS' ADDRESS

On 17th February His Royal Highness received an address of welcome from the All-India Depressed Classes Conference. In reply, the Prince said :

"I thank you very warmly for the very kind and enthusiastic welcome which you have given me on two occasions at Delhi. I much value your good wishes. I wish the communities whom you represent all prosperity and well being."

### KING GEORGE'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

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### THE RULING CHIEFS' BANQUET

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India entertained the Prince at a public Banquet at Delhi on February 18th. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia proposed the health of His Royal Highness.

Replying to the toast the Prince of Wales felt grateful for having been entertained to-night for several reasons. In the first place he got an opportunity to see again the members of an order whose devotion to the Crown he valued so highly and among whom he might claim many personal friends. In the second place he was pleased to dine with those Princes whose invitation to visit them in their homes he could not accept for shortness of his time in India thus mitigating in part the disappointment which he experienced through the necessity of declining their invitations. His Royal Highness in thanking them for helping him in his task of knowing the Princes and peoples of India said :—

"I can now say that I feel that I know in a measure at least the Rulers of Indian States and their peoples and that I understand their difficulties and sympathise with their aims and aspirations. I hope that they also have begun now to know me and that out of our meetings fuller understanding has sprung up, which is the permanent foundation of mutual trust and regard".

The Prince said, after leaving India, he would often remember the hospitality of Princes and his thoughts would turn with even deeper feeling of satisfaction to sacrifices of their order in the war for an Empire which had, for many years, preserved their states from external dangers and maintained in their integrity their privileges and rights. He thanked their Highness for their splendid hospitality and said he would convey their message of loyalty and devotion to their Majesties who would deeply prize and treasure their kind words.

### REPLY TO THE ANGLO INDIAN ADDRESS

On February 20, the Prince received an address of welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association.

In acknowledging the welcome the Prince said he would have been remiss, indeed, if he had come as far as Delhi without informing himself regarding their community. On landing in Bombay he was so deeply impressed by the warmth of the welcome from their community that, before leaving that city, he made special enquiries from the Governor about the community. He

received much valuable information regarding the careers open to them, their success in various ranks, their record of military service. They could rest assured that he had now understood the conditions under which they lived in India and the useful and honoured place which they filled as citizens in the Indian Empire. Their aims and aspirations had his sympathy. Their devotion to the cause of India did them credit. He concluded :—"I shall watch the progress of your community with the closest attention. You may be confident that Great Britain and the Empire will not forget your community who are so united in their devotion to the King-Emperor and who gave such unmistakable token of their attachment to the Empire by their great sacrifices in the war."

### THE PATIALA STATE BANQUET

In reply to the toast proposed by the Maharaja of Patiala at the State Banquet on February 24, His Royal Highness said :

I am very grateful to Your Highness for the warm terms in which you have proposed my health. I thank Your Highness for having extended to me the princely hospitality for which the Patiala State is so justly famous. I have been keenly looking forward to my visit to Patiala because of my previous acquaintance with Your Highness, which began in 1911, when you visited England. I saw you again at the War Conference and renewed my acquaintance at the period of comradeship on service on the Carso Plateau and by subsequent meetings. I know that a warm welcome awaited me here, and that Your Highness would give me the best sport and hospitality.

But apart from personal grounds for my satisfaction, it is a great pleasure to me to be able to visit the capital of the premier State in the Punjab and the leading Sikh State in India. I need not refer to the past history of relations of the Patiala State with the British Government, which date back from 1809 and have been of the happiest nature. To a loyal and capable statesman such as Your Highness, the crisis of the great war came not as a trial, but as an opportunity. Immediately on its outbreak Your Highness offered your personal services and the resources of your State to the Empire. You proceeded post haste to the front, though regrettable illness compelled your return. Your Imperial Service Troops, Cavalry and Infantry, went on service and continued in the field, rendering conspicuous assistance till the end of the war. In addition, Your Highness raised in the

State and maintained a Camel Corps and two Corps, which were of great value to our forces. I believe that Patiala State can boast to be the only State in India which raised from its own subjects and maintained from its revenues, separate complete corps. In addition, when in 1918, the Premier called for special efforts in the Empire, Your Highness set a noble example to your brother Princes by your offer to raise in the State three battalions of infantry, in addition to maintaining the flow of recruits to the Imperial Service Troops and the Indian Army. The total number of Patiala subjects who enlisted in these forces amounted to 28,000, a contribution in man power of which the State may well be proud.

Your Highness did memorable work in the War Conference in 1918, and subsequently visited the various fronts in Belgium, France, Italy and Palestine. Your Highness must have felt gratified in the latter country to see your own Imperial Service Infantry Regiment already covered with laurels and about to win more in Lord Allenby's famous advance in September, 1918.

It was a great privilege to me to be able to see Your Highness' fine troops here and inspect the ex-service men of your State. In money contributions Your Highness was equally lavish. The total expenditure on the State war services amounted to Rs 82 lakhs, and including the contribution to war loans, to one and one-third of a crore.

There are many other matters I might mention, but I think that the varied tale which I have set forth will show that Your Highness and your State have in no respect fallen short of your glorious traditions of loyalty and service. Few States can show such a record. It is indeed a fortunate chance that in this crisis the Punjab had Your Highness as its premier Prince, and the Sikhs had you as their most prominent leader. I feel proud that my House possesses such a true and devoted friend, and I am happy to be able in person to-night to offer my thanks and congratulations for this record of unwearied service and loyalty. May the years that pass draw our ties still closer.

I need not say what pleasure it was to me when Your Highness expressed a desire to be attached to my staff in India.

I must thank Your Highness again for all your kindness and hospitality. I have thoroughly

enjoyed my visit to Patiala, which is the home of the sport of polo and of pig-sticking. I must leave the latter pastime behind me in Patiala with regret, but as regards polo, I do hope that I may some day be able to show my friends in England that the Patiala Polo Team does not belie my accounts of it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking prosperity to the Patiala State, and long life and happiness to its illustrious ruler.

#### MILITARY SCHOOL AT JULLUNDUR

[ H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, in laying the foundation stone of the King George's Royal Indian Military School at Jullundur on Feb. 25, said : ]

As one who had the privilege of serving in the field in the great War, I feel I may address as comrades those gallant soldiers who are gathered here to-day. It is a very real pleasure to be among you again and to stand here in the centre of a civil district and division which contributed so many recruits to help the Empire to success in the great struggle. India supplied a total of 7,00,000 combatant recruits during the War. It is to the abiding glory of this Province that half of these came from the Punjab and it is to your lasting credit that all classes in this neighbourhood responded to the call. While pride of place for enlistment of the largest percentage of their community in this neighbourhood rests with Mehtors, actually the largest number of recruits was furnished by Jat Sikhs. Out of the total male population of a million, the Sikhs enlisted 90,000 men. That is one-fourth of the total number of the combatants furnished by the Province and one-eighth of the total number furnished by India as a whole, in which the Sikhs formed but one per cent. of the population. The response of other classes as well, who, before the Great War, had few, if any, inherited traditions of military service, was no less remarkable. I wish also to express my appreciation of the response to the call made by humbler ranks of people, followers and sweepers and others, whose service was of such value to our forces and earned repeated praise. But great as was your contribution in men, it was the spirit which animated them which shed the greatest glory on your community. Far from their homes, in the three continents and in many countries and fronts, in strange and rigorous climates, amid hourly dangers

of death, mutilation and disease, the men who were bred in these plains and hills showed the highest proof of the sturdy qualities of their race and of the depth of their loyalty to their King-Emperor and their salt. A well-known story of gallantry in Gallipoli of the famous Sikh regiment recruited in this neighbourhood is typical of the tenacity and valor which inspired you all. This regiment, on the 4th and 5th of June, 1915, fought an attack on Achibaba continuously for 24 hours losing one British Officer, 11 Indian Officers and 380 men out of a total force of 543. Of all ranks in action, they left the field at last checked with the enemy's dead, without having given an inch of ground.

Many Indian soldiers have pleaded for better educational facilities for their children. Their plea reached the ear of my father, the King-Emperor, who commanded that the monies of the King-Emperor's Patriotic Fund should be devoted to the building of special schools for the sons of Indian soldiers and that these schools should be called King George's Royal Indian Military Schools. It is my privilege to lay the foundation stone of the first of these schools to-day. I hope that the descendants of soldiers who come to learn in this school will carry three simple facts in their minds as they daily pass this stone. Firstly, that this school was built by the desire and at the command of the King-Emperor as a token of his admiration and regard for the military classes in India and in gratitude for their loyalty and devotion. Secondly, that this stone was laid by me in the loving memory of the comrades in the Great War; and thirdly, that the noblest use to which they can turn the education received here is the upholding of the great tradition of the loyalty, patriotism and service which was handed down to them by their fathers.

#### REPLY TO PUNJAB LEGISLATURE

[ H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, replying to the address of the Legislative Council of the Punjab on February 27, said : ]

I am touched by the warmth of the welcome to which you have given expression on behalf of the members of this Council. I am deeply gratified by the glowing tribute which you have paid to my father and mother. No one knows better than I do what deep love they cherish for India and they will be rejoiced to find that their love finds echo in the hearts of this Council.

Sir, you have referred to my visit as my first visit to the Punjab. In one sense you are right

for, this is the first time I have set foot on the Punjab soil. But in another sense you are wrong, for I began to visit the Punjab in spirit long ago, from the day the stalwart Punjabis of the Indian Expeditionary Force landed in France and in the years that came after when I shared their daily life as soldiers in many countries. My thoughts went forth to the plains and hills of the Punjab, my heart was with the fathers and brothers who had bid God-speed to these men when, in loyalty and devotion to their King-Emperor, they went forth as comrades-in-arms to distant and unknown lands. When one of my comrades fell, in sympathy and sorrow I was with you in your homesteads and I shared in your pride and rejoicing when your dear ones returned safe once more to your hamlets at the end of the War. Gentlemen, you have honoured me by calling me brother-in-arms of the gallant Punjabi in War and I am proud of the title. Now that days of peace have come, I want to feel that I still have you as trusty comrades in the tasks that lie before us. We, the British, and the Punjabis, have travelled the road of friendship together for many years. We have passed many milestones on that road. I for one wish to tread no other and I want to take you all along that road with me right to the very end.

Gentlemen, I have come here to-day to make your acquaintance, members of one of the young Parliaments of the Empire. As representatives of those whom I call my comrades, you have special claims on my regard. I sympathise with your aspirations. New political problems are arising as the result of world changes. You have your difficulties and dangers before you just as we had in the War. In that great struggle, patient training, trust, co-operation and courage led us to success at the end. I pray that Divine inspiration may guide your efforts in the same way to preserve and maintain the well-being of the people of the Punjab.

## INDIA IN TRANSITION

A STUDY IN POLITICAL EVOLUTION

BY H. H. THE AGHA KHAN.

CONTENTS:—Social Organisation. The Reasons for Reform. Federal Basis. Provincial Re-organisation. Protected States. The Central Government. The Vice-royalty. Local Self-Government. Islamic and Turanian Movements. The Path to Wider Confederation. Limits of British Trusteeship. Price Rupees Five.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

## Gandhi the Man

This is the title of a striking appreciation of Mr. Gandhi from the pen of the Rt. Hon Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. The article has appeared in the February number of the *Survey Graphic*, an American illustrated magazine. The editor of that journal records that, when asked to write of "Gandhi, the Man," Mr. Sastri said: "As his political adversary I consider it my duty to combat his political activities constantly. It is a privilege to be able to show my appreciation of his great spirit. It will be a labour of love."

Mr. Sastri, in his article, begins by explaining Mr. Gandhi's gospel of "Back to Nature." For



M. K. GANDHI

"his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure." And in this all comprehensive effort to reform the human-kind, *Swaraj* itself is but a campaign.

Then follows an interesting analysis of Mr. Gandhi's views on life and his criticism of modern civilization based on machinery.

Mr. Gandhi's theories of life are no mere logical abstractions formulated for the purpose of a moral treatise. They are meant to be lived: and he lives the life he preaches with such eloquence and fire. Says Mr. Sastri:—

Their propounder practices them in the spirit, and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears *khaddar* woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact, his love of suffering and hardship as means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite, like the ocean to use an eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact, it is his complete mastery of the passions, his realization of the ideal of a *sannyasin* in all the rigour of its eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Mr. Sastri finally refers to the Non-Co operation movement and Mr. Gandhi's attempts to embarrass the administration. But, when all is said, the writer is irresistibly inspired by the life of a great character whose presence is a benediction. And he concludes with these moving words of tribute:

The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says: "Do not tell me of holy ways or stoic images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight."

**Gandhi's Speeches and Writings.** Third Edition, considerably enlarged. Contains his speeches and writings on the South African Indian question, his views on indentured labour and Indians in the Colonies, his jail experiences in South Africa, his pronouncements on the Champaran and Khairat affairs, his discourses on Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha, the Punjab outrages, the Khilafat question, Swaraj, Non-Co-operation, Swadeshi, National education &c. With portraits and illustrations, cloth bound, indexed. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review* Rs. 2-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

### Economy in English Education

Dr. Sir M. Sadler deplores in the *Indian Education* (February, 1922), that the axe of retrenchment is being indiscriminately applied to the education tree and that Sir Eric Geddes has recommended a cut of from 10 to 20 per cent. in expenditure on education, £ 51 millions having been spent on English education in 1920-21. Says he :

Whether all the money voted by Parliament for education is spent to the best advantage is one question. Whether we can afford to spend any less upon schools and Universities is quite another. There are no signs, however, of any discrimination in the threatened economics. The axe, it is feared, will be used mechanically, and with brute force rather than with discretion. A veil of mystery hangs over the preparations which are being made for this drastic cut. In England there is a large body of opinion unfriendly to popular education. Lord Melbourne's view that education is futile and the education of the poor positively dangerous still has supporters, though they are careful not to be candid in public opposition to popular demands. But under the cloak of economy they may be able to get a good deal of their own way.

English national education needs every penny that was spent upon it in 1920-21. For us, as Mr. Arthur Henderson has said, 'educational economy is a form of national suicide.' For the present, owing to national exigencies, we may be obliged to refrain from additional expenditure, desirable though that would be. But actual retrenchment upon our present outlay would be false economy, hurtful to our national influence, bad for trade and unjust to the young.

### The Indian Jails Committee

Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, writing in the *Social Services Quarterly* (January), speaks of the value of the report of the Indian Jails Committee which visited various institutions and examined several experts in England, America, Philippines, Japan, and India. The scope of the Committee's investigations was very wide and almost every question bearing on jail administration received careful consideration. The main conclusions at which the Committee arrived may be summarised as follows :—

The classification or separation of prisoners must be systematic so that the younger or less experienced shall not be contaminated and rendered worse by communication and association with older or more hardened offenders. Severity alone has little effect in reclaiming the criminal and what is required is rather humanising and improving influences which will lead to the prisoner's realising the

essentially evil results of crime to himself and others. To enable the released prisoner to regain his place in society, the importance of aid to prisoners after release has been emphasized. It is also recognised in this Report that imprisonment is generally an evil and that all possible measures should be taken to avoid commitment to prison when any other course can be followed without detriment to public interest. By the adoption of wise and sympathetic treatment for the child criminal and the young offender, an attempt should be made to cut off the supply of fresh recruits to the army of habitual criminals. There are also suggestions about the shortening of the term of imprisonment with proper safeguards. It is also pointed out that, if a large number of persons is kept out of jail, and if also an attempt is made to secure the moral uplift of those who are already in jail, the general public is benefitted to a very large extent.

### The Lost Atlantis

Mr. Lewis Spence, the well-known writer on Mexican and Peruvian antiquities, says, in the *Occult Review*, that the legend of the lost Atlantis continent may have some basis in truth. Plato was the first to give the story currency in his *Timæus* and in its unfinished sequel *Critias*. The story was indeed a factor leading to the discovery of America; and the disappearance of Atlantis has certainly a suspicious resemblance to what archaeology tells us of the collapse of the empire of Knossos.

Older theories are pretty generally known, and can be consulted in the standard works on the subject. The celebrated archaeologist, Dr. Henry Schliemann, the excavator of Troy, left a charge to his grandson, Dr. Paul Schliemann, to make further researches regarding the civilization of Atlantis among the ruins of Sais in Egypt, in Mexico and Peru; and although he carried out the first part of his programme we have never been able to discover what were the results, if any, of his American excavations.

First, perhaps, among those modern geologists who uphold the Atlantean theory is Professor Edward Hull, whose investigations have led him to conclude that the Azores are the peaks of a submerged continent which flourished in the Pleistocene period. At this epoch the British and Continental rivers flowed out many miles beyond their present outlets, and this mid-Atlantic island enjoyed an equable climate when the temperature of the British Isles was, apparently, of a semi-polar nature.

The writer points to many American myths relating to a great deluge or volcanic catastrophe which impelled refugee strangers to visit and settle on the coast of their continent from the East, possibly from Atlantis.

### Swami Shraddhananda

Principal Champati, M.A., writing in the February number of the *Vedic Magazine* says that "India has of late begun to count Swami Shraddhananda among its national leaders." Indeed, since he took on ochre robes and entered the political arena, he has become even more recognised than when he was a silent, though distinguished, worker in the cause of education. His work in the Gurukula "has served as a screen over his modest glory." Munshi Ram, as he was then known, has earned the gratitude of a nation "as the originator of a system of education true to its oldest temperament and traditions." Personally he would claim no credit for originality in any enterprise. He owes his whole inspiration to his spiritual guide, Swami Dayananda. An ardent Arya Samajist, he devoted the best part of his life to the practical living of the Vedic life and the inculcation of that spirit to the young men of his Province. Here was the first and most fruitful impulse towards what is known as national education. The Gurukula is the first non-Government University that has maintained its ground in storm and sunshine. A living and concrete protest against foreign innovation, it has rejuvenated the study of Sanskrit, has more than vindicated the position of vernaculars in all schemes for education in India, has verified to the satisfaction even of its opponents not the possibility simply, but the supreme necessity of employing the spoken tongues of India as the media of instruction. What more, it has made decency consistent with an Indian suit of clothes. To this Gurukula he offered his all; he consecrated his wealth and his children to the cause.

The scene where the Lala is giving away to the Gurukula, his last earthly possession, his parental mansion at Jullundar, and to make sure that his sons may not after his death claim their ancestral heritage, in getting the deed of donation signed by his darlings too, is literally pathetic.

The tale of triumph was complete when he took the orders of Sanyasi at Haridwar. But he was

no recluse for ever. The Rowlatt agitation drew him from his meditations and he was at his post in Delhi guiding the multitudes that followed Mr. Gandhi. Since then he has been a prominent figure in Congress circles. From time to time he has differed from Mr. Gandhi in the details of political work, but he is at one with Mr. Gandhi in faith and sacrifice.

### India and Dominion Status

In the course of an article in the *United Empire*, Sir Michael O'Dwyer remarks that the Non-Co operation movement of Mr. Gandhi, the orientation of the Muhammadan extremists towards Angora or Bolshevik Russia, the unsatisfactory fiscal adjustment under which certain provinces are unable to pay their way, are serious obstacles to orderly constitutional progress, which would require for many years "British guidance, British civil and military support and British even-handed justice."

But it is now the duty of Indian statesmen to endeavour to qualify for full partnership with the Dominions by bringing themselves into line with the Dominions in the many essential matters in regard to which they are shown to be lagging far behind. Their first duty is to get rid of the anti-British spirit now so rampant in certain quarters, and to show a just and generous spirit to the British Services, whose devoted labours have raised India to its present position and whose aid is essential to the maintenance of those British standards of administration which the other partners in the Empire adhere to themselves and will insist on in India.

Any attempt to force the political pace faster than social conditions, the state of education and political knowledge among the masses, religious toleration, the position of the depressed classes, the capacity for self-defence, justify, is foredoomed to failure and disaster.

It will probably take generations to fulfil these conditions. That was the case even in the Dominions, which attained their present high status by long and patient effort, under the direction of the Motherland. India's progress towards Self-government will need in an infinitely greater degree the controlling hand, and the sympathetic guidance of the British Government, the support of the Imperial forces against external foes and internal disorder, the presence of a staff of British officials and administrators strong enough to maintain British standards of impartiality, efficiency, and progressive development in the various Services and Departments. It is for the people of India and their "representatives," who as yet have but little claim to speak for the masses, to show that they understand their responsibilities and are approaching them in the right spirit.

## Sex and Reproduction

Dean Inge, writing in the *Birth Control Review* (the official organ of the American Birth Control League) for January, says that depopulation is a rare phenomenon in the history of the human race, caused by a change in the climate, exhaustion of the soil or diversion of trade routes.

The depopulation of Mesopotamia followed necessarily on the destruction of the irrigation system by the Mongol Hordes. The physiological infertility which is exterminating the physically splendid races in the South Sea Islands is another matter. It is a rare disease, and the causes of it have not been fully cleared up.

It is, of course, possible for a nation to increase its numbers by expropriating another nation. Merely to subjugate another nation is worse than useless, because the conquered people, being driven to a lower standard of living, will probably multiply faster than their conquerors. It is no use even to massacre all the fighting men. But if the women and children can be driven from their homes, and their lands seized by the invaders, then no doubt the conquerors may multiply up to the limits imposed by the size and fertility of the occupied territory.

After explaining the real expansion of the White races at the expense of the coloured races that has been going on merrily in the last three or four centuries, the Dean proceeds:

These, then, are the facts. The natural rate of human increase never has been and never can be attained. An equilibrium between birth and deaths is the normal state of things. The nineteenth century was not normal, but unique. There are no more empty Americas and Australias, and, equally important, we have no longer any great surplus of manufactured goods, because the producers of those goods have begun to ask why they should not enjoy themselves. The "Expansion of England," over which Sir John Seeley gloated so eloquently, was a grand thing while it lasted, except for the barbarians whose lands we took from them, but it has reached its natural and inevitable limit. We must cut our coat according to our cloth and adapt ourselves to changing circumstances.

## Divine Healing

In the *International Review of Missions*, the Bishop of Assam discusses whether healing in the name of Christ is only a higher form of suggestion and the same in essence as the healing by faith in an idol, a fetish, a charm, and whether,

if healing is sought by prayer and faith from Christ, it is inconsistent or unfaithful to use medical means. Missionary experience gives numbers of remarkable and sudden cures and also of many gradual cures and above all of spiritual blessing. He says:—

The summing up of this Bible teaching to my mind is as follows: God is the source of all good, of all life, and, therefore, of all health and healing. Sickness has come from the evil powers that oppose God, and through man's obedience to them, God's will is to deliver man from all evil, and to give all His children fullness of health in body, mind and spirit. In Christ Jesus, God Incarnate, this will is fully revealed and this power as part of the *pleroma* dwells in Him in bodily form (Col. ii. 9). He actually healed 'all manner of sickness and all manner of diseases,' and many of the cases recorded were organic and incurable: He demanded faith as a condition and could not heal without it: He never refused any one who came with faith to be healed and never indicated that it was God's will they should suffer. Where need was He healed the sick souls as well as the sick body and linked up forgiveness of sins with healing: He encouraged the weak in faith to believe, and left promises which are evidently meant to be of abiding validity that those who believe in Him shall do the works that He did, specifically mentioning the healing of the sick: He trained, empowered and commanded His disciples to perform this ministry, linking it with the preaching of the Gospel, and ordering both alike to be dispensed gratis, 'freely ye have received, freely give.' After his glorification He poured out His Holy Spirit in His Church, and this Spirit gave the gift of healing, along with other gifts, to whomsoever He willed. The Apostles, and many others, continued on a large scale and in all lands the Saviour's ministry of healing, and this led to a rapid spread of Christianity.

Finally he concludes thus:

The conclusion I draw from such study is that God is leading us back at this time to the rediscovery of an almost forgotten truth, and the recapture of a great and wonderful power. The researches of scientists indicate that this power is closely connected with the class of phenomena we call psychic, and that it follows natural laws; that does not in the least cause me to think it less divine, or less supernatural. Conversion, which we believe is the work of God the Holy Spirit, has been shown by masters of psychology to follow natural laws, and the more we know of such natural laws, the more we can co-operate with the Spirit of God in effecting it. Whether we will be able or not to find a difference in kind and not merely in degree between mind healing, and healing by the prayer of faith, between 'faith healing' on lower levels and faith healing in its highest significance, seems to me unimportant, compared with the difference which we certainly do find between the two kinds of healing 'in their fruits.' Mental healing does not produce spiritual fruits, but the healing that is by faith in God through Christ does issue in fuller life of the spirit as well as of the body.

### The Aftermath in East Bengal

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the *Modern Review* for March, draws valuable lessons from the tragedy of the exodus of the tea-garden labourers from Assam—the Gurkha outrage at Chandpur, and the railway and steamship strikes that followed. Besides condemning the age-long oppression of the poor going on in India and the growth of a new untouchability in the European Colonies, he writes the following pregnant paragraphs regarding the gravity of the whole episode.

Thus the deadlock at Chandpur in East Bengal may have been but one tiny incident in the midst of the great world convulsions. But, all the same, it had for me a significance of its own; for, in a certain sense, it has seemed to be a replica, in miniature, of the whole Indian situation.

We can see, for instance, the weakness of a foreign Government, which lives its own life in Darjeeling, entirely aloof from the sufferings of the common people. We can also understand the weakness of a popular cause, when it relies on excitement rather than upon sound reason for its basis of action.

Once more, we can gain a vivid picture of the selfishness of a capitalistic system, with its board of directors in London, utterly remote from the poor people who are employed to make their profits. We can see this system, through its representatives, ready to sacrifice human life in a cholera epidemic, if only its own business interests remain intact. We can observe also the selfishness underlying much of the politics of the times in which we live, when the poor themselves are used as pawns in the political game and homes and families are wrecked by useless and unmeaning strikes.

### A Missionary's Impressions of India

Writing in a recent issue of the *Public Opinion*, a missionary records his impressions regarding the New Spirit in India; and we extract from the article the impressions of the writer about Mahatma Gandhi's influence:

In these days the missionary in India is confronted on all sides with evidence of the extraordinary influence of Mr. Gandhi. In remote villages the Mahatma Gandhi, whom the majority have not seen, is worshipped as a heaven-sent leader. The Non-Cooperation movement, the economic boycott in places perhaps a thousand miles apart, indicate the nature and wide extent of this influence.

Mr. Gandhi is one of those simple souls who believe that there once existed a golden age. He has read of the quiet pastoral life which his people once lived.....In the old days a truly Indian civilisation existed. Mr. Gandhi omits the description of the

insecurity of life, of which there is ample evidence, in those days, the extent to which disease went unchecked, and the degradation of the outcastes. He dwells on the simplicities of that age, and he longs to get back to it."

Again, with a frankness which is really commendable, the writer adds the following as the true attitude that ought to be adopted by the true missionary:

No man should go to India who is not willing to be purely and simply a servant of India. Missionaries in China have this advantage, that they are not so likely to be taken for servants of the Raj. The missionary must make it quite plain that the Kingdom of God and the British Raj are not identical, and that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is super-national. In the coming years missionaries may have increasing opportunities of influencing Indian leaders who are seeking to build up a worthy national life.

### Patriotism & the Teaching of History

A Headmaster, writing in *Education* (January), the organ of the U. P. Secondary Education Association, says that, with the wave of national awakening passing over our country, it has now become urgently necessary to revise our aims and methods of history teaching in schools and colleges. History teaching develops imagination in the earlier stages and the faculty of judgment in the later stages; but usually the patriotic aspect of history is at a discount in our system of pedagogics and it is condemned, because it may falsify history and reduce it to the level of romance. The writer says:

To those that may oppose the patriotic transformation in the aims of history teaching in our schools and colleges, it may be pointed out that it need not falsify history, and may, in all probability, do positive good by giving a moderating tone to the radical and misdirected patriotism of the young Indian student. History, above all other subjects, leaves indelible impression upon the minds of young men, and so, if the proposed aim is also kept in view, a properly taught student of history would not be easily led away by the catch-phrases of the mere political agitators.

We should not be afraid of falsification. It requires the same statement of facts expressed in another form in order to make history palatable to a patriotically-minded student. It is not necessary that a defeat be converted into a victory of a rogue into a saint, but it is necessary that a defeat be regretted and even the devil may have his due. Let there be a note of sympathy in the conclusions and comments of the historian, if his work is to inspire students with sober patriotism.



### Co-operative Consolidation of Holdings

Mr. H. Calvert, Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, describes, in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, January, 1922, the tendency towards fragmentations of holdings in Jullunder where the average field does not exceed  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre and each owner has, on an average, about 25 scattered fields to cultivate. An experiment was tried for a solution of the problem of how to consolidate holdings along co-operative lines. The scheme put forward was as follows:—

Each owner had to agree to the desirability of consolidation, and to the general idea of repartition of the village lands with this end in view; each such owner had then to agree to abide by any plan of repartition approved by two-thirds of all the owners; and further to give up possession of his own lands and to accept in exchange the lands allotted to him; all disputes to be referred to arbitration; possession so given was to be cultivating possession for four years only; on the expiration of this period, the former possession was to be restored unless all the participating owners unanimously agreed to retain the new division as permanent ownership. Persons accepting these conditions could form a Co-operative Consolidation of Holdings Society. The general meeting would discuss the method of partition and decide on the main principles to be observed, such as the kinds of lands, the retention of former possession, and whether minor differences as to trees, etc., should be made good by money payments and so on. In the case of any difference of opinion, any resolution would only be binding if two-thirds of the members approved of it. If there were not two-thirds of all the members in favour, then it would be necessary to devise some alternative method, or the society would dissolve. When a method of partition had been decided upon, the managing committee was to proceed to draw up a scheme of repartition in accordance therewith. This scheme was to be placed before the general meeting; if two-thirds of all the members accepted it, it would be binding on all, otherwise it was to be discarded. If a scheme received the approval prescribed, members were bound to give up and accept possession in accordance with it. A member, who felt aggrieved, could refer the point in dispute to arbitration.

### Illustrating the Mahabharatha

The Pant Pritinidhi, Chief of Aundh and the Chairman of the Mahabharatha Committee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which has undertaken the task of issuing a complete, critical, annotated and illustrated edition of the Mahabharatha, discusses in the current number of the *Journal of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, the question as to how to draw the pictures

that are to go in the edition. He says that we shall not be going far wrong in holding that the details of daily life as portrayed on Indian sculptures and status belonging roughly to the period 300 B.C. to 150 B.C., in so far as they depict certain costumes, ornaments etc, must have been those which prevailed from very ancient times. The same fashions in costumes and ornaments were generally followed for 7 or 8 centuries after in the engravings and pictures of Sanchi, Barahut, Bhilsa; Ajanta, Ellora etc. The scenes carved on the walls of the Barahut Topes before 250 B. C., are purely indigenous since they are uninfluenced or spoiled by any foreign style; and the style followed can well be taken to have extended for about 1,000 years back i.e., to the real or supposed epic and more particularly the Mahabharatha period. Mistakes offending against the fundamental principles of anatomy and perspective which have successively been perpetuated at Sanchi etc., will be guarded against. The chief points to be taken from them are dresses, garments, crown head-dresses of kings; belts, equipment of ordinary persons, of queens, ladies etc; the clothing and bedeckment of elephants, horses etc; war-chariots, carriages etc; hunting and military expeditions; musical instruments; buildings, houses, roads, mansions etc; weapons and arms, swords, lances etc.

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

- INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY. By Sudhir Kumar Lahiri. ["Indian Business" February 1922.]
- BYGONE BRITISH ARTISTS IN INDIA. By Horace Wyndham ["Hindustan Review" February 1922.]
- SOME COMMON INDIAN BIRDS. By T. Bain-Briggs Fletcher, R. N. and C. M. Inglis, F. E. S. ["The Agricultural Journal of India" Vol. XVII Part I.]
- INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE. ["Labour Gazette," Feb. 1922.]
- UGANDA AND THE INDIAN CHURCH. By C. F. Andrews, M.A. ["The Young Men of India," March 1922.]
- WOMANHOOD IN ZEND AVESTA. By Mrs. Meher Maneck Pithawalla. ["Parsi Sansar," March 1922.]

## The Turkish Problem

After consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Provincial Governments, the Government of India despatched the following telegram regarding the revision of the Treaty of Sevres to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on the 28th February last. It was the publication of this despatch that led to the resignation of Mr. Montagu.

"On the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference, we feel it our imperative duty to lay once more before His Majesty's Government the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. We are fully alive to the complexity of the problem and the conflict of interests that have to be considered, but India's service in the Great War and more especially in Mesopotamia and Palestine, where success was largely achieved by her army with its complement of Muslim soldiers, the vastness of her Muslim population, the intense stirring of religious feeling over the Turkish question among it, the large degree of support the Indian Muslim cause is receiving from India at large, all these entitle her to claim the utmost consideration of her aspirations and their fulfilment in so far as they are just, equitable and reasonable. We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety, but we urge upon His Majesty's Government three points, with due provision having been made for safeguarding the neutrality of the Straits and the security of the non-Turkish populations. We urge, as of the first importance, first, the evacuation of Constantinople, second, the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places, third, the restoration of the Ottoman Thrace, including the sacred Muslim city of Adrianople and the unreserved restoration of Smyrna. We earnestly trust that His Majesty's Government will give these aspirations all possible weight for their fulfilment as it is of the greatest importance to India."

## The Moplah Train Tragedy

The following is a summary of the findings of the Committee of Enquiry into the death of Moplah prisoners in a train. The Report, which is unanimous, says :

"1. That the death was due to asphyxia caused by confinement in an insufficiently ventilated van.

"2. That vans of similar pattern had been used for the conveyance of over 2,500 prisoners on 32 different journeys without mishap, but the vans, though similar in pattern, differed in ventilation. The van in which the tragedy occurred had gauze covering of windows choked with paint and allowed insufficient ventilation for the number of prisoners carried in it.

"3. That the vans used were ventilated waggons and not closed trucks and their use was not objectionable and implied no inhumanity to prisoners. Their use in the circumstances of the emergency was undoubtedly justified, but the practice should have been kept under better regulations and separate inspection of ventilation of each van made before use.

### RESPONSIBILITY.

"The committee held that the main responsibility for the catastrophe lies on the railway company and its local representative, the traffic inspector, for failure to see that the conveyance supplied was fit for the purpose intended.

"So far as the local subordinate officials, namely, the sub-magistrate and the sergeant and the police are concerned, the committee find that they were justified in following the practice of using such vans which had been established and continued by superior authority, and that, so far they were concerned, the acceptance of the unsuitable van was accidental and not due to their negligence. Owing to the Martial Law conditions some obscurity lay as to whether superior responsibility lay on the military commander or a special civil officer. The committee find that the arrangements were in practice under civil directions, and that the special civil officer should have brought the system of transport under better regulation. The committee also find the sergeant of police guilty of negligence in failing to take note of the condition of the prisoners while on journey. Had he done so, the disaster would have been averted or at least its consequences mitigated."

# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Mr. Montagu on his Resignation

Mr. Montagu made a magnificent speech to his constituents in Cambridge defending his action in allowing the publication of the Government of India despatch urging revision of the Treaty of Sevres. Mr. Montagu said: He circulated the Government of India's telegram to members of the Cabinet on March 3, and told Lord Curzon on the occasion of the Cabinet meeting that he had authorised its publication on March 4. Thus Lord Curzon could, if he desired, have resumed his seat in the Cabinet, which was still sitting, and could have urged his colleagues to object to the publication and there was ample time to send a telegram stopping publication. Lord Curzon, however, maintained silence and sent Mr. Montagu the same evening "one of those plaintive, hectoring, bullying and complaining letters, which are so familiar to his colleagues and friends," requesting that the matter should not be discussed at the Cabinet and asking Mr. Montagu not to allow publication of such documents in future, without consulting him.

Mr. Montagu did not think that the question of the publication of the despatch was a matter for discussion with the Cabinet. It was a question of a Minister's individual responsibility. He described the accusation that he had committed a breach of the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, as a grotesque accusation, especially coming from the present Prime Minister, a great, if eccentric, genius, whose contributions to the well-being of the world and Great Britain were well advertised, but who demanded as the price of his achievement the total disappearance of the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility.

Mr. Montagu cited Lord Milner's Report on Egypt, Colonel Amery's Admiralty Memorandum on the Geddes Recommendations, and Mr. Winston Churchill's speech on Kenya, as violations of this doctrine. Mr. Montagu declared that the

confusions between 10, Downing Street and the Foreign Office regarding foreign affairs formed a commonplace of the political history of Europe.

Mr. Montagu declared that, having been given separate representation at the Peace Conference, and having received Dominion status, India was entitled to express her views in what she thought best in the interests of the country and which ought to be the guiding factors of the new peace.

In Mr. Montagu's opinion, the reason why he was now free should be sought in the present political situation, with the Government dangerously near collapse. Mr. Lloyd George, in order to get the support of the Conservatives, had presented the "Die-Hards" with his (Mr. Montagu's) head on a charger.

The "Die-Hards" section of the Conservative Party disliked him (Mr. Montagu) and Mr. Lloyd George gave them an appetiser on the occasion of the Indian debate, when the Premier complimented his assailants and did not say a word in his defence. The "Die-hards" had shown in Indian affairs a complete lack of political sagacity and they were supported by other disgruntled persons connected with India and lugubrious ex-Governors of inconspicuous and inglorious careers. They fomented trouble in India by baseless remarks of lack of support, asserting that the Government of India were prevented from maintaining order from Home.

His successor, stated Mr. Montagu, would find ample evidence of the support which he had given. He concluded by impressing upon his friends in India that the British people sympathised with the Indian people, and by urging the British people not to permit their Government to vacillate in Indian policy.

He did not believe that his disappearance would mean any alteration in the Indian policy. It was an effort to preserve the Government.

## Indian Princes' Banquet

While in Delhi, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales was the guest of the Ruling Princes at a Banquet given in his honour at the Maiden's Hotel. There were no less than 250 guests among whom were Ruling Princes, High Officials, Legislators and prominent public men.

The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior proposed the health of His Royal Highness. He said there was perfect identity between the aims and ideals of the Houses of Indian Princes and the Imperial House of Windsor; for they all wanted permanent endurance of the British Empire upon whose continuous growth and solidarity depended the peace of the world.

Replying to the toast, the Prince of Wales felt grateful for the splendid entertainment and said :—

"I can now say that I feel that I know, in a measure at least, the Rulers of Indian States, and their peoples and that I understand their difficulties and sympathise with their aims and aspirations. I hope that they also have begun now to know me, and that out of our meetings, a fuller understanding has sprung up, which is the permanent foundation of mutual trust and regard."

The Prince said, after leaving India, he would often remember the hospitality of the Princes, and his thoughts would turn with even deeper feeling of satisfaction to the sacrifices of their order in the war for an Empire which had, for many years, preserved their States from external dangers and maintained in their integrity their privileges.

## Temperance in Indian States

Mr. W. E. Johnson writes in the *American Issue* (the prohibitionist organ), dated December, 31, 1921, that the States of Limbdi, Palanpur, and Bhavnagar, all in Bombay Presidency, have closed up all their liquor shops, and Limbdi has also closed up its distillery.

## Industrial Development in Mysore

The Mysore Durbar, with a view to the promotion of industrial activity in the State, recently announced their decision to accord facilities to private enterprise willing to undertake the establishment of industries on a large scale in the State. It was observed that investigations carried out at the instance of Government, and with the aid of experts, had disclosed that raw materials were available in sufficient quantities for starting such industries. Conditions regarding climate, native labour power, etc., were also favourable. There was thus sufficient scope for the immediate establishment of at least two or three industries of magnitude such as, manufacture of paper pulp and paper from bamboos, an up-to-date saw-mill and furniture factory, silk filature, etc. The Government express their willingness to consider applications from intending persons or companies for concessions which they desire from Government in the case of any particular industry or industries they propose to start.

## The Prince at Indore

His Highness the Maharaja Holkar wound up his speech at the State Banquet at Indore with the following significant statement: "Your Royal Highness, the present upheaval all the world over in matters social, economic and political has given birth to a new order of things. It is the aim of myself and my Government to direct within my State these new and vital elements into their proper channel and utilise them in the direction of order and progress." In pursuance of the responsible statement, says a *Times of India* correspondent, the subjects of His Highness are expectantly looking forward to the radical changes that His Highness may before long be disposed to effect in his Government, as also to the exact share that he may be pleased to grant to the public voice in their own Government.

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Indian Immigration

The following telegram addressed by His Excellency the Viceroy to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated the 25th February, 1922, is published for general information.

"On the 23rd Feb. the following resolution was carried unanimously in the Council of State:—

This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he should communicate to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India the strong feeling of resentment aroused in this Council and in the country generally by the speech of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Winston Churchill, delivered at the last East African Dinner in London.

"The same strength of feeling was revealed in the debate as was shown in the Assembly. One member even urged that the Government of India should not rest content with mere representations, notwithstanding how strongly they are worded, but, in the event of failure to secure a decision in favour of India, should resign in a body as a constitutional protest. Mr. Churchill's later statement in the House of Commons of the 14th February has had no effect in relieving the anxiety and indignation felt in this country as to immigration. It was urged that the existing ordinances were suitable, that there was no need for departure therefrom, but Indians would be effectually shut out as a result of the English language test, and that any limitation imposed so as to resist the next Indian immigration would be a grave departure from the accepted policy of the Imperial Government with regard to Crown Colonies and Protectorates. There was keen resentment on questions of exclusion from highlands and restrictions on transfer."

## Indian Delegates in British Guiana

The special correspondent of the Associated Press wires from George Town (British Guiana) that Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillay and Mr. Tivarj, members of the Indian Delegation arrived there on the 12th February. The Indian Association presented a welcome address on the 15th in the Town Hall when the Governor was present.

## Indians in Africa

The National Missionary Council of India, Burma and Ceylon has forwarded to India the following statement on Indians in Africa, agreed upon by the Council at its recent meeting at Poona in January and reaffirmed at its Executive meeting in Calcutta on 21st and 22nd February:—

The attention of the National Missionary Council has been directed to the position of Indians in East Africa.

First, a resolution of the Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India held in 1921 contains the statements that

"there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire,"

and that

"it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

Second, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies has made the statement that

"there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

The National Missionary Council heartily welcome these statements and hopes that the Government of the Union of South Africa may soon see its way to give its adherence to them.

The National Missionary Council heartily support the Government of India in its efforts to secure just treatment for the Indian community in East Africa. The Council holds that, if the British Government has adopted the principles which underlie the statements quoted above, it is unjust to refuse to apply these principles in a single case like that of East Africa.

It has been brought to the notice of the Council that some prominent advocates of the policy of restricting the citizen rights of the Indians in East Africa have publicly stated that they advocate this policy in the interests of Christianity. To this plea the Council unhesitatingly replied that the interests of Christianity have never been advanced by denying to anyone justice and fairplay.

## India's Resources

Presiding at a meeting of the East India Association, London, Sir Thomas Holland urged the importance of cheap power in India for chemical and metallurgical industries and declared that separate manufacture of munitions in each of the Dominions was absolutely essential for military reasons. He added that, until India could produce sulphuric acid at £3 per ton and electrical power equally cheap, the rest of her resources were so much loot for any Power that could dodge the British navy. Narcotics and soothing syrups like the League of Nations and the Washington Conference might be swallowed with safety by self-contained countries but merely endangered the national life of India.

Sir T. Holland said liberal reforms were important but cheap power and sulphuric acid were essential and, judging by undignified communiques in reply to impertinent open letters, India seemed to be hovering between the important and the essential. Meanwhile water was uselessly running down the ghats and sulphide ores were leaving India in ship-loads.

## The Spinning Industry

The following quotation from Wordsworth describes the poet's feelings on the supersession of the spinning industry in England:—

"I could write a treatise of lamentation upon the changes brought about among the cottages of Westmoreland by the silence of the spinning wheel. During long winter nights and wet days, the wheel upon which wool was spun gave employment to a great part of the family. The old man, however infirm, was able to card the wool as he sat in the corner by the fire-side; and often, when a boy, have I admired the cylinders of carded wool which were softly laid upon each other by his side. Two wheels were often at work on the same floor; and others of the family, chiefly little children, were occupied in teasing and cleaning the wool to fit it for the hand of the carder."

## New Artificial Silk

Great interest has been aroused in British business circles by the new synthetic silk which has just been placed on the market after many months of investigation and research work. The Hawick Woollens Manufacturing Co. are now making underclothes from the new material. The makers claim that it is an entirely new product, and far superior to the artificial silks made from wood fibre. The material is said to practically have the strength and elasticity of silk; it looks and feels like silk, it will wash like linen, and will not shrink; it is also claimed that boiling has absolutely no effect on the material, if anything, it improves it. Synthetic silk is non-hygroscopic; therefore, it is a thoroughly hygienic material, and at the same time very warm. Prices of the product, says the *Indian Terrestrial Journal*, compare very favourably with the other kinds of artificial silk; for instance, a piece of the standard width, 56 ins wide, is to cost 13s. 8d. a yard wholesale, and a ladderless fabric made from a 75 denier with a two-over one weave of the same width is to cost 8s. 10d. a yard.

## Art in Industry

Mr. Arthur Wilcock, special inspector of textile designs, Board of Education, in a paper he read before the Royal Society of Arts, said it gave one cause for satisfaction to feel that there was a great educational movement in progress among the best houses of business. In the production of artistic goods it was beginning to be realised that someone who knew a little about art and design was necessary and important for the merchandising of these goods. The artist himself, provided he was not one of those with his "head in the clouds," was being sought out. Extraordinary developments were at hand in business in the search for personality.

# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## A Sugarcane Cutter

Preliminary tests hold out hopes that a mechanical cutter invented by Sir Percy Scott, the famous gunnery expert, will solve the labour difficulties of the world's sugarcane fields. The machine is hand propelled, weighs about 2 cwts., and has a projecting knife which makes 3,000 revolutions per minute. "The cane grows in clusters," said Sir Percy to a newspaper reporter lately, "and in the trials I have used five pieces of very hard bamboo, 2-ins. in diameter, which, I consider, offer two or three times the resistance of sugarcane. In each instance the knife went through the bunches like butter. Final tests will be made in the actual sugarcane fields."

## A Pure Strain of Cotton

A recent bulletin of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, describes the experiments in regard to the Cawnpore-American cotton in the Canal Districts of the United Provinces.

"By pure line selection with the necessary precautions against cross fertilization, a pure race has been isolated from the mixed acclimatized exotic known as Cawnpore-American cotton. This yields well, has a staple of  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and is suitable for spinning 25's warps and 30's wefts in Cawnpore and up to 36's in Lancashire. Over 1,100 acres of this selection were grown by cultivators in 1920 and sufficient seed is now available to replace the original Cawnpore-American entirely."

## The Electric Micrometer

Mr. John J. Darling, of University College, Dublin, Ireland, has just invented a device which promises to be very valuable to horticulturists, agriculturists and others. It is called an "electric micrometer," and it is now being used to register growth changes in plants hitherto regarded as beyond measurement on account of their small size. Special success, it may be observed, has attended his experiments with the roots of broad beans.

## Cow Protection

Writing in the January number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Mr. W. Smith, Imperial Dairy Expert, says that, even from a purely utilitarian point of view, it is good to have a very special regard for the cow and all which pertains to her well-being, and consequently cow protection is a necessary plank in the economic platform of Indian progress.

Some prominent men in India advocate prohibition of the export of cattle as a form of cow protection, others call for Government orders prohibiting the slaughter of cattle for food, while a section of the rural community consider that the setting apart by the State of large areas of land for grazing purposes only would solve the problem. "No doubt something can be said in favour of all these proposals, but it seems to me that the first and most needful form of cow protection urgently wanted in India is the stoppage of the slaughter of young cows and female buffaloes in the large cities."

## Improvement of Hemp Stalks

Developing hemp stalks from less than six feet to more than 14 ft. in height, and at the same time more than doubling the internode spaces—length of uninterrupted fibre between joints—was an accomplishment of the United States Department of Agriculture in six years' breeding work at the Arlington Experimental Farm, says the *Popular Science Siftings*. The improvement was obtained through careful selection each year. Every plant in the selection plot is measured, and a record kept. Each succeeding crop is grown from seed of the best individual plants of the preceding year. Those having longer internode spaces are much preferred. The sizes of hemp mentioned are obtained only in hemp cultivated in drills or checkrows for seed, but the relative increase in size of field hemp sown broadcast for fibre production with the improved seed is about the same.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

**Poems.** By Dudley G. Davies of the Indian Civil Service. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

These poems disclose much promise. The subjects are varied. We come across such fine lines as—

"Islands as jewels rising from the Ocean,  
Misty and far seen, delicate at dawn."

We wish the author success in his endeavour to realise and express the beauty of life in verse.

**Confluence of Opposites** By C R Jain, Bar-at-Law, Hardoi.

This book is a valuable exposition of Jain philosophy and religion. But the author's whimsical and supercilious attitude towards other religions detracts from the value of that portion of the work which deals with the tenets of religions other than Jainism. But his analysis of the Jaina religion with its emphasis on *Karma Akhimsa and Tapas*, its analysis of *Padartas*, and its realisation of the blissful nature of the soul is valuable and lucid. He has written various works on Jainism and has done much to expound in a clear manner one of the noblest and purest faiths of the world.

**Literature for the Young.** The Indian Publishing House, Ltd., Madras.

We welcome the series of supplementary reading books which the Indian Publishing House are issuing for the benefit of school children. These books are in different grades of difficulty according to the requirements of the standards; and their usefulness lies in the fact that they supply wholesome indigenous literature for the young apart from the routine texts supplied to them in schools. The story of the Epics and the Puranas will always find eager readers, and it is interesting to come across a delightful collection of Father Beschi's Stories done into English by Benjamin Babington of the Madras Civil Service of the Company days.

**Self-healing by Divine Understanding.**

By W. Owen Hughes : Williamson & Co, Essex.

This volume aims at making us attain spiritual equilibrium and physical health by mental and spiritual effort. It teaches the doctrine that there is nothing discordant in creation and that we must overcome our physical and mental discords by perfect faith in the goodness and might of God.

**The Parsi Sansar.** We have received a copy of the Prince of Wales Number of the *Parsi Sansar* published in honour of the occasion of His Royal Highness' visit to Karachi. This special number contains a number of interesting contributions besides a sketch of the Prince, and is amply illustrated.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE TURKS AND EUROPE. By Gaston Gaillard, Thomas Murby & Co., London.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, 1765-1920. By B. K. Thackore, B.A., I.E.S., D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

DAWN OF MODERN FINANCE IN INDIA. By Hon. Prof. V. G. Kale, M.A., Arya Bhushan Press, Poona.

SCIENCE, TRUTH AND RATIONALISM AS TESTS OF HINDU RELIGION. By K. R. Ramasubba Sastri, Principal Munsiff, Trivandrum.

A UTOPIA OF EDUCATION. By M. Phukan, B.A., Jorhat, Assam.

MAHATMA GANDHI. With an appreciation by Lala Lajpat Rai. National Literature Publishing Co., Bombay.

POEMS, NEW AND OLD. By Sir Henry Newbolt. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. By Gilbert Murray, LL.D. George Unwin & Allen, Ltd., London.

CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY. By Bernard Bosanquet. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

A STUDY OF CASTE. By P. Lakshmi Narasu. K. V. Raghavulu, 367, Mint Street, Madras.

INSTRUCTIONS ON BEE KEEPING. By C. C. Ghosh, B.A. Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Burma, Rangoon.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE BARODA STATE, from 1910-11 to 1919-20. Baroda Printing Works, Baroda.

A HISTORY OF KANARESE LITERATURE by E. P. Rice, B.A. Association Press, Calcutta.

A NOTE ON THE EDUCATION OF PARSEE CHILDREN. By Cavasji D. Mahaluxmiwalla. The Author, Motiwalla Mansions, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.

THE HINDU RELIGIOUS YEAR. By M. M. Underhill B. Litt. Association Press, Calcutta.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 15. The House of Lords resolved to appoint a Standing Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons on Indian affairs.
- Feb. 16. The annual meeting of the Board of Agriculture began at Pusa.
- Feb. 17. H. M. the King gave audience to the Rt. Hon. Sreenivasa Sastri.
- Feb. 18. Indian Princes gave a banquet at Delhi in honour of the Prince of Wales.
- Feb. 19. Ali Musaliar, the Moplah rebel leader and two others were executed at Coimbatore.
- Feb. 20. Pilgrim Dinner in London in honour of the British Delegates to Washington.
- Feb. 21. Rt. Hon. Sastri was entertained to Luncheon in London by the Empire Parliamentary Association.
- Feb. 22. The Delhi University Bill was passed in the Legislative Assembly.
- Feb. 23. Sir William Vincent made a Statement in the Assembly on Government's Policy regarding Non Co-operation Movement.
- Feb. 24. The Viceroy has given his assent to the Bill for the repeal of Repressive Laws.
- Feb. 25. The Prince laid the foundation-stone of King George's Military School at Jullundur.
- Feb. 26. Viscount Lascelles has been appointed Knight of Garter.
- Feb. 27. Sir William Vincent made a statement in the Assembly on the treatment of political prisoners.
- Feb. 28. H. R. H. Princess Mary was married to Viscount Lascelles at the Westminster Abbey.
- March 1. Sir Malcolm Hailey presented the Budget in the Assembly.
- March 2. State Banquet at Jammu in honour of the Prince.
- March 3. Pandit Jewharlal Nehru and six others were released to-day from the Lucknow Jail, before the expiry of their term.
- March 4. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri took his place on the Board of the Privy Council.
- March 5. Mr. Balfour received Knighthood and the Order of the Garter.
- March 6. Irish Republican troops seized Limerick town in Ireland.
- March 7. H. M. the King received Lord Lytton in audience to-day.
- March 8. Baba Gurdit Singh of *Komagata Maru* fame, who was recently released, was arrested under the Seditious Meetings Act.
- March 9. The resignation of Mr. Montagu has been accepted.
- Lala Lajpat Rai was sentenced to one year's vigorous imprisonment.
- Lord and Lady Lytton left London for India.
- March 10. Mr. M. K. Gandhi was arrested at Ahmedabad under sec 124 A., I.P.C.
- March 11. Mr. Montagu addressed his constituents at Cambridge on his resignation.
- March 12. Martial Law has been proclaimed throughout the Rand in South Africa in connection with the miners' strike.
- March 13. The Prince opened the Royal Indian Military College at Dohra Dun.
- March 14. The Angora Government's mission headed by Yousuf Kemal Bey arrived in London.
- March 15. Mr. McCumber submitted in the U.S.A. Senate a draft measure for an Association of Nations.
- March 16. H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation of the Bhumihar Brahmin community.
- March 17. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales left India from Karachi.
- March 18. Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to 6 years' simple imprisonment and Mr. Sankerlal Banker to 1 year's simple imprisonment.
- Viscount Peel has been appointed Secretary of State for India.
- March 19. Madras Liberal League passed resolutions deploring the resignation of Mr. Montagu and the arrest of Mr. Gandhi.
- March 20. Messrs. Subramania Sastri and Rajagopala Chari were released from Vellore Jail.

## Literary

### The Army and the Press

There is a welcome change in the attitude of the Army Department. (in spite of the Military budget and its defence in the Assembly) to the press which is quite evident from the reports of all who have been to the Army Headquarters at Simla or Delhi. Hitherto it is only too well known that the Army Department has been a close preserve and none but those officially connected with it was entitled to know anything of it. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief made a happy innovation when, in the



H. E. LORD RAWLINSON.

second week of last month, he invited about forty journalists (then present at Delhi in connection with the Royal visit) to an informal conference at the Head-quarters. Lord Rawlinson began by explaining the military situation in India and on the Frontiers and stated his own views; and there followed a general discussion. The Bureaucracy

and the Press may not see eye to eye on all matters of policy or administration. But such discussions cannot but be fruitful to pressmen dealing with public questions in all their bearings. But even more than the knowledge that could be gained by such conferences is the spirit of mutual candour and understanding that must accrue from such informal talks. His Excellency has done well in stripping the army question of its sacrosanct character and in infusing a new spirit into the department. It is in that spirit, too, that H. E. the Commander-in-Chief has invited a few journalists to visit the Frontier, in order that they may have first-hand knowledge of Frontier policy and the methods of defence against possible dangers.

### British "Fibre"

Lord Birkenhead, in the course of a recent speech in London, referred to "formidable movements in Egypt and India" and said "it is not inconceivable that in either of these countries we may have once again to prove that the British Empire retains the hard fibre which brought it that Empire." Commenting on this, a writer in *Mr. Doodle's Weekly*, a Madras humorous journal, broke into the following verse, somewhat in the strain of G. K. C.'s famous "Chuck it Smith" ---

My Lord of Birkenhead hath spoke,  
Mind you, not as a piece of joke,  
But in a tone  
Not at all lone,  
"I won't see the link is broke."  
He boasts of Britain's hardest fibre,  
Of her cure for tallest Khyber,  
He wants to keep  
The Empire cheap  
With his Thames as Roman Tiber.  
I too wish to keep the Empire whole,  
For the sake of the Freedom's soul,  
But fame and fret  
And cunning threat  
Only make it a distant goal.

Oh, Smith, my Lord of Birkenhead,  
I know your fibre is not dead,  
I saw it when  
Your Irish man ---

Snatched from you their "Free State" breed!

## Educational

### The Delhi University Bill

The Assembly on Feb. 22 discussed the Joint Committee's report on the Delhi University Bill in order to finally pass the Bill. This measure has undergone several changes in the Committee. Before the House considered the amendments, Mr. Schamnad protested against the decision of the Joint Committee in eliminating a clause designed to secure certain percentage of Muhammadan members on the University Council.

Sir Sarvadhikari moved his second amendment which urged the deletion of certain sub clauses regarding some separate powers of the Chancellor, the Viceroy.

The House agreed to the omission of this clause.

Mr. Sharp's amendment empowering the Chancellor to appoint a Rector who shall hold office for such time and exercise such powers as the Chancellor, after consultation with the Vice Chancellor, may direct, was carried.

After three hours' discussion all the amendments were disposed and the Delhi University Bill as amended was passed.

### How to Nationalise our Schools

The following scheme of changes in the programme of Intermediate Education adopted by the Irish Nation may be of some practical guidance to those who are desirous of nationalising our schools and colleges :—

(1) That all Intermediate papers be set bilingually; (2) that candidates have the option of answering papers on all subjects in Irish or in English, or partly, in both, (3) that heads of schools and colleges take this into consideration in appointing teachers; (4) that questions set on history and geography enable students to obtain full marks for knowledge directly affecting Ireland; (5) that in grouping subjects Irish must be put on a level with English, and that the modern

literary group consist of Irish and two other languages; (6) that Inspectors be appointed to visit and inspect all secondary schools and colleges; (7) that certificates be awarded in accordance with Inspector's reports, and that in each school a book prize or medal be given the student in each grade who shows greatest proficiency in the Irish.

### Military Schools

His Majesty the King Emperor has graciously directed that the monies in the King Emperor's Patriotic Fund shall be used to build boarding schools for the sons of Indian Soldiers. He desires that his name shall be associated with these institutions and that they shall be known as "King George's Royal Indian Military Schools." It has been decided that a beginning shall be made by building two schools in the Punjab. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stones of these schools—one at the Jullunder on the 25th February, the other at Aurangabad Simla on the 3rd March. Each school will consist of class rooms and hostels to accommodate 200 boarders, and will be conducted as a military institution on the lines of the Duke of York's Royal Military School founded in 1801 for educating the sons of British Soldiers. The education provided will be of the Anglo Vernacular middle standard. The staff of each school will be drawn from the Indian Army Educational Corps, the Headmaster being a Subedar Major of that Corps. The supervision of the schools will be entrusted to a specially selected officer of the British Army Educational Corps.

### Foreign Scholarships

The Government of Mysore have directed that, until further orders, no Foreign Scholarships debitable to State funds shall be granted as free scholarships, and that all Foreign Scholarships granted from State Funds shall be treated as loans recoverable under rule XV of Foreign Scholarship Rules.

## Legal

### Lala Lajpat Rai

Judgment was pronounced on March 9 by Mr. Harris, Special Magistrate, Lahore, in the case against Lala Lajpat Rai in the Central Gaol.



LALA LAJPAT RAI.

Lala Lajpat Rai was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the Seditious Meetings Act read with Section 117, I. P. C., and to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 17 (2), Criminal Law Amendment Act read with Section 117, I. P. C., sentences to run consecutively and the sentence of rigorous imprisonment to commence first.

### Women as Lawyers

The Hon Mr. Sinha, presiding at a debate at the Young Men's Institute at Patna on March 8, said that the Government decided to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act that lady lawyers might practise.

### Mrs. Naidu's Allegations

With reference to the Madras Government's, communiqué regarding certain allegations made by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu about Martial Law Administration in Malabar, the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee writes to *Swarajya* stating that Mrs. Naidu must have made the statements basing them entirely on information that he supplied her during her short stay at Calicut. He concludes the authorities, if they like, can make enquiries and satisfy themselves and the public about the truth of these allegations.

Dr. N. B. Hardikar, who accompanied Mrs. Naidu to Malabar, also supports her allegation.

Mrs. Naidu has since reiterated the statements and challenges Government to withdraw their remarks or make good their threat.

### Apprentices' Fees

The members of the Madras High Court Apprentices' Association have adopted a resolution protesting against the proposal to raise the fees for Apprentices at Law enrolling themselves as Vakils of the High Court to Rs. 750. The Chief Justice is reported to have assured a deputation that he would take a strong attitude against it.

### Repressive Laws

At last, the Governor General has given his assent to the Bills passed by both Houses of the Imperial Legislature repealing those repressive laws whose extinction was unanimously recommended by the Repression Laws Committee which sat last year in Simla under the Chairmanship of the Hon. Dr. Sripur. Well, it is never too late to mend.

### A New Privilege

The Allahabad High Court Vakils' Association have passed a resolution unanimously supporting the Bill extend to the privilege of appearing without a 'vakalatnama' to all legal practitioners of High Courts and Chief Courts.

## Medical

### Medical College Delhi

An interesting function took place at the Lady Hardinge Medical College at new Delhi on February 13 when Lady Reading, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, unveiled a fine bronze statue of Lady Hardinge which was presented by His Exalted Highness the Nizam. General Sir Edwards traced the history of the building and said that five lakhs were urgently necessary to complete them, while a further sum was necessary for their upkeep. The Viceroy, addressing the audience, paid a high tribute to the unique and splendid work of the founders and made an eloquent appeal for assistance to the College and Hospital. After the ceremony, Miss Campbell, the Principal, and the college staff were at home to the guests.

### Korean Cure for Leprosy

Has a cure for leprosy been discovered at last? Hitherto the disease has never answered to medical treatment, but Dr Henry Fowler, writing in the *Quarterly Magazine of the Mission to Lepers*, refers to a certain "crude treatment" which has effected many cures in Korea.

He writes, in connection with the mission's three institutions in that country. "I felt great encouragement in going among the inmates, for before my eyes were men and women almost ready to go out on parole. In other words, not fewer than one hundred to a hundred and fifty of the men and women have been brought under a crude form of treatment, and have responded to such an extent that nearly every trace of leprosy has departed from them.

"I saw men previously crippled busily engaged in making bricks and tiles. I saw women who not long ago were absolutely *hors de combat* now able to perform household duties of all kinds, and to care for those less fortunate than themselves.

"I venture, even at this stage, to prophesy that, within ten years' time, if we go about our work in a proper, scientific spirit, we shall find that 75 per cent. of our cases will steadily yield to treatment.

"It is too early yet to say that we have hit on a positive cure for leprosy. It is sufficient to say that the results of treatment are so encouraging that we are hoping, before the date I have already given, to have made good progress in our plans for ridding the world of leprosy."

### Kinema and the Child

Some interesting observations on the effect of the kinema on the physical welfare of children in public elementary schools are contained in a report submitted by the School Medical Officer to the Glamorgan Education Committee at Cardiff.

Dealing with the psychological effect of unpleasant and horrible films, the doctor states that horrors may become largely a matter of indifference to a child who is a fairly frequent visitor to the kinema, and advises parents who have children of highly nervous or susceptible temperament to sample the performance before letting their children to attend. There are innumerable lapses of good taste in what is shown in all kinemas at present, adds the report, but there is a general improvement, and a not too frequent attendance at reasonable hours in well designed and managed buildings to see films which are entertaining and instructive or of dramatic or social interest should be beneficial to the awakening intelligence of children and prove a valuable aid to education. At present, however, the films available for a specific series of lessons are relatively few and experimental, and the requests of kinema companies for the patronage of education authorities should be treated cautiously.

## Science

### Indian Science Congress

The annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress was held at the Senate House, Madras, on the 30th of January last and concluded on February 4. A large gathering of scientists and others interested in science took part in the proceedings of the session. Col Newcomb and Khan Sabab Azizullah, the Hon. Secretaries, had made all arrangements for the comfort of the delegates who were also enabled to visit some factories and institutes in the Presidency

with Agriculture, Physics and Mathematics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Medical Research and Anthropology presided over, respectively, by Mr. R. B. Ramaswamy Sivan (in the absence of R. B. Gunga Ram of Lahore), Mr. T. P. Bhaskara Shastri, M.A., F.R.S.; Dr. N. R. Dhar, F.I.C., Dr. N. Annandale, F.A.S.B.; Dr. W. Dalgarno, G. H. Tipper, Esq., M.A., F.A.S.B., Major Cunningham, I.M.S., and Mr. R. B. Hiralal, M.R.A.S.

The Congress lasted a week. We are indebted to the *Indian Industries and Power* for the block accompanying this note.



The group photo of the Scientists who attended the Indian Science Congress, taken at the Presidency College Chemical Society's "At Home," Madras

The first day of the Congress opened with a short speech of welcome by H. E. Lord Willingdon, the patron of the session. This over, Mr. C. S. Middlemiss, F. R. S., who presided over the Congress, delivered his address—a thesis in which he discoursed on the many problems of science in its relation to theory and practice viz., relativity, psychical research, mineral and geological problems and other technical subjects.

The Congress as usual divided into various sections in which important papers were read and discussed. There were eight such sections dealing

### Ceylon Journal of Science

The *Ceylon Observer* understands that certain people are endeavouring to interest the Ceylon Government on the subject of a Journal of science for Ceylon and that such a publication will be issued by one of the technical departments of the Government.

### A Scientific Expedition

A scientific expedition to Central Asia will leave England next year under Dr. Filippi de Filippi, the Italian explorer who, in 1913-14, reached the Glacier Plateau, 10,000 feet high in the Karakoram range, north of Kashmir.

## Personal

### An Egyptian Lloyd George

The *Review of Reviews* has a generous appreciation of Zaghlul Pasha, the Egyptian leader who has been deported.

"There was a young Egyptian imprisoned in the Arabi days, a young Nationalist, son of a fellah. That Egyptian peasant, more understanding than any other peasant in the world, speeded up to unnecessary labour by Nature herself, who lavishes crop after crop between winter and winter to repay his unremitting toil. A son



ZAGHLUL PASHA

of the soil, this Zaghlul Pasha, with a story not unlike that of Mr Lloyd George. One from a Welsh, the other from an Egyptian village. Both turned to law. But first for the Egyptian a

course at the great Muhammedan University of El Azhar in Cairo where men study to-day as they studied a thousand years ago. A great advocate, the Carson of the Egyptian Courts, strong, forceful, impatient of rebuke. The story goes that, defending twelve men on a capital charge, he spoke for seven hours in defence of one, to receive as intimation that the Court's time was valuable. The prisoner's life is more valuable, came the retort, and, throwing down his brief, he turned and left the Court. Returning the next day, so the story runs, he recapitulated the whole of his defence and his clients were acquitted. Later a Judge, then a Minister, and a Minister of Education, he is a man of 63, tall, a vigorously effective orator, knowing the people and able to talk in language understood by them. This is the man who is the soul of his country, whose name is on every lip. I have spent days in his company and travelled hundreds of miles with him. Everywhere he was the same, high and low, rich and poor, this man voiced their aspirations and spoke the deep desire of their hearts."

### A Portrait of De Valera

Here is a biting picture of De Valera by Mr. J. L. Garvin.

"Mr De Valera says he is sick of politics and will retire. We do not believe him. He is both sincere and unscrupulous.

"Of course, he believes quite automatically in all that furthers his own ambition. That is common. A fanatic, both rigid and cunning, he is more like a typical Inquisitor than an Irishman.

"He is a Robespierre, who would send the dearest of his former friends to the guillotine for a formula and eat his dinner afterwards with a self-righteousness, set and systematic enough to stagger the Pharisees. He is impassioned for abstractions, but cold in the flesh-and-blood humanities.

"We know the disastrous type. Anatole France has impaled it in *Les Dieux ont Soif*."

## Political

### Col. Gidney on Domiciled Europeans

In refreshing contrast to the thoughtless speech of Sir Robert Watson Smyth to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (Sir Robert has since apologised for his rashness) we have pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the wise words of Lt.



LT. COL. H. A. J. GIDNEY.

Col. H. A. J. Gidney, F.R.S., I.M.S., M.L.A., addressed to the Anglo Indian and Domiciled Europeans at Delhi on the 21st of February

Presiding over their Annual Meeting, Col. Gidney told them "that India is the motherland of each one of us" and conveyed to H. E. the Viceroy the Association's wish to play its humble part "for the good of the motherland."

Col. Gidney in the course of his address criticised their aloofness from the rest of the population and said:—

Hitherto the Community had foolishly thought themselves something far above the Indian, but that day had gone. Proud as they must be and must remain of their British connection and ancestors, even Englishmen to-day cannot claim any better treatment than the Indian, because the Reforms Scheme had brought home to them that in this country

of India, a new Government was being developed which would one day terminate in complete Self-government, and when that Self-government was established, who would be the Dictators and Rulers of India but the Indians themselves.

And in the India of the future the Domiciled Europeans will play their rightful part. India is as much their heritage as the heritage of other Indians:—

If the Community is prepared to realise that they are firstly, citizens of India and nextly Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Europeans, they would be acting correctly.

Unless they remembered this, their future in India was perilous; in fact they would have no future whatever. Now was the time when they must associate themselves as citizens of India with the rest of India, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The Reforms Scheme states that it offers the Community representation on the Councils, and the Government of India expects them to play a worthy part in its administration. The Reforms Scheme had also stated that Government felt it their bounden duty not to neglect the Anglo-Indian Community which they realised could not stand alone against the sweeping odds that faced them. They had, on the one hand, the assurance of Government protection as far as it was able, and on the other hand they had the offer to participate in the political development of India.

Col. Gidney finally defines the future policy of his community as follows:—

Were they to be so foolish as to cover themselves with the Anglo-Indian cloak of a veneer of pseudo superiority and look down on the Indians, continuing to live the isolated lives that they had hitherto done; or were they going to open their eyes, the same as the Englishman has had to, and realise that the time had come for them to fall into line with the rest of India, to walk side by side with the citizens of India in their great fight for *Swaraj*. The Anglo-Indian must treat the Indian with that respect which is his due, for is he not with you, a citizen of the great Empire and are we not all sons of India? The Indian bears you no animus—all he asks is to be properly treated.

### Standing Committee on Indian affairs

On the motion of Lord Lytton in the House of Lords, Lords Middleton and Buxton, the Earl of Doneghmore, Viscount Chelmsford, Lords Harris, Lamington, Islington, Meston, Carmichael Olwyd, Sydenham have been appointed Members of the Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. The Committee is empowered to agree with the Commons upon the appointment of a Chairman.



## The Royal Wedding



VISCOUNT LASCELLES

India joins in the general chorus of congratulations to His Majesty the King Emperor on the wedding of his only daughter on the 28th February. This happy event has been the occasion of more than usual demonstrations in England, partly because of the popularity of Princess Mary among all classes of people, but mainly on account of the choice of a wealthy and well merited English Earl for the distinction. Much the same rejoicing was witnessed at the time when Princess Patricia married Captain Ramsay and thus broke the tradition of Royal matrimonial alliances among the Royalties of Europe. Since the war popular prejudice against Continental Royalties has greatly increased and this happy choice of Viscount Lascelles for the King's only daughter has been received with peculiar gratification.

Viscount Lascelles, who is an Old Etonian, was for some time Attaché at Rome and A. D. C. to the Governor General of Canada. He is heir to



PRINCESS MARY

the Euldom of Harewood, a couple of historic country houses and over 30,000 acres therewith.

At the outbreak of the war he joined the Grenadier Guards, and served in the trenches where he was one of the most popular of officers. He was four times wounded and rose to be Colonel of his regiment and won the D. S. O.

Princess Mary, the King's only daughter, also became popular during the war. "When the war broke out, she became a V. A. D. She worked steadily and hard at the hospital in Great Ormond Street, Bloomsbury and elsewhere, and went about doing a number of royal jobs which no unmarried Princess of the House of Britain had ever been allowed to do before."

The ceremony was performed at the historic Westminster Abbey amidst scenes of great splendour.

We are enabled to print the above half-tones by courtesy of the *Ceylon Daily News*.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## MR. MONTAGU AND AFTER

BY MR. H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E., L.C.C.

**W**HEN the announcement was made by Mr. Chamberlain on March 9 that Mr. Montagu had ceased to hold the office of Secretary of State for India, it was unaccom-



MR. E. S. MONTAGU

panied by any out of expression of regret at the loss of the services of a colleague who had placed to the credit of the Coalition almost the only constructive achievement of which that fortuitous combination of mutually discordant elements had been capable. But this was not all. According to the London correspondent of the *Birmingham*

*Post*, the news was received by the House with "cheering loud, protracted, and exultant." Is this an accurate description? Let us invite the *Morning Post* to give evidence and what shall we find? "The exuberance of the applause ringing round the House in steadily growing volume, showed in what manner Mr. Montagu and his malign and volcanic policy are regarded." Yet another witness can be put into the box and the time from the opposite side in politics. The announcement, says the *Daily News*, was followed by a demonstration almost without precedent, the House cheering passionately, and even waving handkerchiefs. Finally, we have the *Westminster Gazette* wondering whether the amount of feeling which was exhibited, did not touch even those who indulged in it. There is no need to wonder. Mr. Montagu has been blamed in certain quarters because, in his speech to his constituents at Cambridge on the following Saturday, he claimed that he had been secured in order to placate the Tory *Die Hards*. The Prime Minister, he asserted quite plainly, had tried to save himself by flinging "inconvenient cargo" overboard. His head had been delivered upon a charger to the men whom Lord Butehead has been denigrating as "the set of the Conservative party, and who have openly revolted against the continued leadership of Mr. Lloyd George. Now, these are hard words, and bitter words. But they are true. Mr. Lloyd George is supposed to possess many virtues, but the instinct of loyalty to his colleagues is not among them. Before the war he allowed Mr. Masterman to sink under the unpopularity of the Health Insurance Act. Dr. Addison, barely a year ago, was thrown to the wolves, when the extravagant folly and utility became too apparent of the housing policy which was in Mr. Lloyd George's own dithyrambs, to make Britain a land fit for heroes. And now Mr. Montagu has gone the same way. From the point of view of the man with whom the personal equation reigns

uppermost, he was clearly the most appropriate victim. For many months past the *Die Hards* have been relentlessly hunting Mr. Montagu. They have been hot upon his trail because of his avowed devotion to the interests of the people of India. His crime was that of Macaulay in the days of the Black Act, of Canning after the Mutiny, of Ripon during the Ilbert Bill agitation, of Sir Henry Cotton who befriended the Assam tea-garden coolie and therefore he was marked down for destruction. Success has unexpectedly smiled upon these political banditti, and they are loudly acclaiming the expulsion of Mr. Montagu from the India Office as a "victory". But they are not satisfied, and will not be content until every Liberal, or so-called Liberal, has been drummed out of the Government. At the general election of November, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George distributed coupons to hundreds of Tory candidates, who were being opposed by Liberals, and recommended them to the electors as men who would stand by him if he got into a tight corner. He has got into the tight corner, without doubt, and it is these very men who are handing him the knife and exhorting him to commit hara kiri. A short respite may be purchased by such sorry episodes as that of the dismissal of Mr. Montagu, but the end is not far off: and in the meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George drags on a lingering and unenviable existence as an autocrat in chains. Mr. Montagu in his righteous indignation has brought down the crazy edifice of the Coalition with him. That "organised hypocrisy," as a *Times* calls it, has long outstayed its welcome: and even "its friends have ceased to defend it. Mr. Herbert Sidebotham who is a warm admirer of the Prime Minister as well as a brilliant journalist, writes as follows in "Pillars of State," his book of political vignettes.

The Coalition is not a unity, but a mere stitching together of half a dozen interests and sets of ideas. And the absence of unity exaggerates the political vices to which Mr. Lloyd George is prone. His gift of accommodation degenerates into ambiguity, his originality into fitful tyranny and a system of personal rule. He is like a hawk that can go longer sloop but must flutter like a bat among the Tory rafters. Unless, he escapes from the toils of purely party faction, he will for the rest of his days be a blind Samson in the hands of the Philistines.

The picture was drawn a year ago, and its fidelity to facts is growing daily more apparent.

There is no need to labour the constitutional issue which was used as a pretext for getting rid of Mr. Montagu: for pretext it was. Whatever may be the importance of the doctrine of collective cabinet responsibility, the fact is that it has

been reposing in cold storage at 10, Downing Street since Mr. Lloyd George formed his Government in 1916. Mr. Montagu's real offence was that, by the publication of the Viceroy's telegram, he endeavoured to force the hand of the Prime Minister, and of Lord Curzon, on the eve of the Near East Conference at Paris. It is not correct to say, as Mr. Chamberlain said, that the terms set out in the telegram exceeded those demanded by Turkey's warmest friends. In his speech at Cambridge, Mr. Montagu exploded both this theory and also the idea that cabinet responsibility had ever existed under the Coalition. The instances of independent action by Mr. Churchill and other Ministers which he cited, and the quotations which he made from the speeches of Lord Chelmsford and of Mr. Lloyd George himself, effectually demolish any argument which is built upon such speculations. Moreover India was a party, and a most reluctant party, to the Treaty of Sevres, and was entitled, in that capacity, to make her views known. The tone of Lord Curzon's "plaintive, hectoring, bullying, complaining letter" indicates that the ex-Viceroy looks upon himself as a kind of private manager of the Empire. "The part which India has sought to play, or been allowed to play in this series of events" passes his august comprehension. It is commonly believed that his sympathies, and those of the Prime Minister are with the Greeks: and Mr. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., has been lately hinting at the reasons. Nor is there much encouragement to be derived from the Opposition. In the course of a discussion on Mesopotamia which followed the announcement of Mr. Montagu's dismissal, Mr. Asquith took occasion to make a declaration of policy which went exactly contrary to the policy advocated in the Viceroy's message.

By the time these lines appear in print, the conclusions which may be arrived at in Paris should be public property. No attempt will be made here to anticipate them. But it may be useful to examine another question of equal importance. Newspapers of the type of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which contrive to unite a general support of the Coalition with approval of *Die Hard* methods, have been saying that the Prime Minister, with the full concurrence of the Cabinet, is determined to insist upon a change of policy so far as the Government of India is concerned. The wish in this case is probably father to the thought; but there is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion. Mr. Lloyd George has discovered

India on the map: and his mind is of the type which, influenced solely by surface conditions, may jump to the conclusion that the policy of Mr. Montagu must be scrapped. The premises were no more substantial when he dismounted upon the "bulging corn bins" of Russia at a time when the spectre of famine was preparing to throttle her unhappy people, or when (as the story goes) he mixed up Silesia with Cilicia at the Peace Conference. However this may be, it is certainly disconcerting to note the altered tone in which some of the stoutest friends in the Press of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, now write off the entire experiment as a failure because the Assembly has not swallowed Sir Malcolm Hailey's Budget as a whole. The *Times*, after printing a definite expression of opinion by its Delhi correspondent that the passing of the Budget without amendment would mean the political extinction of the Assembly, concluded a leading article on March 23 with these sinister words:

The Home Government promised progressive advancement if the experiment had favourable results: but there is an evident implication in the Announcement of August 20, 1917, of possibly reverse steps if Indians do not co-operate in the fulfilment of their new duties and responsibilities. Both in Delhi and in the Press, Indians seem to be casting the new reforms into the melting pot: and they must not be surprised if their present attitude leads very soon to an examination of the whole problem from a new angle.

It is no less disquieting to observe the readiness with which Mr. Lloyd George obeyed the peremptory order of the *Die Harz* to proscriber his Liberal followers in the matter of the succession to Mr. Montagu. Nor is there a gleim of consolation to be derived from the refusal of three eminent Tory peers—Lord Derby, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Crawford to step into the breach. Mr. Montagu is alleged to have said, when he joined the Government of Mr. Lloyd George in 1917, that he was the only rat who had ever been known to board a sinking ship. The vessel has somehow survived but it is so near to foundering now that Mr. Montagu's courage finds no imitators. On the contrary those who, like Sir Gordon Hewart, can escape promptly do so: and moderate Tories like Lord Derby announce that they can render more useful service "outside" the Ministry. Both feel able to leave Mr. Lloyd George quite affably in the lurch.

Viscount Peel and Earl Winterton, who have been induced to take the places of Mr. Montagu and Lord Lytton, are dark horses. Their ignorance of India is not open to question: and

the only fact that can be predicated with regard to either of them is that they are Tories of the *hard shell* variety. Lord Peel is undoubtedly a man of ability. For a number of years he was a member of the London County Council, and served the office of Chairman in 1914-1915, after having acted as leader of the "Municipal Reform" Party. He shows strong and decided political views and at one time was disposed to express them with some bitterness: but his friends know that he is also capable of assuming a judicial temperament. Since the armistice he has been Under-Secretary at the War Office, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and latterly Minister of Transport. His Under-Secretary, Lord Winterton, is a young Irish peer who since 1901 has sat in the House of Commons as member for a division of Sussex. Before the war he was addicted to interruptions of a disorderly character, but in the present House he has not attempted to compete in that respect with Mr. "Jack" Jones, the Labour Member for Silvertown.

What are Indians to expect from these new occupants of the India Office? In certain quarters they are regarded as "stop gaps," pending the formation of the Tory Government which the *Die Harz* hope to constitute when Mr. Lloyd George has at last been forced to walk the plank. The probabilities are that they will be content to mark time. Such a posture is quite consistent with the declaration made by Lord Winterton in the House of Commons on March 27. The appointment of Viscount Peel as Secretary of State for India did not, he said, involve any change in the policy of the Government. The Secretary of State would carry out in the spirit and in the letter the policy of the Government laid out in 1919. This announcement could be received with relief, if it had stood alone. But the Under-Secretary proceeded to attack Lord Henry Bentinck in true *Die Harz* style, because the member for South Nottingham invited the Government to make a gesture of reconciliation and to say to the Indian people: "Your reform scheme is a good scheme, but it may need overhauling. We will send out at once a Commission to inquire into it." For offering this suggestion, which is in entire accord with the demands of every section of the Indian Liberal Party—the party whose help is essential if the reforms are to be operated at all—Lord Henry was denounced for "decrying the work of thousands of his fellow-countrymen." If, as the noble

lord declared, there are in India all the elements which make for a discontented people, and very few which make for a contented people, the reason does not lie in the virtues or the failings of the bureaucracy, but in the simple fact that the new constitutional machinery has developed flaws which call for early attention. Lord Winterton has clearly much to learn: and the worst tutor he can select is Lord Curzon. How very different the modern history of India might have been if one-half the toil that Lord Curzon gave to the improvement of the sufficiency of British Government in India had been given to the far nobler task of preparing the Indian people to govern themselves! It is not enough to proclaim adherence to the policy laid down in 1919. The India of to-day bears little resemblance to the India of three years ago: and what Indians are looking for is a statement in unmistakable terms that, no matter what provocation may be offered by reactionaries of the Sydenham school or by extremists in India, His Majesty's Government intend not only to aid, but, upon adequate cause being shown, to expedite the progress of India towards full Self-government. With all respect to the *Times* which, like all converts, is tearing its new passion to tatters, it

is no longer possible to put back the clock: and it is equally useless to imagine that the hands can be kept at a standstill. What manner of relations are Lord Peel and Lord Winterton proposing to establish with the men who are endeavouring, in the midst of extraordinary difficulties, to carry out the policy to which they are good enough to profess attachment? They must not be surprised if Indians see in the situation exactly what is apparent, and no more. The man is gone who believed in them, who knew every phase and feature of the Indian problem, and who identified himself with their aspirations. In his place there reigns a Tory. However assiduous and conscientious an administrator he may be, does he possess the vision, the wisdom, the energy, of which India is so urgently in need? Although Indians will be prepared to give Lord Peel a reasonable breathing space, they cannot afford to "wait and see" for very long. The elections are coming on in another eighteen months' time, and Ministers and Legislators will have to justify themselves to their constituents. Promise is a good dog: but performance is a better, and for some share of performance the Imperial Parliament will have to make itself responsible.

## EXIT THE SLAVE PSYCHOLOGY

BY MR. ST. Nihal Singh.

**D**URING the last few years of my long stay in England, whenever I met an Indian visiting that country on pleasure or business bent, or an Englishman spending there a few weeks' holiday, I was told that, since I left India in 1911, my motherland had altered beyond recognition. It depended upon the point of view of the individual who was talking with me whether he thought the changes were, on the whole, for the better or for the worse. Everyone insisted, however, that a swift, though silent and bloodless, social revolution had taken place.

Since landing at Dhanushkodi—the southern terminus of the South Indian Railway—on December 1, 1921, I see everywhere signs of the process of transition through which my country and my people have been passing during the almost eleven years of my exile. I cannot say that the changes have unexpectedly burst upon my vision. In my mind's eye I have visualised them as they have been happening. There is, however, so great a difference between intellectual perception and actual experience, that even the

changes for which I was fully prepared send a thrill through me.

I can now see why this Government, deriving current for its life from beyond the seas, is so utterly inadequate to the situation. The men who, in Downing Street and King Charles Street, shape the Indian policy, lack even intellectual perception of the India which is pulsating with life, while their representatives out here live in little Englands dotted all over the country, and hug to themselves a land which disappeared a long time ago.

The changes which the foreigners within our gates deplore the most are, in many cases, the ones which appeal to me the most. Nothing inspires in me greater joy—greater hope—than, for instance, the new consciousness in our common people, the spirit of manhood in the younger generation, and especially the new impulse in our women.

The Briton in India who has followed the line of least resistance and interpreted the art of administration in terms of semi-somnolence is, I

can see, aghast at this change. He is having an anxious time. He is compelled to take his nose out of musty files, and to think. And since, in the past, he has economised upon constructive thinking, and would now like to continue to drift down the stream of what he calls "law and



MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

order," he is exceedingly unhappy, and tries to obtain my sympathy by telling me that India is "going to the dogs."

I have lived for so long a time among the English people and competed with them in their own country and elsewhere (not without a measure of success), that I do not take this grumbling seriously. I am not in the least sorry for the Britisher who has to get out of the rut in which he has lived—and revelled. I take the view that he should never have allowed himself to get into that rut, and certainly should not have revelled in being there.

It is a good thing for the British administrator that he is being mentally, and, I hope, morally and spiritually shaken up. He should, in my estimation, be grateful to our masses, who are ceasing to be dumb, patient, listless, and with no

thought for anyone or anything beyond their immediate surroundings. If he has any genius at all, he can do something with them—makesomething out of them—whereas the inert masses were like so much useless clay, which stuck to his hands and refused to be moulded into any shape.

The British administrator may turn round and claim credit for the awakening of our masses. He cannot, of course, assert that he has lavished money—our own money—upon diffusing knowledge among the common people. He can, however, say that he has taunted the classes into establishing contact with the masses. He can even add that, in giving us the new Constitution, and compelling "educated Indians" to seek the votes of men who, in many cases, are not literate, or are barely literate, he has done something to bridge the gulf between the educated and the uneducated people.

I must, however, tell him quite plainly that I cannot imagine the present awakening among our common people without the shabby, inhuman treatment meted out to many Indians in the Dominions and Colonies. The men and women who have returned from the various parts of the British Empire embittered by the treatment recorded there, do not belong to one area, to one creed, or to one locality. They have come back with the iron in their soul, from Britain overseas, and anyone who expects them to live happily in the conditions of pitiful poverty from which they tried to escape does not understand human nature.

In the awakening of our masses, a memorable part has also been played by Indian soldiers who fought for their King Emperor in the great war in theatres of action strewn over three continents. These men were no more gathered from a few selected areas than were the emigrants. They have returned to their Motherland wiser, and, alas! in most cases, sadder men, deeply conscious of the fact that Indians, in the present circumstance, are denied equality of treatment.

Officials like O'Dwyer, who look upon India as a milch cow, know that the Indian, no matter how ignorant, who, for one reason or another, has had the opportunity of spending some time, no matter how short, abroad, could not, upon his return, be so easily exploited. Being incapable of getting out of the mental rut, they sought to dog the footsteps of such Indians, and to make their life utterly miserable. Thanks to the short sightedness of the Indian "politicals" who cast their votes in favour of the Defence of India Bill, they had ample powers to take such action during the war. Before that Act died a natural death,

they sought to arm themselves with even a more stringent Act to be used in time of peace. In the Rowlatt Committee report there is a significant clause in which the fashioning of that instrument is justified, with great delicacy, but not without force, by reference to the disbanding of large masses of soldiers.

The O'Dwyerism and Dyerism which followed as a natural sequence of thrusting the Rowlatt legislation down India's throat did more to drive away that cowering, crawling mentality, which was responsible for India's depressed status, than all other agencies combined. Persons who, in the old days, would let anyone walk over them without so much as whimpering, are now standing erect and demanding their rights like men.

There still are, no doubt, a few Indians—survivals of the old order—who leave their carriages standing outside the gate when they call upon British officials, who take off their shoes in the verandah before stepping into the drawing-room, who bow and scrape, who never express disagreement, no matter how cardinal they may differ from the Sanib, and who unquestioningly carry out the orders they receive. They are, however, relics of a process of transition which has almost run its cycle. The British official who is content to remain in the rut curses the day when that process began: but he is as powerless to stop it as the little fly which this minute settled upon my nose was able to arrest the flow of my thought.

No! We Indians, whether we permit the world to label us "Moderate" or "Extremist," or whether we style ourselves "Liberal" or "Nationalist," or whether we choose to co-operate with the British officials or are attempting to boycott them, have lost that spirit of political mendicancy which so recently characterised us. There is not a single one among us who does not believe that Indians can be and should be self-

sufficing in respect of managing our own affairs—and who is not working towards that end. Some of us are more willing to learn from the British than others: but in the last analysis, we all realise that nations by themselves are made, and are acting upon that principle.

And if some of my and the other generation are inclined to be weak-kneed, there are the young men, and, God bless them! the young women, behind us, who more than make up our deficiencies in this respect. Behind these citizens of to-morrow, with their sturdy sense of self-respect and self-reliance, are our masses, rapidly awakening to a realisation of what is happening about them—men and women who may be lacking in literacy, but who are determined to rise out of the abyss in which India has been plunged for many a century.

The reader will no doubt ask if, since my return to India, I have seen no signs of excesses—if I have not noticed that some of the young people are mistaking rudeness for independence—that the commonest people are flouting authority, parental as well as governmental—and if the general spirit of indiscipline does not make me fear for India's future.

My reply is: these evils are merely transitional. The pendulum may have swung too far, but it will right itself—it is, indeed, righting itself. Rudeness is not in our blood. We, as a race, are not arrogant, nor grasping. Life will soon adjust itself to the changed conditions, provided the backs of our people are not stiffened by coercion.

I, in any case, rejoice that our slave psychology is disappearing. The Britisher in our midst must rejoice equally with me, for heretofore he has so long had only underlings in India, whereas now there is promise of real co-operation between men who respect themselves and who will soon learn to respect one another.

## MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

BY NAWAB MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR, M. L. A.

HAVING been invited by the editor of this enterprising magazine to record my impressions of the reformed lower chamber of the Central Legislature, I do not propose to review the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly already available in the published reports. But I desire to make a few general observations in the hope that they may not fail to interest the readers of the *Indian Review*. In the first place the spectacle of the lower house, the Legislative Assembly, is far more impressive than that of

the upper house, the Council of State. The Assembly is more than double of the Council, while the members of the latter body are dubbed "Honourables", and their terms of membership extends to five years, those of the former body are still addressed and spoken of within the Assembly chamber as "Honourable Members" without the formal prefix, and their term of membership is limited to three years. Nevertheless the numerical strength of the Assembly (over a hundred members), the representative

character as well as the democratic nature of its members, and the dialectic skill no less than the debating eloquence of its leading members from different Provinces, not only impress even the casual observer with its greatness but adds to the picturesqueness of the imposing scene. In the second place, the exercise of the right of the Assembly to discuss and divide the house on the budget, a distinct improvement over the old legislative council, forms its special feature and



MIR ASAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR.

paves the way for the eventual introduction of money bills as in the House of Commons. In the third place the absence of the ministerial party in the Assembly with the Indian ministers responsible to the House deprives the Assembly of its real power. In this respect the Assembly with its Executive Members not responsible to the elected members is practically no different from the old council. Until a responsible ministry is introduced in the Central Legislature, particularly in the Assembly, the lower chamber cannot claim to be a truly popular and really representative body. In the fourth place the personality of the house, though lacking the same cohesion and vigour as in the much smaller old council, shows greater variety and more

individuality. While the Non-Co-operation propaganda as well as the Congress resolution is responsible for the absence from the Assembly of such leaders as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the presence of the older type of Congressman like Mr. Eardley Norton, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyer who belong to the Moderate Liberal Party and of the new type of liberal politicians like Mr. Jamnadass Dwarakadass and Sir Jamesetjee Jeejibhoy, besides Munshi Iswar Charan and Dr. Nand Lal, and the members of the newly growing democratic party under the lead of Dr. H. S. Gour of the Central Provinces, infuses a new life into the council discussions and makes the proceedings not infrequently very entertaining. Lastly the new President of the Assembly, Sir Frederick Whyte, is a charming personality. While enforcing order, he contributes humour. His tactful conduct in the chair often relieves much tension and eases sometimes the most trying situation. In all these respects the newly constituted Assembly differs so much from the Imperial Legislative Council of the old style that its members who now seek to represent therein much larger constituencies, may well congratulate themselves on the improved condition and increased powers of the lower chamber. But it has to be observed that there is less unity of aim and of purpose among the non-official members of the Assembly. Sometimes it is hard to secure co-ordinated action and co-operative effort even among the elected members of the same province, at least in matters of common legislation for the benefit of the country as a whole. Unlike the recognised leaders of the old type who commanded large support and combined action, the present leaders of the Assembly hardly venture to unite the different shades of political opinion in essential matters of fundamental importance. While parties may exist, each with a distinct aim and purpose, party feeling should and ought to be subordinated to the common well-being of the people when common legislation of a far-reaching character is undertaken. It is, therefore, well for the provincial representatives to choose their leaders, one leader for each province, and for these leaders to choose their own chief for a year or for the full term of the Assembly, while in matters communal, each great community may choose its own leader who may, whenever required, co-operate with the provincial leaders as well as with the leader-in-chief. Without efficient leadership, there can be little national or party progress.



# THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By MR. S. K. MITRA B.A. LL.B., (Cantab). Bar-at-Law.

**I**N a previous article\* I remarked that one of the results of high protective tariff for India will be the introduction of considerable foreign capital for indigenous industry and manufacture. From the evidence given before the Fiscal Commission it appears, however, that some have considered the question from the point of view of its political aspect and have come to the conclusion that foreign capital will be detrimental to the political aspirations of India and therefore should be discouraged.

Such a conclusion has been arrived at simply because too much importance has been given to the events of the past, but no thought has been given to the trend of the present, which contains, though imperceptibly, but nonetheless clearly, the hope of a bright future. This promise of a bright future I do not find only in the recent pronouncement of the British people as regards their attitude in the political advancement of India, but in the economic forces which are and will be in action in shaping her destiny. People may be sceptical about the sincerity of co-operation of the British capitalists to make the Reforms a success, but they should not be blind to the economic forces which are tending to bring about a tremendous change in the relation of capital and labour in India. The strikes which are rampant throughout the country are not without significance. Though political agitators may be at the root of many of these strikes it would be foolish not to look at the cause why labour is so very responsive to the counsel of the agitators. Though misguided politics have given a fillip to the various strikes that have recently taken place, it is indubitable that the strikes represent unmistakably to some extent *bonafide* attempts by underpaid men to obtain better wages. The crux of the whole situation lies in this fact and if this is lost sight of to magnify the sinister political significance, days of dire calamity are facing the industrialisation of India. That there is a wide divergence between wages and the product of labour in India no body will have the hardihood to deny if the fact of the fat dividends given in jute, cotton and other industries, and which represent the share of the capitalists, is taken into consideration in all its bearings.

It is a rudimentary proposition of the science of economics that the production of a commodity is the result of the combined endeavours of four factors viz, land, labour, capital and organisation

(management) and when the commodity is marketed, the money value is divided among these four factors. Owing to the ignorance of the labouring class in India and owing to the low standard of living to which it is habituated, the capitalist class (in which I include the management) are able to secure very fat dividends and big salaries through the process of handing over to the labourers less than they actually produce. This state of affairs cannot last very long. The strikes may be unsuccessful at the present moment but they are sure to bring, in their train in the near future, trade unions of the Western type recognised by the various industries or by the Government. With such organisation at the back of labour a re-adjustment of the dividend to the labourers will be a question of time. But it will not stop there. It will bring about most far-reaching results for the good of India. This re-adjustment will be a most important factor in transferring the management into the hands of Indians. If labour get a larger dividend, there will be less for the capitalist and the *entrepreneur* class.

The consequence of this will be that the capitalist will look more and more to Indians, who are sure to be less expensive, to take up the management of the various industries. Hitherto the more responsible posts are almost all filled by Europeans because the capitalists, owing to the very low standard of wages for labour, could afford to be patriotic by importing their compatriots for the higher posts on very generous terms. But times are not very distant, if the re-adjustment indicated above takes place, when economic forces alone will force the capitalist to train up suitable Indians to take up positions of trust in their concerns. Already a few leading firms of Calcutta are employing a few Indians in posts hitherto reserved for Europeans; and when Indians bearing not the hall mark of a University, but possessing the more requisite qualification of thorough knowledge of the practical work will be available at a less remuneration, the self interest of the capitalists alone will make them employ the natives of this country in preference to their rather costly compatriots. Then the opposition from foreign firms to the Indian national aspiration will be as impossible as the advocacy of free-trade by firms run by foreign capital but whose destinies are bound up with the industrialisation of India. Therefore, any objection to the investment of foreign capital in India will simply retard the progress of Indian Industry.

\* "Budget Debates," *Indian Review*, for February.

By THE HON. MR. JUSTICE C. G. ODGERS.

THE second volume of this \* work opens with a chapter on the treatment of prisoners, the number of which was larger by far than those in any other war. The Germans held about three millions, the Allies over a million and a half. The Hague Convention of 1899 established war information bureaux in order that the relatives and friends of those taken prisoners might learn of their welfare. In fact Great Britain went even further and provided information as to those interned also.

After some delay the German Government agreed to the proposal that neutral Inspectors should be appointed for the prison camps in each belligerent country. It is gratifying to learn from an American author who has studied the subject from the records, that there were few if any complaints of the treatment of prisoners by Great Britain; but many instances of insufficient accommodation, food and clothing are furnished on the side of Germany, who undoubtedly treated her prisoners very badly indeed. The whole nation will feel a debt of gratitude to Mr. Gerard, the American Ambassador to Germany, for the great interest he took in the alleviation of the terrible condition of our men who were prisoners in the hands of the Germans.

The Ruhleben prison camp was especially disgraceful; as was also the plague camp at Wittenberg. The American inspectors reported well of the feeding of German prisoners by the British; the Germans gave rations just sufficient to keep body and soul together. In fact, the feeding of prisoners was largely taken off the hands of Germany by the abundance of parcels of supplies from home which the prisoners received.

Germany purposely reduced her rations in proportion as such parcels were received, and undoubtedly fell short of her duty under the law in this respect. There also seems no doubt that prisoners were unlawfully employed to keep various German industries going during the war.

The Hague Convention provides that the work prisoners are put to do should not be excessive and must not be connected with the operations of the war. There is good ground for suspecting that prisoners were employed in war work *e. g.* munitions and railway rails.

One of the flagrant breaches of the law was the employment of prisoners in works just behind the firing line where they were within range of their

own artillery. The evidence before the Commission presided over by Mr. Justice Younger (as he then was) plainly showed that the law was systematically broken by Germany in this respect as also in the work required from prisoners; the hours of work were excessive, the prisoners were ill treated and half starved.

Of great interest is the account of the occupation of Belgium. The detailed and minute legislation issued by Germany is examined and the conclusion is reached that it practically amounted to a declaration that the sovereignty of Belgium had come to an end and that Belgium by its occupation by the Germans had become a part of the German Empire. Now the power of a military occupant is *de facto* provisional and founded on military necessity, — further, no occupied territory can pass under the sovereignty of the occupant till the end of the war. The attempt to 'Flanderize' the University of Ghent in order to attract the Flemish population to Germany and seduce them from their allegiance to Belgium is a remarkable example of the thoroughness of the German system.

Germany set up its own legal tribunals. The existing laws of an occupied country should only be interfered with so far as military interests require. Private law, *e. g.* property, contract, domestic relations are ordinarily never interfered with. Germany however introduced a new labour legislation, and laws regulating trade, education, language, health, business etc. In consequence of the denunciation of the Belgian Judges of the so called 'Council of Flanders,' and their arrest and deportation, the Judges suspended their sittings and the Germans, in March 1918, took over the administration of justice henceforth.

The German tribunals were particularly severe in applying the law of 'war treason' to the occupied territory, and the brutal crime of the execution of Nurse Cavell for concealing and aiding British and French soldiers will be fresh in all our memories.

The American Legation tried to interfere but she was sentenced at 5 p. m. and shot at 2 a. m. the following morning before there was time to do anything on her behalf. She was not charged with being a spy and one has to go back to the time of Judge Jeffreys of infamous memory, for the execution of a woman (in that case Alice Lisle) for similar offence. The British Courts convicted a German woman during the

\* International Law and the Great War. By James Wilford Garner. 2 Vols. Longmans, Green & Co.

war of obtaining information with regard to munition depots and gave her 6 months' imprisonment. A female spy was convicted in 1916 and though the Court was compelled by the law to sentence her to death, it was commuted.

The policy of requisition and contributions as practiced in the late war was not new to Germany, which had resorted to it in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, with the object of breaking down the resistance of the French. Our author gives a list of the heavy contribution levied on some of the Belgian and French towns by the Germans in the late war. The general contribution on Belgium alone is computed at 1,440,000,000 francs. The Hague Convention (Art. 49) authorizes contributions for the needs of the army. This does not of course mean that the inhabitants of occupied territory are to pay the cost of carrying on the war; but that is what the German requisitions practically amounted to. There was also a decuple tax imposed on Belgian refugees to compel them to return to their native land. The system of requisitions and contributions was extended in proportion as the blockade of Germany became more stringent. Livestock, machinery, railway material, timber, funds in private banks and post offices were all requisitioned by Germany. All these were seized and transported to Germany against the provisions of Article 53 of the Hague Convention.

Private funds are of course exempt from seizure; only strictly state funds can be seized by a belligerent. Almost more important were the requisitions of services for military works. Then Belgian inhabitants were frequently required to dig trenches for their invaders, also to quarry stone or work in arsenals.

A conflict of opinion has arisen as to whether the compulsory employment of civilians to act as guides can be justified. The better opinion is against it; yet the Germans seem, on the evidence available, to have compelled civilians to give information etc., as to the movements of their own army.

Another doctrine pushed to the extreme by the Germans was that of collective fines. This had also been their practice in the Franco-Prussian war, but never on so extensive a scale. The Hague Convention lays down that there should be no general penalty for the acts of individuals unless the population can be held jointly responsible for such acts. Numerous examples of the infraction of this rule by Germany are given in the list. The conclusion reached is that such impositions on the scale adopted by the Germans

are nothing more than pillage and are forbidden by International Law.

A practice which aroused much indignation was the deportation of the civilian inhabitants of the occupied regions of Belgium and France. The defence of Germany was in the main that these deportations were ordered in the interests of the inhabitants themselves. Germany alleged that these were necessary both in order to maintain law and order and also to relieve Germany of the burden of maintaining the civilian population. The real reason is possibly to be found in the fact that the German army was in fact living on the territory it occupied, much of which was very nice agricultural land which it was necessary to cultivate and harvest. Germany could not spare labour for this, so it compelled the inhabitants of the occupied tracts to undertake it.

The Germans with regard to Belgium contended that a large civil population out of employment was a source of great danger to itself and that it would be much better for themselves as well as for the deportees to be put to work in Germany. The way in which these deportations were carried out is well known. Families were ruthlessly separated and the deportees frequently treated with the greatest cruelty, to say nothing of the moral degradation to which many of the women were subjected.

The German policy in this regard is unprecedented in modern warfare and the defence of the benefit of the inhabitants i.e., that they should not degenerate through demoralization and want of work was pure hypocrisy.

The invasion of Belgium is the next important topic dealt with. Belgium as is well known was neutralized in 1831 under a collective guarantee by Austria, France, Great Britain, Germany and Russia. The Treaty of 1831 was never questioned in the war of 1870; nor was the neutrality of Belgium ever violated. Germany requested Belgium to allow her passage for troops. This was an ultimatum and was delivered to Belgium on August 2nd, 1914. The proposal was rejected by Belgium and her territory invaded by Germany. The questions of International Law involved in the violation of Belgian neutrality are reduced by Prof. Garner to three (1) Is such a violation ever justifiable and was it justifiable in the present case? (2) Can a neutral lawfully grant passage to troops of one belligerent for the purpose of attacking its adversary? (3) Is it the duty of one guaranteeing power, independently of the co-guarantors to intervene and prevent violation of the guarantee? As to (1). In certain

cases violation committed in self preservation is not prohibited by International Law. They may be justified by necessity e.g. the destruction by England of the Danish Fleet in 1807 to prevent its getting into the hands of Napoleon.

The German excuse was that it had positive information that the French intended to violate Belgian neutrality and march through her territory to attack themselves. The German doctrine of military necessity is that any act without which the objects of the war cannot be obtained is legally justifiable as being necessary in a military sense.

They distinguish between 'Kriegs raison' (law of necessity in warfare) and 'Kriegs manier' (usages of war). The former are the exceptional rules, which by Germans have been transposed into the rules to be usually followed in warfare. Again, here as elsewhere, the attainment of the 'object of the war' justifies any means taken to that end. The conclusion reached by our author is that there was no necessity in the proper and strict sense to justify the German invasion of Belgium but only considerations of strategical interests and military convenience.

The Germans laid great stress on the fact that French soldiers were alleged to have been seen at Liege and Namur between July 26th and 29th, but it is very doubtful if any were there in fact and in any case this and most of the other acts charged against France by Germany took place before the outbreak of war, when of course there can be no question of violation of neutrality.

Another point made by Germany was the Anglo-Belgium 'conversation' by which Belgium was alleged to have repudiated her neutralisation and practically become the vassal of Great Britain. In fact all that took place was that the proposed entry of British troops into Belgium was contingent upon the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany.

Such entry could only be made by consent of Belgium and to enable her to defend her neutrality against violation by Germany. There was no agreement or convention between Belgium and Great Britain. Further it would seem that, if there were an alliance between Belgium and Great Britain, it is not unlawful for a neutralized state to enter into such an alliance if its object be to defend her neutrality. The Germans further sought to justify the invasion of Belgium on the ground that the Neutralization Treaty of 1831 was no longer in force when the invasion took

place. The Treaty of 1870 did not supersede the Treaty of 1831 as alleged by Germany; the very terms of the former state that it is subsidiary to the latter.

It was next said that the German Empire was no party to the Treaty of 1831 as it was signed by Prussia. The German Empire as such frequently affirmed that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected even as late as 1913 and 1914. In any case the violation of Belgium was a violation of convention and of the Hague Conference which was merely declaratory of the existing law. The last German argument was that the Treaty of 1831 had lapsed by operation of the rule *rebus sic stantibus* i.e. there was a complete change in the state of things which formed the basis of the treaty and was one of its tacit conditions. The change of circumstances must be such as either to render the execution of the treaty difficult or impossible, or to entail the performance of obligations which were not foreseen by the contracting parties, and which, had they been foreseen, would never have been assumed. This argument is supposed to rest on the expansion of Belgium between 1831 and 1914; her acquisition of colonies and her fortifications transforming her into a strong military power. The answer to this is that no objection was ever raised by Germany, one of the guarantors, when Belgium acquired her colonies (chiefly the Congo) or raised her fortifications. In any case it is not open to one party to a treaty to repudiate its obligations whenever in its own interests a termination of the treaty is desirable.

As to (2). Right of passage in time of war.—The older writers all held not only that a right of passage might be granted but also that a belligerent had a right to it. Hautefeuille in 1848 was the first writer to insist that a neutral state is bound to refuse such right of passage, and such is the modern view. It would therefore seem that the transport of troops by Great Britain through Portuguese territory in the South-African War though made in pursuance of treaty rights, was not in conformity with the Law of Nations and that Portugal had no right to grant such a right of passage. In consonance therefore with opinions of jurists for the last 60 years, there is no doubt that Belgium had no right to grant such passage as was demanded of her by Germany.

As to (3). Duty of the guarantors. As pointed out by Hall, such a guarantee as that under discussion would be meaningless if it only

provided for common action in circumstances in which all the guaranteeing powers would act together; and to have required England to summon the other guaranteeing powers for common council would have rendered the treaty illusory.

The great weight of opinion to-day is in favour of the right if not the duty of every individual guarantor to interfere to prevent violation of the treaty. The book goes on to refer to the violation of Luxembourg by Germany.

This state was, by treaty in 1839 and 1867, neutralized on the basis of *unarmed* neutrality, unlike Belgium. On the 1st August 1914 German troops seized the railway station of Trois Vierges before Germany had declared war against France and without addressing an ultimatum to the Luxembourg Government. This disposes of the defence put forward by Germany in the case of Belgium that an ultimatum places a neutral state in a state of conditional belligerency and a subsequent invasion of its territory is therefore no infraction of the law of neutrality.

In September 1915 Japanese troops marched across a portion of Chinese territory in order to reach Kiau Chau, and the seizure of a railway line. This was justified by Japan on the ground of military necessity; also that if the railway line from Tsing Tau were not seized, it would be a source of danger in the rear of their army, also that the Chinese Government was unwilling to prevent the Germans from using the railway for military purposes. Whatever may be the opinion of this defence, it is quite clear that the acts of Japan were wholly different and insignificant when compared with the German violation of Belgium.

An interesting discussion arises out of the occupation of Greece by England and France. In October 1915 English and French troops landed in Saloniki—neutral territory. They took possession of the custom houses and arrested and transported the consuls of Austria, Bulgaria, Germany and Turkey at Saloniki and Mytilene. In January 1916 troops landed in Corfu and occupied the castle owned by the German Emperor there. Martial law was established in Saloniki and practically a blockade of Greece established by the occupying forces. A formal protest was made by Greece against this violation of her neutrality but no attempt was made to oppose the landing of the troops. The position was a curious one. It will be fresh in the minds of readers that

the King of Greece was under strong German influence. He had dismissed the ministry of M. Venizelos and practically ruled personally and in contravention of the constitution which provided for a system of parliamentary government. In June 1917 the Allied Governments demanded the abdication of the King which took place immediately. The people were strongly in favour of assisting Serbia in fulfilment of the terms of the treaty; the King however held that the obligation to assist Serbia would only arise in the event of a Balkan war. There was thus a deadlock between the wills of the people and of the King. The invasion of Greece was undoubtedly a violation of the rights of neutrality, but it was very far removed in character from the invasion of Belgium by the Germans. The King of Greece and a small group of politicians had in fact shown themselves to be unneutral in that they were secretly working for our enemies. This may or may not justify the extreme measures taken by the Allies. The Greek Government undertook to observe benevolent neutrality but owing to the attitude of the King and his advisers, this undertaking was violated. Whatever view is taken it must be admitted that there is a vast difference between the allied occupation of Greece and the invasion of Belgium.

The first assertion of the right to destroy neutral merchant vessels was in the Russian-Japanese war, 1904–1905. The case of the *Knight Commander* sunk by the Russians in the Red Sea made a great impression at the time. She was alleged to be carrying a cargo of contraband.

Professor Holland was practically alone in asserting that the destruction of neutral prizes is under certain circumstances justifiable.

The course of English decisions is against it, but of late years there is much opinion of weight in its favour.

The only decision on the point reached by the second Hague Conference was to allow prizes to be taken into neutral ports pending sequestration by a Prize Court. At the International Naval Conference (1908–09) the rule adopted and embodied in the Declaration of London was that a prize might be destroyed where the conveyance of a prize into a home port would involve danger to the captor or the success of the military operations in which he was engaged.

Most of the cases arising in the late war were those of destruction by submarines.

In January, 1915 the Germans sunk the *William P. Frye*, an American ship, which was

sought to be justified on the ground that the cargo was destined for the British forces and it was impossible to take her into a German port.

The Dutch steamer *Medea* was likewise sunk in March 1915 by a German submarine. The cargo consisted of oranges consigned to private persons in London. The legality of the sinking of the *Medea* was upheld by the German courts, but there was no doubt it was unlawful, and the Declaration of London could never have intended to sanction the employment of submarines against neutral commerce, and the former possess no means of rescuing crews or passengers.

The losses of Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, especially the latter, were very severe. The German defence was the carriage of contraband. The Declaration of London lays down that neutral vessels which are liable to condemnation by a Prize Court for carrying contraband may be sunk if it is dangerous to attempt to take them in and if at least half the cargo consists of contraband. Thus only neutral vessels liable to condemnation may be destroyed. The Germans as a rule did not verify the nationality of vessels, ascertain the character of their cargoes, or their destinations and the use for which the cargo was intended. In other words they sunk neutral vessels without stopping, visiting or searching them, not did they observe the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband.

Further, Germany declined to compensate owners of neutral cargoes on board enemy merchantmen sunk by German submarines, on the ground that the rule only applied to cargoes on neutral vessels. This failure is a clear violation of duty where enemy merchantmen are destroyed as a matter of general practice and not in exceptional cases. This duty has been affirmed from the earliest times by all the text writers. The question of contraband was of especial importance in the late war. The older writers and in fact the proclamations during the earlier years of the war maintained the difference between absolute and conditional contraband—the former confiscable under any circumstances and the latter when destined for the use of the armed forces of the enemy. In August 1916 the British Government resolved no longer to maintain the distinction on the ground that no real distinction could be drawn between the civil population and the armed forces of Germany.

The United States Government complained against the detention of American ships by the

British. The practice was to take them into ports in order to examine their cargoes instead of doing this at sea. The defence was that there was so much concealment of contraband and fraud generally in the description of goods in bills of lading that a long and detailed inspection of goods was necessary that could not be carried out at sea. Another complaint against us was the application of the doctrine of continuous voyages to conditional contraband. Unless the ship's papers clearly showed who the consignee was or in cases where the consignee was in enemy territory—the onus was on the owners to prove the innocent destination of the goods. By the order already mentioned abolishing the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband the doctrine was applied to both classes of contraband and even when the goods were consigned to specifically named persons. Further the British and French Governments used their influence over neutral commerce to compel neutrals to prevent exports from their countries to the enemy. The result was, says our author, "that commerce between America and the neutral powers of Europe was virtually carried on under licence of the British and French Governments." It is clear that, with the enormous improvement in land transit nowadays, there exists a great difference between the conditions when the doctrine of continuous voyages was first enunciated by Sir William Scott, and those existing to-day. Nevertheless Sir William Scott applied the doctrine whenever the means of transport between the intermediate neutral port and the belligerent port were such that the goods could be easily forwarded to the enemy.

The judgment of Sir Samuel Evans in the case of the *Kim* is instructive as to the modern application of the doctrine. One of the few captures by the Germans was the *Maria*, with a cargo of wheat consigned to order. It was contended that the cargo was for private mills in Ireland, but the German Court presumed that its possible ultimate use was for the armed forces of the country, though this was not its actual destination; the burden of proof being placed on the claimants.

In connexion with contraband there are two extreme doctrines, one, that neutrals should prevent their nationals from engaging in contraband trade altogether, the rule is that there is no such obligation on neutral Governments—the other, that all restrictions on trade in contraband should be abolished.

Although the war furnished some more or less

insignificant examples of real blockades, the effective blockade of Germany undertaken by the Allies was in fact never designated as such nor did it conform to the legal requirements of a blockade. This was undertaken as a retaliatory measure against the German war zone decree previously described. Neutrals of course attacked the legality of this so called blockade as disregarding their rights, though, as a matter of fact, by the terms of the Order in Council of the 11th March, 1915, neutrals were placed in a better position than under the old blockades of the past, as it was declared that non-contraband would not be confiscated even if destined for a blockaded port. It cannot be said that this blockade was not effective, the result proved that it was. The old theory was that there must be an investing force off the blockaded port. Modern conditions are against such a theory.

Another criticism was that it was not impartially enforced against all neutral commerce alike. This was based on the inability on the part of the Allies to blockade the Baltic ports which was impossible on account of their geographical position. The Allies did not deliberately favour any one neutral as against another. Again, the blockade was attacked on the ground that the doctrine of continuous voyages was unduly extended by its operation. It was said that the doctrine did not apply when the last part of the voyage was not by sea. The better test seems to be the real destination of the goods, otherwise all blockade must be ineffective in the case of an enemy whose territory is flanked by neutral states. The Germans of course never ceased to protest against the blockade as a starvation measure, though the right of a belligerent to cut off the food supplies of his enemy has always been recognised. Likewise the refusal of the Allies to admit food supplies to the occupied territories may be justified on the ground that they would have been requisitioned by the military authorities. This expectation was based on the wholesale requisitions on the population of those areas imposed by the Germans and described earlier in this article. The system of rationing neutral countries as to their imports from other neutral states was necessary as otherwise Germany would have been able to obtain unlimited supplies through Denmark, Holland or Sweden.

The attempts by Germany to use the post as a means of importing supplies to establish credits to carry on propaganda against the Allies, were the cause which induced the Allied Governments

early in the war to resort to a minute examination of the mails on neutral steamers.

Quantities of supplies, cheques, drafts and noxious literature were seized in consequence. The Hague Conference protects the postal correspondence of neutrals and belligerents, but not parcels and neither correspondence nor parcels if proceeding to or from a blockaded port.

The United States Government, while agreeing to this view, protested against the way in which the right of detention and search was exercised, i.e., by bringing vessels into port and searching them there.

The British Government replied that the censorship of mails needed time and an efficient staff and that this could not be done at sea.

Our author comes to the conclusion that the Allied Governments were right and the objections technical. There were some instances of what are called 'analogues of contraband', i.e., removal of enemy persons from neutral vessels. Piepenbrink, a steward on an American ship, was removed therefrom. The vessel was proceeding to a neutral port, the man was not embodied in the armed forces of the enemy and by the Municipal Law of the United States of America he was an American citizen. Piepenbrink was ultimately liberated as a 'friendly act'. The case of Garde was similar. Certain persons were also seized on the American steamer *Chiqua* as being an integral part of a plot organized in Shanghai to operate against the Allies. If it is permissible to intercept contraband goods, it follows that it must be permissible to intercept military persons and despatches. There has however been a divergence of views as to whether the persons so intercepted must be actually in the military service of a belligerent, even though their intention to enter it may be clear e.g., in the case of reservists. It is probably correct to say that the practice of the past is against the legality of the action of the Allied Governments in taking from those vessels persons not actually incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy. It is well known that a very large proportion of the war material came from the United States of America. Both ourselves, our Allies and our enemies purchased very largely in that market. Ought the United States of America to have prevented this? There is no doubt that in the past it has never been recognised as the duty of a neutral to prevent its citizens from selling their goods in any market they can find. This was the effect of American pronouncements during both the

Crimean and Franco-Prussian wars. Short of transactions which would make the neutral country a base of operations for the belligerents, or would involve the export of goods of a character forbidden by international law, the neutral state is not bound to interfere; though there are instances where the municipal law has prohibited sales of war material. The German and Austrian Governments protested to the United States of America against the vast industry which had suddenly sprung up there and against the supply to practically one side in the struggle.

The question of quantity seems to be beside the mark; the allegation that the sale to one belligerent when the other had been deprived of access to the markets of the world, was contrary to the true spirit of neutrality also seems vain. There was no proof of preference, simply that one belligerent could not buy. As to the moral aspect of the case there may be more question. Neutrals by refusing supplies may possibly be enabled to bring war to an earlier end. It is quite another question as to whether it is the legal duty of neutral states to interfere.

The difficulty of prohibition would be enormous; instead of the belligerents having the responsibility to prevent contraband trade, the neutral states would bear the burden. Further if no supplies were forthcoming from neutrals in time of war, states which had not the means to manufacture war material on an extensive scale would have to purchase extensively in times of peace, and maintain large military establishments. Lastly there is the conclusive argument that an established rule of law cannot be altered during a war to the detriment of one belligerent. This alone is sufficient to answer the German and Austrian protest. One of the concluding chapters of the work deals with miscellaneous questions of neutrality *e.g.*, loans to belligerent governments. It was contended that if the United States of America sent gold out of the country as loans to a belligerent it might engender a partisan and therefore non-neutral spirit. This was obviated by the establishment of credits in the United States of America by the various nations concerned. Again, the United States of America censored German wireless messages, after cable communication with Germany had been cut off by Great Britain. This was in consequence of the misuse by Germany of the wireless station at Sayville (U.S.A.) which was subsequently taken over by the Government. This measure was necessary to preserve strict neutrality of the United States.

Another thing which the U. S. A. and other neutrals had to combat was the procuring of supplies in neutral ports. German vessels in American ports carried supplies to German warships. British and German vessels delivered coal to warships in the Pacific, especially from Chili. Another matter was the violation of neutral waters by submarines, the nations especially affected being Norway and Sweden.

The attack by the *Kent* and the *Glasgow* on the *Dresden* took place in the territorial waters of Chili. The *Dresden* had not accepted internment by Chili as the penalty of not having departed from Chilean waters within 24 hours. The Chilean reply was that the notification to the *Dresden* of internment was equivalent to internment. Great Britain offered an apology. The first case of internment in the late war was the *Gier* at Honolulu in October 1914. This vessel with her tender the *Locksaw* were interned as they did not leave the neutral port at the expiration of the time allowed. A question arose between the British and Dutch Governments as to the status of the crew of a shipwrecked submarine.

The crew of the British submarine E. 17 had been rescued by a Dutch cruiser and interned in the Netherlands. It would appear that the action of the Dutch Government was justifiable. In August 1916 the British and French Governments urged neutrals to prevent submarines of the belligerents from using neutral waters, roadsteads and ports. The U. S. A. replied that it was the duty of the belligerent to distinguish between neutral and belligerent submarines, and thus, if they chose, to prevent the latter from seeking refuge in neutral ports. The German war submarine V 53 shortly afterwards arrived in Newport (U. S. A.) harbour. It had already sunk several merchantmen belonging to Great Britain and to neutrals. It was allowed to stay in American waters for some hours depart, and resume its attacks off the American coast. It is doubtful if she can be said to have used the American port as a base of operations.

Norwegian and Swedish waters were constantly violated by Germany; this led to decrees by these Governments forbidding belligerent submarines from traversing their waters save from cases arising from stress of weather or unseaworthiness, when they were required to navigate on the surface and fly their flags. There is a growing opinion that neutrals should prohibit enemy war vessels from entering their ports or making use of their waters except on grounds of humanity. The case of the German commercial submarine



*Deutschland*, which visited American ports in July 1918, raised the question of the status of such vessels. The U. S. A. Government ruled that it was an inoffensive merchant vessel; in spite of protests from Great Britain and France. The case of the *Appam* is interesting. This was a British merchant vessel captured off the African coast by a German raider and brought into Newport, (Virginia) with a prize crew aboard. The request of the German commander that he should remain there with his prize and that certain of passengers should be interned was refused by the U. S. A. Government on the ground that the *Appam* was only entitled to enter neutral ports in case of stress of weather, want of fuel or provisions or necessity of repairs and to leave as soon as these causes had been removed. It was held that the entry of the *Appam* into an American port was under the circumstances a violation of American neutrality and that her owners were entitled to restitution of their property. There seems no ground in law for the protests lodged against the practice applied by Great Britain of cruising off American ports to intercept German war or merchant vessels, or as regards the German cruiser V53 (see above) which was allowed to depart from an American port and sank British and neutral vessels off the coast of Massachusetts. The proximity to the coast of a neutral makes no difference and in law the destruction there is just as lawful as in the middle of the ocean. Great Britain protested against the practice of the Dutch Government in allowing certain metals to be shipped through Dutch territory from Belgium to Germany. There is no doubt that these were war materials and far in excess of the usual supplies imported in times of peace. The protest therefore appears to have been well founded. Our author goes on to discuss the effect of the war on International Law and to point out its imperfections largely owing to the new methods of warfare arising from the employment of mines, submarines, wireless telegraphy and airships—all unknown in the past. He suggests that "the seas should be free in the sense that no belligerent should be permitted to plant mines in them outside his own territorial waters, to assert control over portions of them under the guise of war zones, to blockade directly neutral ports, to conduct unlawful searches, to extend the doctrine of contraband beyond reasonable limits or to interfere generally with the transportation of letter mail on neutral steamers." New regulations are undoubtedly needed and these should be settled by an international conference.

There never has been, as in the late war, such a revelation of the inherent weakness of International Law, viz., its lack of sanctions. The Peace Treaty recognised the principle that individuals, both military, naval and civil, may be tried and punished for offences against the laws and customs of war. We are seeing by the reports in the newspapers what success this is having in the trials at Leipzig. It should not be a valid defence that unlawful acts were done under orders of a superior, when those orders are unlawful. One belligerent may bring to trial soldiers belonging to his enemy who commit crimes in the former's territory; more difficulty arises when the crimes are committed in foreign territory, e.g., maltreatment of a French soldier in a German prison. By the law of France such are punishable only if they constitute attacks against the safety of the state.

It would seem that as merchant vessel is practically a piece of floating territory of the country whose flag it flies, an unlawful attack upon it resulting in death of its nationals, should be triable by the country of the ship's flag. Thus those responsible for the sinking of the *Lusitania* would be triable by a British Court.

Finally, the Peace Conference publicly arraigned the German Emperor for 'a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties'. The Dutch Government as is well known refused to surrender him. It is however not clear what object would have been gained by trying the ex-Emperor on moral charges for which he had already been condemned by the whole civilized world, or what the punishment meted out could have been.

Cases of this sort do not really fall within the Purview of International law at all and are not governed by its rules. The cases of Napoleon I and Jefferson Davis are not unlike that of the ex-Emperor.

However the Peace Conference set a new precedent in affirming the principle that individual offenders against the laws of war whenever their acts are criminal in character are personally responsible and liable to punishment.

We thus take leave of this most profoundly interesting work; every word of which we have read with profit and in so doing commend it to the attention of all those not only interested in the law of the late war, but in the practical problems presented by it.

[Concluded from the last issue.]

# A FRENCH ORIENTALIST: SYLVAIN LEVI

By DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYENGAR.

Sir Charles Eliot, in his recently published work on Hinduism and Buddhism, makes the following observations in regard to Indian History generally :

"But in Eastern Asia the influence of India has been notable in extent, strength and duration. Scant justice is done to her position in the world by those histories which recount the exploits of her invaders and leave the impression that her own people were a feeble, dreamy folk, sundered from the rest of mankind by their sea and mountain frontiers. Such a picture takes no account of the intellectual conquests of the Hindus. Even their political conquests were not contemptible and were remarkable for the distance if not the extent of the territory occupied. For, there were Hindu kingdoms in Java and Cambodia and settlements in Sumatra, and even in Borneo, an island about as far from India as is Persia from Rome. But such military or commercial invasions were insignificant compared with the spread of Indian thought. The south-eastern region of Asia both mainland and Archipelago—owed its civilization almost entirely to India. In Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, and Java, religion, art, the alphabet, literature as well as whatever science and political organisation existed, were the direct gift of Hindus, whether Brahmans or Buddhists, and much the same may be said of Tibet, whence the wilder Mongols took as much Indian civilization as they could stomach. In Java and other Malay countries this Indian culture has been superseded by Islam, yet even in Java the alphabet and to a large extent the customs of the people are still Indian.

This wider historical outlook has become possible for the twentieth century historian of Indian culture, thanks to the labours of the nineteenth century savants, chiefly foreign and Continental. The defect of present day Indian history pointed out by Sir Charles is too commonly the characteristic of the work of English historians as yet, though it must be said to the credit of English scholarship that it is an English scholar that draws such pointed attention to this vital drawback. This improved outlook and the attainment of a new perspective in Indian culture-history is due, entirely almost, to the labours of a band of Indologists, the leading places among whom must be given to French savants—the most prominent of these being Burnouf, Julien, Bergaigne, Senart, Chavannes, Chezy and Levi to mention just a few. The new school began with Anquetil Duperron, who joined the French East India Company to come over to India and realize his ambition to acquire some genuine records of Indian culture. Duperron succeeded so far in this laud-

able ambition of his that his gift to the Bibliothèque Nationale of copies of the Vedas and the Avesta gave the start to a new Oriental School in Paris.

A typical product of this school and a *mulsum in parvo* representative of its ever-widening circle of interest in Indian culture is Sylvain Levi. The labours of this school have not only succeeded in filling many a gap in the study of the history of India herself, but have also carried us a great way to bridge the gulf that yawned between India, the homeland, and those regions where her culture exports flourish in various stages of growth and in varying forms of development. It is to these French savants and to the Dutch that we are indebted for the reclamation of India's forgotten children across the seas, and her equally forgotten nurslings across her borders, separated now by impassable deserts and mountains, and worse still, impossible human obstacles. The reviving interest in these studies received encouraging support and recognition soon from Governments so that now the achievements in this line have become accessible in some measure even to the English reading public through the munificence of the Government of India, and of learned bodies like the Asiatic Society.

Sylvain Levi, who has borne his own share in this edifying work for close upon 40 years, was born in 1863 and took his degree in 1883 when he was just 20 years old. He was such an extraordinarily good student that both Ernest Renan and James Darmesteter were interested in the talented youth. It was Renan that was responsible for bringing young Levi into touch with Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest teachers of Sanskrit that Europe produced. A sound student of the Classical languages that he was, he took to Sanskrit studies with great zeal and got initiated at the outset both in the study of the Veda and in the epigraphical and other documents of Cambodian history on both of which Bergaigne was at the time engaged. From the very beginning of his Sanskrit studies, Levi learnt to gain that wider vision and larger outlook which are the domi-

nant characteristics of all his work. Levi's first published work was, in the circumstances, not at all strange, a paper on the Brihatkathamajari of Kshemendra in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1885-86. He was then appointed "Master of Conference of the School of Higher Studies" in Paris, a professor-prodigy of twenty-three summers. It was in these conferences of his early years that he came into contact with the most brilliant among his pupils, A. Meillet, the eminent philologist, and A. Foucher, the illustrious scholar of Buddhist Art and Archæology.

In 1889 Bergaigne died, prematurely in the course of an excursion in Switzerland to the great sorrow of young Levi. Levi took the blow so badly to heart that it required a visit from another eminent savant, M. E. Senart, to revive his drooping spirits. He resolved that the best tribute to the memory of his late master was to continue his good work unimpaired, and set about it in right earnest, when he was nominated to the Council of the French Asiatic Society in the vacancy caused by the death of Bergaigne himself. Levi's first contribution after this was "Bergaigne and Indianism" in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890. The same year he submitted two theses for his doctorate, one in Latin on "What about Greece Ancient Indian monuments conserved" and the other in French on "The Theatre of the Hindus" which stands still an authority on the subject of Hindu drama. He was made a member of the Faculty of Letters about the same time that he was made Assistant Director of the School of Higher Studies. In 1894 he was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit in the College de France. Thus at the age of thirty-one he reached the highest educational position and began his life's work as the colleague of such eminent savants as Darmesteter, Maspero and Gaston Paris.

From this time forward he went on lecturing on various subjects relating to his chair, discussing Asoka Inscriptions and organising classes for teaching Chinese and Tibetan, along with Pali and Sanskrit. As his interest widened he set about to found a

school of Indology in the East and sent Foucher on this mission. When the scheme was ripe, through the warm interest of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Guiness, he himself came over and laid the foundation (in 1897-98) of the 'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient' with the active assistance of another pupil of Bergaigne, Leon Bourgeois, then Governor-General of Indo-China.

Levi had already published his studies in the *Buddhacharita* in 1892 and had collected and edited about 150 verses of *Matricheta*, and had become acquainted with Edward Chavannes, the great French Sinologist, through the medium of Foucher. The first fruit of this friendship was the publication of the Itinerary of Ou-Kong in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1895. Levi took advantage of his visit in 1897-98 referred to above to tour through India, Nepal, Indo-China and Japan. From the date of his return from this tour he settled down to work of an extra-Indian character, though he did off and on make his own contributions to Indian studies as well. In this latter branch he published his monograph on the "Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brahmanas" in 1898. The same year he became Director of the School of Higher Studies. Soon after the *Journal T'oung-Pao* came under the editorship of his friend, Ed. Chavannes, almost about the same time that the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient began their *bulletine*. These gave new life to the parallel study of Chinese and Indian culture begun by Remusat and St. Julien. It was in Levi that there was that marvellous knowledge of India that could bear real fruit in comparative study. He brought about this combination in himself by lecturing on these subjects almost together. In 1907 he is found lecturing on *Sakuntala* on the one side, and on the other, studies the *Dhammapada* in its Sanskrit and Chinese versions; he discusses on the one hand *Kotikarnavadana* in its Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions and on the other, analyses the beauty and sublimity of the Great Epic (the *Mahabharata*). The year 1908 saw the publication of his monumental work on Nepal in the *Annales Musee Guimet*.

It was in the same year that one of his brilliant pupils, Pelliot, started on a mission of exploration to Central Asia. When Pelliot returned with a collection of Manuscripts in 1910, Levi formed a seminar for the study of these documents, while lecturing on Tibetan and publishing the *Sutratankara* of Asanga. This resulted in a contribution of the first importance for the decipherment of Tokharian and Koutchean dialects of Central Asia through the combined efforts of Levi, Chavannes and Meillet. The untimely death of Chavannes left a void difficult to fill, but the others continue the good work which is becoming far more important owing to the fresh accessions of records and documents in the line brought in by the "Stein Expeditions".

Levi's activities are not confined to these literary labours alone. His interest in institutions of public benefit is great—it is in connection with one of these that he visited India early in 1911 at the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore at the Santiniketan Visvabharati—His views in regard to the position of India in the history of civilization bring them near enough in idea to *Vishvabharati*, as he said in concluding his article on Bergaigne and Indianism: "From Persia to the Chinese sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has a right to claim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time, and to hold her place amongst the great nations, summarising and symbolising the spirit of humanity."

It was in the fitness of things that Calcutta took advantage of the presence of the encyclopaedic Indologist to invite him to preside at the second session of the Indian Oriental Conference. His presidential address, though short, is characteristic of the scholar and savant. He could pass from the sight of Dhanushkodi to the Ramayana of Valmiki, to a Chinese and Tibetan version of one episode

of it and could point out what an advantage for the proper understanding of texts a comparative study of these would be. No wonder that he could brush aside much that is external and accidental, and get to the true inwardness of things as the following view of Indian history of his gives us clearly to understand. "The multiplicity of the manifestations of the Indian genius as well as their fundamental unity gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilised nations. Her civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous line across at least thirty centuries, without interruption, without deviation. Ceaselessly in contact with foreign elements which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Mongols to pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen—confident to pursue under the accident of the surface the normal course of her high destiny." His is a synthetic mind and takes hold of essentials to the neglect of the accidents. This is the result of persistent work and sustained effort to get at the root of things.

This feature is quite characteristic of the simple but typical scholar. He wrote his first paper on the Brihatkatha thirty-seven years since, and that mind remains open to receive new information. He asked me in Calcutta whether I knew of a man who wrote a short note in the *J. R. A. S.* about twenty years ago on a Tamil version of the Brihatkatha—referring to one of my own papers. I said I was the man. He adjured me, with all the fervour of youthful enthusiasm, not to relax in my effort to get to the original of the Brihatkatha, and wound up with the exclamation "If I could only see the original before I die!" There is the scholar whose own enthusiasm infects, and it is nothing more than due to him that his students exhibit almost an instinctive veneration for him such as I have witnessed in the course of the few days' stay at the Oriental Conference in Calcutta.

# RE-UNION OF ORISSA : A NECESSITY

BY

MR. SASI BHUSHAN RATH, M. L. C.

IT is unnecessary to dwell much on the changed conditions of the world and particularly of India which make it incumbent on the rulers and those interested in the welfare of the country to see that every race constituting the Indian nation takes its right place in it. India cannot also rise to a higher level in the scale of nations unless there is homogeneous development of the whole. But dismembered as the Oriya race is, it cannot enjoy its political privileges, nor can it make its due contribution to the Indian progress. The fulfilment of their desire for union depends however on the just consideration of Government and the support that it gets from Indian statesmen.

The principle of self-determination in the government of a people which has so remarkably changed the political outlook of the world's ruling powers, towards their subject races, is decidedly in favour of the Oriya people. Their political consciousness for re-union has so far permeated the nation that there is not a single voice that does not require the change. The rich, the poor, the educated, the uneducated, the chiefs, the subjects, the zamindars and the ryots, all are equally wedded to that ideal.

Nor do other races of India now oppose the much desired amalgamation of the Oriyas under one administration. The Andhras, since the inception of their movement for an Andhra province, give strong support to it. Everybody is aware how the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma, their representative in the Imperial Council, spoke in support of the Oriya demand while moving his resolution on linguistic provinces. The *Andhra Patrika*, a strong organ of Andhra public opinion, has blessed it with an enthusiastic welcome. The Oriyas need not remind the Indian public how the Honourable Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar of the Tamil country spoke feelingly on behalf of the Oriyas on the occasion of the discussion on Mr. Sarma's

resolution. The Bengalis and the Biharis also lend their support to it for the obvious reason that the grant of separate provinces to them was based on the very principles on which the Oriya demand is based. The Oriya claim has also gained immense strength by similar movements of other races like the Sindhis, the Canarese and the Marathas of Bombay, Berar and the Central Provinces; and the Honourable Mr. S. Sinha's resolution in the Imperial Council was therefore deservedly supported by the Bengal, Behar and the Andhra representatives.

The attitude of Government also is now in favour of this change. The local Governments themselves seem to be in favour of the proposed union. Not to speak of the attitude of the Bihar Government, the Madras Government's scheme of sub-provincial councils as advocated in Mr. Davidson's letter No. 59, dated 17-1-18 and Mr. Todhunter's letter No. 1104-A, dated 10-12-18, to the Government of India on the subject of reforms, quoted in page 146 of Government of India Despatch of March 5, 1919 on Indian Constitutional Reforms, is in consonance with the principles enunciated in para 446 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report for linguistic sub-provinces. In view of the above facts, we do not see why the Government of Madras will not support the scheme of linguistic union of the Oriyas—and then a sub-province to them, if not altogether a separate one. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their Report made it clear that the linguistic union of the Oriyas and the grant of a sub-province to them might be considered immediately after the Reforms; and the Hon. Mr. (Now Sir) Vincent plainly stated, in his reply to Mr. Sinha's resolution, that the Government is not in any way opposed to it, as it was quite in keeping with the recommendations in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the provisions of the Select Committee's Report on the Government of India Bill.

The most important aspect of the question of linguistic provinces is its relation to their good Government. Now that responsible Government has been established in the country, the importance of re-constituting Indian provinces on a language basis has become an imperative necessity. Mr. Lionel Curtis very pertinently observed, when he urged the Oriya demand before the Joint Committee, that "the progress of India towards Responsible Government does not depend on training Indians to the work of Ministers, Legislators and officials. From first to last, I say, it depends upon training electorates to a real understanding of the question at issue and to a habit of recording conscious decisions upon them. Such training will not begin in any real sense except in so far as provincial business is transacted and discussed in a language the people at large understand". But this cannot be secured unless provinces are on a language basis and each is given a Council in which the vernacular of the province will serve as the medium of discussion and deliberation.

Apart from the political importance of the Indian vernaculars in the coming democratic era of India, the raising of their status in some of the universities, the tendency to multiply universities to suit the needs of smaller provincial areas and the problem that is engaging the minds of educationists to impart higher scientific knowledge to the masses through vernacular *media* will inevitably make university and administrative jurisdictions conform to linguistic units, all tending to produce healthy sub-nationalities whose combined culture and civilization will go to enrich higher Indian nationalism. It is in this way that the modern Indian Civilization in its true sense will begin to be built. Instinctively fired by this ideal and eager to make its own contribution in working it out, the Oriya race demand of the Government and the Indian public to restore its mangled and dismembered body to its original shape, so that it will begin to breathe the national life and enrich Indian civilization by its religiosity and catholicity of culture which modern India so sorely needs.

The Oriyas feel that neither the Government nor the Indian public seem to have realised the serious acuteness of their problem arising out of the dismembered condition of their race. It needs to be twice redeemed. Unlike other races similarly placed, it is kept divided in no less than four provinces; and it loses its racial identity especially in the outlying tracts by coming into contact with predominating races with different languages, customs and manners. This is the most formidable and the most unimpeachable ground on which the Oriya demand for a united Orissa is based and its unification in a single province is therefore its first necessity. The Oriyas at the same time hope for an autonomous and independent province so that they might rise higher in the scale of advanced Indian races and, God willing, play their part better in the larger Indian affairs. To put the thing in a nutshell, the first demand of the Oriyas is for a separate province; but, if that is not granted, they require to be brought under one Government—and this is their irreducible minimum demand—which is immeasurably and by far better than their present dismembered condition which leads to their denationalization and the gradual dying out of their community as a distinct race. Will the Oriyas give up their nationality and their national culture for the one thousand and one hundred earthly things and even for this whole world? O! it is a horrible thought.

### The 'Paramatman' and the 'Jiva'

By

MR. AKSHAY KUMAR MUKERJI.

Two beautiful birds alike in shape and size  
By bonds of friendship knit to dwell are seen  
Upon the same tree. On the top serene  
Sits one observing with quite listless eyes  
The changing scene around. The other flies  
From bough to bough below by yearnings keen  
Impelled to eat the fruits with tempting skin  
But oft too sour within Heart-sore he cries  
Looks up, beholds the other perched on high  
Beyond all pain or pleasure. With a sigh  
He longs to be with him—flits up—the past  
Forgetting eats the fruits again. Thus he  
Progresses up. The spell is broken at last  
He is without a second, Blissful, Free.

# SIR RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH

BY PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.,

“GRIFFITH was not only the most voluminous but also the best translator of ancient poetry that Great Britain has produced,” writes Prof. Macdonell and it is sufficient distinction for the inclusion of his name in this series of eminent Orientalists. As a translator of the *Vedas* and the *Ramayana* he has rendered services for the diffusion of a knowledge of Sanskrit literature in the West which cannot be easily forgotten by posterity. As an educationist who presided with great distinction over the Queen’s College, Benares, for nearly two decades, he has left an honoured reputation behind him in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. To people in Southern India, the life and work of Griffith must be of special interest as he spent the last years of his life at Kotagiri on the Nilgiris and much of his literary work was accomplished in retirement at that quiet and beautiful South Indian hill-station. This writer must confess to a peculiar sense of personal satisfaction at being furnished with this opportunity of paying this tribute of praise to the memory of the great scholar, engaged as he is in educational work in the same ancient city of the Hindus where he himself laboured with such splendid fruit and has often passed along the very sights which he must have witnessed in the course of his active life in India.

The life of a scholar and educationist does not bristle sufficiently with interesting incidents to make his biography a matter of great attraction to those who are not specially interested in the history of intellectual achievement. Griffith’s was no exception to this rule. Ralph Thomas Hotchkiss Griffith was born at Corsley in Wiltshire on the 25th May, 1826. His father was the Rector of Corsley and that ensured his receiving a very good education at home after which he proceeded to Westminster School and then to the Queen’s College in Oxford, where he took his B. A. degree in 1846 and his M. A. degree in 1847. While yet a student at Oxford, he had the privilege of coming under

the influence of the well-known Sanskrit Scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson, who had laboured for Oriental scholarship in an earlier generation with all the enthusiasm with which he himself was to labour in later life. Winning the Boden Scholarship he pursued Sanskrit learning with great zeal and it is interesting to know that, even before coming to India as Professor of English Literature at the Queen’s College, Benares, in the year 1853, he had distinguished himself by literary work relating to Oriental Scholarship. *Specimens of Indian Poetry* containing translations of selected passages from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and a translation of the *Kumara Sambhava*, or the *Birth of the War-God* of Kalidasa, were the credentials he had even before coming to India at the early age of 27. He had also the valuable experience of four years’ service as Assistant Master at the Marlborough College. He was Professor of English first and later Principal of the College and he ultimately rose to be Director of Public Instruction of the Provinces from which high office he retired in 1885 with a “Companionship of the Indian Empire”, to spend the rest of his days in peaceful pursuit of the muses in Southern India, “in the sweet, half-English Nilgheri air,” to whose attractions many other devoted Europeans have borne equally eloquent testimony.

As an educationist, Griffith enjoyed the esteem of all with whom he came into contact and had the reputation of being not only a very able exponent of the subject, English Literature, which he actually taught at College, but also a sympathetic friend and guide, to whom the students could always look up for help. His interest in the work of his students was real and abiding and always extended to their careers in life after leaving the portals of his institution. This writer has had the privilege of listening many an evening to enthusiastic accounts of his work at College from one of his most distinguished students—the late Mahamah-

pādya Adityaram Bhattacharya, at one time Professor of Sanskrit at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, and later Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University. It was an inspiration to watch his face brighten up whenever he had occasion to speak of his old master. There was a new fire in his voice in spite of his advancing years and he spoke of him with an affection and joy which left an indelible impression on his listener. As a compliment to Griffith's splendid services, the College which was originally the Government College, Benares, was renamed the Queen's College, after his own *alma mater* at Oxford. During the period of his educational work in the Provinces, Griffith was not content with the mere acquisition of Sanskrit scholarship. His fondness for literary expression was almost a passion with him and it found vent, during the period, in the *Idylls from the Sanskrit*, *Scenes from the Ramayan* and the mellifluous translation of the love romance of Yusuf and Zulaika from the Persian of Jami.

He was destined to produce his *Magnum Opus*, the translation of the *Vedas*, only in his retirement at Kotagiri. The *Hymns of the Rigveda*, the *Hymns of the Sama Veda*, the *Hymns of the Yajur Veda* and the *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* followed in quick succession between 1889 and 1897, all of them appearing appropriately from Benares, the centre of Hinduism and Sanskrit culture. Years of strenuous work left their impression on his energies and the last few years of his life were spent in absolute peace without any attempts at further literary responsibilities. He died at the age of eighty in 1906 and lies buried at Kotagiri where he found a haven of rest towards the close of his long life of active work. He sleeps amidst surroundings which he loved so much, far away from the din and turmoil of crowded cities, in seclusion so dear to his scholarly temperament.

This writer does not feel himself particularly competent to express an opinion on one aspect of his work, its value to accurate and profound Sanskrit Scholarship. He is

content to quote the testimony of Prof. Macdonell in the matter: "Griffith's command of poetical diction enabled him to reproduce the form and spirit of the ancient hymns better than by means of prose or of rhyming verse. His method of interpretation is eclectic; it follows partly the mediæval commentators, partly the researches of Western scholars, supplemented by investigations of his own. His rendering cannot be considered authoritative, but they are the only versions that present the general spirit of the ancient hymns to the English reader in an attractive garb."

It is easy enough to indulge in cheap common places in condemnation of the art of translation in general; to join the Italian proverb which condemns all translators, as traitors *traduttori traditori*, and to repeat Dante Rossetti's advice, "never translate, never translate." But the translator has a very valuable part to play in the diffusion of the world's knowledge and it is difficult to over-estimate the usefulness of the work done by writers of Griffith's type. Scrupulously accurate Oriental scholarship satisfying modern standards of investigation and research may not be the special distinction of Griffith, but his memory will be cherished with gratitude by a wide circle of readers all over the English-speaking world, to whom his translations have unlocked, probably for the first time, some of the imperishable treasures of Sanskrit literature. Introduced to a new world of romance and literature under his auspices, the English-speaking reader may exclaim with Keats:

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken

As a translator, Griffith was free and rapid in his method and with his real command of versification, he could always write in a manner which would interest the popular reader. Here is his tribute to the glory of the sun, based on a passage in the Rig Veda:

Such the majesty and power,  
Such the glory of the Sun,  
When he sets at evening hour  
The worker leaves his task undone;  
His steeds are loosed and over all  
Spreadeth Night her gloomy pall



When he rides in noontide glow,  
Blazing in the nations' sight,  
The skies his boundless glory show,  
And his majesty of light,  
And when he sets, his absent might  
Is felt in thickening shades of night.

Every reader of Sanskrit will feel thankful for his translations of stray passages from such masterpieces as *Sakuntala*, the *Cloud Messenger*, and the *Ritusamhara* of Kalidasa and the *Gita Gorind* of Jayadeva, which are not less valuable than his translation of such a complete work as the *Ramayan*, though very much smaller in compass. His rendering of the great epic into English is the best and the most popular which has yet been achieved in the medium of the English language. He has endeavoured to interpret his master with great faithfulness, whether he describes a scene of nature in the forests of Dandaka :

The very fowl that haunt the mere  
Stand doubtful on the bank, and fear  
To dip them in the wintry wave  
As cowards dread to meet the brave.  
The frost of night, the rime of dawn  
Bind flowerless trees and glades of lawn ;  
Benumbed in apathetic chill  
Of icy chains they slumber still.

or writes with impressiveness of the marching armies, "like autumn clouds in long array," or narrates the triumphant entry of Rama into Ayodhya :

Then o'er the earth let thousands throw  
Fresh showers of water cool as snow ;  
And others strew with garlands gay  
With loveliest blooms our monarch's way.  
On tower and temple, porch and gate  
Let banners wave in Royal state  
And be each roof and terrace lined  
With blossoms loose and chaplets twined.

Much water has sped down the Ganges since the days when Griffith sought thus to bring the literature of India, sacred and profane, to the notice of the West. Sanskrit scholarship has advanced in many directions ; Papyrus and Stone have made new revelations to a wondering world and musty manuscripts have been dragged into the daylight of scholarship and knowledge has grown into the poet's phrase, from 'more to more', but it will be long before we will see another writer with a similar record of devotion to the great classics of India and with achievement of similar magnitude in the course of its diffusion over the civilised world.

## THE DETECTION OF CRIME

By MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

EVERY country, civilised and uncivilised, throughout the whole world has been cursed with crime. It is seemingly the birth-mark of humanity, a fatal inheritance known to the theologians as original sin. Warfare by the criminal against society has existed from time immemorial ; it is in constant progress around us to-day, and it will continue to be waged until the advent of that millennium in which there is to be no more evil passion to agitate mankind.

Ever active in seeking new outlets, crime has also been invariably keen to adopt new methods of execution, and, in these days of the educated and often scientific criminal, the ingenuity of these culprits is infinite. Their patient inventiveness, however, is only equalled by their reckless audacity. Extraordinary, ingenious and astute steps are some-

times taken, of course, to conceal the deed and throw the pursuers off the proper scent. On the other hand, criminals are often foolishly forgetful and ineffective in this respect.

That the culprit in most cases leaves clues as to his identity is of course well established, but it goes without saying that the professional criminal, whose finger prints and measurements are recorded by the police, quite obviously runs very few risks of leaving unwittingly an effective clue. Curiously enough, however, the authorities can begin their investigations on very little evidence. A false tooth, fortunately incombustible, has sufficed, for instance, in a case of identification, when every other vestige had been annihilated by fire. A name chalked upon a door in tell-tale handwriting has at times proved sufficient to form a satisfactory

clue in the reconstruction of the crime while half a word scratched upon a chisel has led to the identification of its guilty owner. A button dropped after a burglary has been found to correspond, for instance, with those on the coat of a man in custody for another offence and with the very place from which it was torn. The merest fragments of clothing, a scrap of paper, a harmless tool, or a hat proves indeed of substantial value in cases of criminal investigation.

Indian police records cite many cases where bodies have been discovered through the agency of kites, vultures, crows and scavenging wild beasts. The howling of a jackal has often given the clue to a murder. In one remarkable case the body of a murdered child was traced through the snarling and quarrelling of jackals over the remains.

It is in murder cases, of course, where the highest qualities of the authorities are called into play, inasmuch as the deed is almost invariably committed by persons as an isolated instance of criminality. Criminals of this type, however, continually give themselves away by their own carelessness, as well as by their stupid incautious behaviour. In one clear case of murder, for instance, detection was aided by the simple discovery of a few half-burnt matches which the criminal had used in lighting candles in his victim's room with the apparent idea of keeping up the illusion that he was still alive. Again, in the case of Julius Carbor, of Paris, evidence was forthcoming to the effect that the poison used had been supplied secretly from some unknown source in Frankfort. He would certainly have never paid the penalty for his nefarious deed except for a trifling circumstance. A telegram which the criminal imagined he had destroyed was discovered by the authorities in a book and had seemingly been placed there as a bookmark. The message hailed from Frankfort, signed "Heinrich", and quoting the price—2,000 marks. This was found to be the price he had paid to get rid of his friend Helene Dufour. If he had been a professional poisoner he would certainly have made quite sure that the tell-tale telegram had been destroyed!

Among the slender clues in criminal cases must be cited that of the murder by her husband of a Mrs. Bennett upon the beach at Yarmouth a few years ago. The only clue was a laundry mark on the linen of deceased woman. The police, relying on this clue, after many weeks of untiring vigilance and perseverance, ran the culprit to earth and secured his conviction. Further, to mention the case of the murder of an old woman at the back of a shop at Slough, the only clue was a piece of brown paper, found on the kitchen table, on which appeared the impressions of the milled edges of a number of coins. This paper, which had contained the money that had been the motive of the crime led to the culprit's arrest, and subsequently assisted materially in procuring his conviction.

Every assistance that science affords has, in fact, been brought to bear on the mysteries of crime. Dentistry, medicine, chemistry, physics, psychology and anthropology have been enlisted in the work. No fact connected with a crime is too trivial to escape attention. The marks of teeth on pipes and cigar-ends are examined; blood stains are analysed; hair is the object of special study. The results of these examinations are often little short of astonishing. For instance, a razor was identified as the instrument used by a murderer through finding in the dry blood a shred of cotton identical with the material of the murdered man's nightcap, which had been cut through. Again, a man was gravely wounded at night by an unknown person, who dropped his cap in his flight. Inside the cap were found two hairs which were subjected to microscopic examination. As a result the authorities were provided with the following description of the criminal which enabled them ultimately to apprehend him: "A man of middle age, of robust constitution, black hair intermingled with gray, recently cut; commencing to grow bald."

Further, in discovering a murderer, an examination of his teeth may betray his occupation. By the callous spots on his hands it is possible to tell the kind of tools he has customarily worked with. Long

delicate fingers, kept supple by the application of glycerine and cold cream, indicate to a trained observer the pickpocket's profession. Footprints, on the other hand, will often afford a description of a criminal adequate enough to warrant arrest.

Clues are often discovered by a chemical and microscopic examination of the dust in the pockets. A well-known criminologist relates an instance where a scientific knowledge of dust played an all important part. A garment, whose owner was unknown, was found at the scene of the crime. This was the only clue but it was quite sufficient. The garment was placed in a strong and well-gummed paper bag and vigorously beaten with sticks. It was then opened and the dust submitted to chemical examination. Some wood fibrous matter, finely pulverised, was found in the dust. It was deduced from this circumstance that the owner was either a carpenter, a joiner, or a sawyer. Among the particles of dust, however, there were also found some gelatine and powdered glue. This discovery served to eliminate the carpenter and sawyer, who do not as a rule use glue. But a joiner does, and it was eventually proved the garment did in fact belonged to a joiner who was as a matter of fact the culprit.

In a certain murder it was observed that a

cigar-holder was near the body. Upon the amber mouthpiece were two teeth-marks. A close examination revealed the fact that the teeth that made them must have been of unequal length, and that in consequence of the peculiar shape of the mouthpiece it must have been held in a certain position. To whom did the cigar-holder belong? Not to the dead man as he had no irregular teeth. But his nephew had the identical teeth which would have made the marks on the holder and that curious discovery sealed his fate!

Some clues are, of course, not to be entirely relied upon. In a case heard in Barcelona a short while ago the finger-prints left by a bank robber were traced to a most respectable tradesman living in Seville. He was arrested and was about to be brought up for trial when the actual thief was caught red-handed in the act of breaking open another safe in Madrid. On his hands he was wearing thin rubber gloves upon which were impressed the exact lines and curves of the innocent prisoner's fingers! That he had ingeniously contrived to obtain the finger prints of the innocent tradesman in Seville and that he had reproduced them on the gloves was proved at the trial, which was intensely interesting from the point of view of the manufacture of false clues by modern criminals.

## A Pioneer Pali Explorer: George Turnour

BY MR. D. W. WICKRAMARATCHI.

THE value of George Turnour's contribution to the study of Oriental languages and history cannot be exaggerated. He was one of the great pioneers who had to contend against not only prejudice and ignorance, but also many other difficulties, in the pursuit of a branch of learning that was then considered to be fruitless and unprofitable. Turnour's contribution to the study of Oriental languages and history lay in his undaunted pursuit of the study of Pali. Pali, as is well-known, closely resembles Sanskrit and is the old language in which the scriptures of the Southern Buddhism have

been written. The Buddhist scriptures were brought to Ceylon during the reign of Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India, some three hundred years before the birth of Christ. Since then Pali language was cultivated in the numerous monasteries that sprang up in all parts of the Island. A huge mass of exegetical literature in the form of commentaries on the elucidation of the texts grew up and added force and impetus to the study of Pali, which in time became the language of the learned, as Latin became during the mediaeval times in Europe. Consequently a number of historical works dealing with

the fortunes of religion and of kings and reigns and royal dynasties came to be compiled in Pali. So we find two great historical epics, Dipawamsa and Mahawamsa, written in stately and smooth Pali verse, besides other minor poems dealing with a variety of subjects. These facts go to indicate that, during the time of Sinhalese Kings, Pali was studied both as a means to facilitate the understanding of religion and as a branch of national culture.

To appreciate the real value of Turnour's work in this connection one must try to get a glimpse, however inadequately, into the state of Pali learning in Ceylon at the commencement of the nineteenth century. The maritime provinces of Ceylon, after being successively exploited by the Portuguese and the Dutch for nearly three hundred years, were captured by the British in 1796. In 1815 the last King of the Sinhalese was dethroned and the whole Island was ceded to the British Government under a solemn treaty. When these events took place the torch of national culture of the Sinhalese had been practically extinguished. The constant warfare that had to be maintained for centuries against the ruthless foreigners had forced the people of the country to give up the cultivation of arts and sciences and, instead, to grasp the weapons of war and recede to the comparative security of the mountain fastnesses. All studies had perforce to be neglected and utterly neglected they were. The consequent religious and intellectual decline reduced the people to a state of comparative barbarism. Only a very few leaders of culture and learning preserved here and there the embers of the past intellectual greatness fanning in the vain attempt to produce the flame. A few Buddhist priests living far apart in various places possessed some knowledge of Pali, but, ignorant as they were of any foreign tongue, they could hardly communicate with the world outside.

It was at this time that the British rule commenced in Ceylon. The Britishers who came out to rule in Ceylon possessed such an exaggerated notion of their own superiority

that they generally looked down upon native languages and literatures which in their opinion consisted of nothing but myths, fables and fanciful stories of a vanished greatness. So the native annals deserved no attention whatever, much less any laborious study. Owing to this snug assumption no European thought it worth while paying serious attention to the mass of literature that existed in the Island. Any attempt on the part of a more scientific student would only meet with scorn and derisive contempt. In the midst of all this prejudice and ignorance George Turnour was a noble and solitary example.

In spite of these hardships and obstacles Mr. George Turnour, one of the early officials of the British Government in Ceylon, deliberately set about to study the Pali language and make his inestimable researches into the ancient history of the Island. The difficulties he had to contend against were many. But the enthusiastic and persevering student in him overcame every obstacle until his labours were amply and more than adequately rewarded. The following extract from a biographical note added by Sir Emerson Tennent to his own monumental work on Ceylon published in 1859, besides giving some important facts about Turnour's life, will enable the reader to understand the nature of hardships that he had to overcome at the commencement:—

George Turnour was the eldest son of the Hon. George Turnour, son of the first Earl of Winter-ton; his mother being Emilie, niece to the Cardinal Duc de Bossuet. He was born in Ceylon in 1799, and having been educated in England under the guardianship of the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, then Governor of the island, he entered the Civil Service in 1818, in which he rose to the highest rank. He was distinguished equally by his abilities and his modest display of them. Interpreting in its largest sense the duty enjoined on him, as a public officer, of acquiring a knowledge of the native languages, he extended his studies from the vernacular and written Sinhalese to Pali, the great root and original of both known only to the Buddhist priesthood and imperfectly and even rarely amongst them. No dictionaries then existed to assist in defining the meaning of Pali terms which no teacher could be found capable of rendering into English, so that Mr. Turnour was entirely dependent on his knowledge of Sinhalese as a medium for translating them. To an ordinary mind such obstructions would have proved insurmountable, aggravated as they were by dis-

couragements arising from the assumed barrenness of the field, and the absence of all sympathy with his pursuits, on the part of those around him, who reserved their applause and encouragement till success had rendered him indifferent to either.

The services rendered by Turnour to Oriental learning were unparalleled in his day. As soon as he could adequately understand the Pali language he commenced the translation of the Mahawamsa, the Island Chronicle of Ceylon, written in verses and in a style somewhat obscure but stately. He was at the time in charge of the district of Sabaragamuwa and staying at Ratnapura, the historic town near Adam's Peak. The inquisitive student that he was, he was always in touch with Buddhist priests who were the only persons considered to be learned in Pali. It was with the ungrudging and kindly assistance of the Buddhist priests that Turnour was enabled to attain his ambition of acquiring a working knowledge of Pali. And whilst at Ratnapura he was also fortunate enough to come by a copy of the old commentary on the text, through the help of a friendly Buddhist priest. He translated the first thirty-eight chapters of the Mahawamsa covering the period from 543 B. C. to 304 A. C. and published at Colombo in 1837. The appearance of this volume was an epoch-making event. It was a great surprise to the Oriental scholars in Europe, who hailed it with infinite joy and pleasure. It proved to be the light towards which they were groping. The mass of facts and accurate information that the Mahawamsa contained was so important that even an age of blind faith in its own superior wisdom dared not assail its authenticity. But to dispel all doubts Turnour, immediately after the appearance of his English translation, issued a reprint of the original Pali Mahawamsa in Roman characters. The Mahawamsa contains so much of information about the early history of India, that Turnour's translation turned out to be of great value in reconstructing Indian history. It created a revolution among the learned circles in so far as it affected the opinion hitherto accepted about the early history of India.

Its publication led to very happy results in another direction too. Prinsep was at the time engaged in deciphering the inscriptions of Asoka, without the least knowledge of their authorship. Between the two, Prinsep and Turnour, there followed a series of correspondence with the result that Piyadasi of the inscriptions was identified with the Buddhist Emperor Asoka of the Mahawamsa. We can now hardly realize what this discovery meant at that time. It was a great triumph to the patient scholarship of Turnour and of his friend Prinsep.

With the help of both Pali and Sinhalese books Turnour also compiled "An Epitome of the History of Ceylon," fixing the dates of different reigns and principal events with such accuracy that after well-nigh a century of fresh study and research, his scheme of dates holds good with hardly any material alterations. He also contributed in the meantime many able articles on Buddhist History, Indian Chronology and on other Oriental subjects to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Some of his notes on Indian inscriptions were equally valuable and found always to be illuminating. It is said that Turnour had also entertained the idea of translating the whole Buddhist canon into English from the original Pali text, but unfortunately his premature death, which occurred in 1843 at Naples, put a stop to all his plans.

The scholars who were at that time engaged in investigating the Buddhist records of Tibet and Nepal found helpful clues in the Mahawamsa in unravelling many obscure points.

Turnour, after a long spell of trying duties in Ceylon, conscientiously carried out in his case, found his health fast declining and returned to Europe in 1842, the year before his death. The fact that he had imposed upon himself the severe task of studying Pali and Sinhalese in addition to his arduous duties as an official might possibly have told on his health. Although he died early, he had already achieved much and had created a world-wide reputation as an eminent Orientalist.

# A VISION OF VEDIC INDIA

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BY MR. P. K. ANANT NARAYAN, M.A., L.T.

I

THE mind goes back five thousand years to a time that heralds a new dawn of enlightenment in the world's history. The land of the seven rivers (Sapta Sindhu) lies extended before us. Bounded by the eternally snow-crowned radiant Himalaya and his 'heaven-kissing' off-spring, the picturesque mountain valley of Kashmere and the arid sandy wastes of Rajasthan, and fertilized by the life-giving waters of the mighty Sindhu and her tributary streams, this veritable paradise on earth is eminently fitted to be the cradle of the infant Aryan civilization.

Vast primeval forests enfolding gigantic trees and luxuriant vegetation, impenetrably dense and dark, whose sombre solitudes are disturbed only by the wandering wind, the warbling bird or bellowing beast, lie stretched in unending succession. The virgin soil, rich and fertile, yet 'unworn by the plough', awaits the touch of the industrious plough-share and hardy tiller, to break forth into fruitfulness and abundance in the balmy and invigorating climate. Here and there, large smiling fields glittering with golden corn and wheat feast the eyes. Small towns and flourishing villages, composed of no imposing structures but small neat homesteads, crude in build but comfortable, are already scattered over the spacious plains and on the banks of the friendly rivers. An atmosphere of peace and plenty pervades the country.

Fair and noble are the Aryas who inhabit the land. No weaklings are they, but a strong and hardy, virile and manly race. Driven by stress of economic circumstances and partly impelled by a restless spirit of adventure, these enterprising people have migrated from the primitive uplands of Central Asia in quest of a more congenial homeland. Many have settled down to peaceful habits and pursuits of life, but the more dashing spirits among them are gradually pushing forward to conquer and colonize fresh territories and more inviting dominions.

Theirs is no light task, no child's play. A double conquest lies before them, over wild and fierce savages, and wilder and fiercer Nature. The aboriginal tribes (Dasys), barbarous and warlike children of the soil, have to be subjugated and brought to obey and serve their new masters. The violent and untamed forces and powers of Nature have to be subdued and overcome so as to

minister to the wants and needs of man. Armed with the bow and arrow, the sword and axe and other martial weapons, the light-haired, bright-eyed, white-robed and valiant Aryans go out to fight with and triumph over the savage man, the ravenous beast and turbulent nature.

They are the pioneers and torch-bearers of a new and enlightened civilization that they have attained in their primitive home beyond the sublime Himalayas. Endowed by nature with high intellectual capacities and refined moral feelings, they evince great powers of courage, endurance, resourcefulness and a spirit of union, that are essential for heroes who have to build up a new social life and order in Aryavarta. A simple and austere life, eschewing all vain luxury and indulgence, is their ideal. With a deep religious sense interwoven into the very texture of their being, their life exhibits the essential features of a high social and moral culture well-harmonized with material prosperity. It is an age of tremendous creative energy and activity, surging with a keen ardour of invention and discovery, and unsophisticated by any illusory ideas of variety or effeminate day-dreaming. They have faithfully and jealously treasured up the traditions of their ancestral inheritance from their parent stock, and zealously set about in their new home to evolve higher and more developed forms of religion, philosophy, and the arts and modes of social life.

II

The Vedas reflect, as in a crystal mirror, their life as it was lived in that remote age—the social organization, a free and natural constitution of the different units cemented by an active common and communal feeling. A marked line of cleavage runs between the Aryans and the non-Aryans based on factors of race and colour (Varna). They are intensely jealous of maintaining unallied the purity of their noble blood and racial characteristics. There are among them different classes like the priests, the warriors, the artisans, the merchants etc., following different occupations in life; but caste, as a crystallized institution erecting permanent barriers, has not yet come into existence. There is perfect equality among all the men of the race or tribe; professions are not hereditary, each member being quite free to choose his own calling in life, according to his natural bent and inclination. The whole social organism is bound and pervaded by a free and unifying spirit of brotherhood,

The same happy and fraternal feeling animates their domestic life organized on a patriarchal basis. Their most lovable social trait is the sentiment of reverence for family ties and duties and obligations. Woman occupies an honourable and exalted position in the home as mother or wife, being the free and equal partner and helpmate of man. In entering into the most sacred bond of marriage, she has the free choice and her wishes prevail. "Gentle of mind, bright of countenance, bearing heroes, honouring the gods, dispensing joy," she 'rules and governs' the household. To her is chiefly entrusted the sacred duty of offering hospitality to guests and bestowing charity on the poor and the needy.

The Vedic Aryans have achieved considerable progress in the arts and activities of civilized living. With the awakening of the crimson-robed and smiling dawn (Ushas), from the small towns or fortified villages, the shepherds and peasants go out to their fields and pastures driving before them their large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle that furnish them with nourishing milk and warm clothing. Great skill and mastery have they attained in various arts and crafts, in the handling of numerous weapons and implements of domestic or professional use, and in working such metals as brass and iron. They toil and labour hard on the soil, and Nature, ever grudging in her gifts to the lazy, generously rewards them with her bounteous stores of grain and corn from her bosom.

The nomadic instinct has almost died out; and in their settled rural life they are governed by tribal chieftains or kings generally chosen by the people themselves. The ruler, advised and guided by the venerable elders and with the help of the warlike elements among them, maintains order within, defends them from foes without, and governs the people with their consent, and for their common welfare. The same patriarchal feeling prevails in their domestic life also. The father is the head and ruler of the family, the protector and supporter, whose authority is cheerfully recognized and to whom willing-obedience and loving reverence are rendered by the other members. The unifying forces of communal and domestic bonds weld them firmly together enabling them to maintain their supremacy in their newly conquered land.

### III

The most dominant trait in the character of the Vedic Aryans is their profound and pervasive religious sense. They are an eminently religious

people. Religion is with them an intense and living reality, which has not yet been sublimated into dreamy speculation or "lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit." This deep religious feeling fortifies them with a moral courage to live good and noble lives and to face death boldly without any morbid fear as join the names of their departed ancestors (Pitris) who are 'feasting with the gods' in the world of the spirit-god Yama. It is the bedrock on which the fabric of their life and civilization is based.

The Rishis are the inspired bards and sages, the leaders of religious thought and life, who felt most deeply the influence of Nature and gave expression to those vibrant ideas in soul-stirring words of ethereal melody. Their prayers and invocations, and hymns of worship and adoration, embodying the eternal truths of divine wisdom as revealed to the spiritual seers and prophets in beatific vision and meditation, and couched in the sweet words of the polished Sanskrit, form the sacred lore of the Vedas. They are the perpetual fountains whose holy waters shall ever quench the spiritual thirst and gratify the soul's striving for divine realization.

Nature-worship is their creed. The mysterious forces and phenomena of nature, benificent or maleficent, exercising such potent influence on their life and destiny, have to be propitiated to contribute to their welfare. Those natural powers are conceived of as concrete personalities animated by intelligent wills and invested with divine attributes. Thus the powers are deified as beings and the names are personified into gods (Devas) governing the universe from their sacred abode on the Himalayas, which becomes 'woven into the deepest spiritual life of the people.'

The true Vedic pantheon constitutes a trinity of deities, Surya, Indra and Agni, embracing the sky, the air and the earth, and represented by the most sacred symbol Om (AUM). The Sun-God, "with flaming locks, clear-sighted god of day," the source of all life and heat and light, is adored as the friend (Mitra) who fertilizes the lands, enriches the pastures and fructifies the crops. Indra or Varuna is the Rain-God under whose control

The pent-up waters,  
Released from long imprisonment, descend  
In torrents to the earth, and swollen rivers,  
Foaming and rolling to their ocean home,  
Proclaim the triumph of the Thunderer.

. And the Fire-God Agni, "the protector, father of the sacrifice," is worshipped on the altar of every household as their friend and father who "ascends, as a messenger, conveying to the sky their hymns and offerings." The three gods, each exercising sovereignty over one sphere of creation, are sometimes addressed as separate beings with distinct functions and sometimes as manifestations of the Supreme One. But behind and beyond the conception of many gods is fore-shadowed the idea of the world animated by a universal all-pervading spirit. Says the hymn of creation in the Rig Veda :

In the beginning there was neither nought nor-

Then there was neither sky nor atmosphere above.

\* \* \* \*

Then was there neither death nor immortality ;

Then was there neither day, nor night, nor light,

Only the Existent One breathed calmly, self-

Nought else but He there was—nought else above,

The modes of worshipping the gods are simple

and direct. No magnificent temples, no sculptured images, no public worship are there. The family altar with the sacred fire is the place of religious meditation and prayer. No elaborate

rituals or complicated ceremonies are performed. The holy gods are praised ; simple gifts such as flowers and rice and ghee are offered to them as an expression of gratitude for the blessings received from those celestial beings ; and they are invoked at family meals, festivities and other auspicious occasions.

The spirit of leading a dedicated life finds its crowning glory in their sacrificial rite (Yajna). That is the highest spiritual symbol of the Vedic culture. Sacrifices are performed to the gods as a thanksgiving service or for supplicating blessings from them such as increase of wealth or offspring, or the prosperity of their crops and cattle. In the midst of a large concourse of people assembled around the sacrificial altar, with the crimson flames of the sacred fire (Homa) soaring up in the air, fed by the devotional oblations of boiled rice and clarified butter and the aromatic and exhilarating juice of the mountain-growing Soma plant, to the accompaniment of solemn chanting of Vedic hymns by saintly priests (Hotar), the austere and sanctified ceremonial is intended to offer subtle and quint-essential food to the heavenly gods and *pūtrīs*, and to foster the growth of true faith and spiritual aspiration in man.

## IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

In the last two issues we gave a symposium of the views of representative men on the relative merits of Free Trade and Protection for India. Another important subject that engaged the attention of the Fiscal Commission was Imperial Preference by which the component parts of the British Empire might regulate their tariff to their mutual advantage. The recent war gave a stimulus to Imperial patriotism and there arose a wide desire among the members of the British Confederacy to share the benefits of their commerce and industries more exclusively among themselves and only secondarily with the rest of the world. This sort of voluntary association is indeed advantageous, but no scheme of Imperial Preference will long work without due consideration of its fitness and suitability to the varying conditions. The primary consideration for India should be her own advantage, and no sentimental consideration should be allowed to jeopardise her interests. Opinion is fairly unanimous that commercially Imperial Preference would be harmful to Indian interests, however desirable it might be for the rest of the Empire. The evidence herein collected shows that, sentiment apart, there is nothing to recommend it for India which only stands to lose under any such scheme.

### PROF. STANLEY JEVONS

The question of imperial preference belongs more to the sphere of politics than economics ; and it may be that any small loss or gain which might accrue to India in the economic sense therefrom would be more than counterbalanced by political gain or loss. As is well known the principle commodities of India's foreign trade are such that the economic benefits of Imperial

Preference to India or to England or other part of the Empire by India adopting that policy would not be considerable. So far as India is concerned the benefit of any reciprocal preference agreement might be more than offset by losses caused by heavier burden placed on foreign trade with non-British countries. It is obvious that as revenue must always be an important consideration in framing the customs tariff, the desire



to give preference to goods of British origin might involve an unduly heavy burden on goods of non-British origin.

General considerations of economic geography do not support the view that Imperial Preference would be sound from the point of view of economic welfare. Neither is it clear that, if India is to contribute in any material manner to the welfare of Great Britain it should do so by the indirect method of giving a special stimulus to British industries. I do not think that any good case can be made out for India including Imperial Preference in her tariff proposals in the near future. The question would take a different aspect if at some future time through the medium of the Imperial Conference a general system of Imperial Preference amongst all parts of the British Empire were to be elaborated. It might very likely be desirable politically that India should enter such a scheme; but that is not the present issue.

PROF. S. C. SHAHANI, M. L. A.

I am on the ground of sentiment favourable to the idea of Imperial Preference. But I do not think that India would be justified in risking any appreciable economic loss for the sake of Imperial Preference. India must consult her pocket first. She is the poorest member of the Empire. And, what is worse, the policy of some of the other parts of the Empire towards her has squeezed much of the requisite sentiment out of her heart. She has by some of them been exploited, despised, insulted, and even kicked out of their lands. But were even the attitude and conduct of the other parts of the Empire better, India would not be justified in view of her poverty, in endangering her economic interests. It will in the existing circumstances be, in my opinion, cruel to make to India any proposal of Imperial Preference.

I would not in the existing circumstances differentiate between the policy to be adopted towards the United Kingdom and towards other parts of the Empire.

I do anticipate a material loss to India from a system of Imperial Preference. India's cost of living would increase. It is true that protection too would tend to raise the cost of living; but then India would have a compensatory gain in the development of her industries; whereas under Imperial Preference this gain would accrue to the other parts of the Empire. Under protection if Indians suffer as consumers they gain as producers, but under Imperial Preference Indian consumers suffer while producers in other parts of the Empire gain.

MR. GULABCHAND DEVCHAND.

I believe that the scheme of Imperial Preference for this country is economically suicidal and politically unwise. On pure economic grounds India has nothing to gain but all to lose by such a scheme.

It is certain that the adoption of a scheme of Imperial Preference will lead to the diversion of Indian export and import trade into British hands, which will lead to a rise in the prices of imports and decrease in the prices of exports. It will affect India's trade balance adversely and postpone her industrial development for ever.

The Government of this country stood always exposed to the charge that the best economic interests of this country were subordinated to those of Great Britain and that the political power was used by the rulers for economic domination, and hence the cry for full fiscal freedom. If the Reforms are to purchase Protection at a price of Imperial Preference, it will be difficult to rehabilitate the forfeited confidence that England's connection with India is selfless.

To sum up, India has nothing to gain but all to lose in a scheme of Imperial Preference. On economic grounds, it is a worse policy than the present one. She requires protection for her infant industries, hence she cannot afford to give preference to the Empire. In her economic interest, she must sell her produce in the dearest market, hence she cannot give preference in her exports. As a matter of political expediency—she has not a Dominion Status—she cannot wisely enter into such a scheme, as the economic loss will be incalculable. So, economically a scheme of Imperial Preference will be suicidal, financially disastrous, industrially unwise and politically inexpedient.

MR. KHUSHAL T. SHAH

Except as a measure of reaching the importance of India to some of the British Self-governing colonies which do not admit the Indian's right to a decent existence in their dominions no such discrimination need be made. Ceylon, though technically a colony, will have to be regarded for fiscal purposes as a part of the Indian Empire, unless Ceylon allows itself to be the basis of unfavourable trade operations against India.

Imperial preference can only be adopted by India at the cost of serious economic loss to herself and a highly probable, though entirely unnecessary, growth of unfavourable rivalry with such countries as Japan which are now amongst her best customers.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' historic tour in India was completed on March 17 when he left Karachi to Ceylon on his way to Japan. From the date of his landing in Bombay on the 17th Nov., down to the date of his departure from these shores, His Royal Highness has had a strenuous and exacting time of it visiting important cities in the Provinces and States and familiarizing himself with men and affairs. As His Royal Highness aptly said in his first speech in Bombay, during these four months he wanted "to appreciate at first hand all that India is and has done,".... "to grasp your difficulties and to understand your aspirations." By sojourning in India during these somewhat abnormal days, His Royal Highness has gathered rich and valuable experiences which, as he said in his farewell message, would enable him to "view India, her Princes and people with an understanding eye." We give in this issue the last instalment of his speeches in India and the complete text of his addresses in Ceylon during his four days' stay in the island.

## SPEECH AT THE JAMMU BANQUET

[H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, speaking at the Jammu State Banquet on March 2, said:]

I thank Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have referred to me. I count myself fortunate to have had an opportunity of visiting Your Highness' territory as my father and grandfather have done before me. The large State of Kashmir, with its frontiers abutting on Afghanistan, China and Tibet, occupies a position of primary importance in the Empire. I will not dilate on the history of the relations of this State to the British Crown as they are well known to you all. Suffice it to say that in the past the spirit of mutual respect and affection has linked Kashmir with the Crown. The tradition of loyalty has burnt with undimmed lustre in your territories. Kashmir has ever proved worthy of the trust reposed in it and in Your Highness, the British Government is fortunate in the possession of the staunchest of friends who can be relied on to assist to the utmost in the event of an emergency.

Never have these qualities been subjected to sterner test or more triumphantly displayed than in the Great War. During that ordeal the devotion of this State, as all who know Your Highness would have confidently predicted, was never seen to falter or to waver. It would take a long time if I were to recount the generous assistance which was poured out in way of money and material. But there are one or two points which I must mention. The Kashmir Imperial Service Troops were maintained at a strength of 60,000 men. Throughout the war they fought with marked distinction in East Africa and Palestine and won the highest tribute from Generals who had the good fortune to lead them. I hope to have the pleasure to-morrow of seeing these fine troops and of meeting many of those who won for Kashmir an undying halo of military renown.

In addition to this, Kashmir State with its Feudatory State of Poonch was conspicuous in supplying recruits to serve in many fields in the Indian Army. Over 31,000 of Your Highness' subjects enlisted in our forces. I am glad to be to-night in that province of Your Highness' territories which is particularly connected with Dogras in order to testify to their unquenchable martial spirit and their splendid achievements. The war history of Kashmir is indeed a record of which Your Highness and your State may feel justly proud.

I must congratulate Your Highness on the well-merited honours and distinctions which the King-Emperor has bestowed upon you. I am happy to have the privilege to-night of acknowledging in person on behalf of the King-Emperor the great service of the Kashmir State and of thanking Your Highness and your subjects for the signal loyalty which you displayed. I need not assure Your Highness, that it has been a great pleasure to me to have Your Highness' heir, General Raj Sir Hari Singh, who commands your State forces, attached to my staff during my visit to India. It will remain a permanent regret that the short time allotted to my tour prevented me from visiting the fair province of Kashmir whose borders and beauties are the envy of all lands. Much has been done by Your Highness to develop the resources of your territories and ensure the welfare of your people. I feel convinced that this State has before it the brightest of futures under Your Highness' administration and I fervently hope that it may share in undiminished measure in the progress and prosperity of the British Empire in years that come. I am sure it will cement even more firmly the traditional relations which exist between it and the paramount power and I know that they will deepen the feelings of personal friendship which I have for Your Highness.

### SPEECH AT AURANGABAD SERAI

[ On March 3 H. R. H. the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the King George's Royal Indian Military School at Aurangabad Serai. In doing so, His Royal Highness said : ]

I have served in more than one theatre of war with Indian soldiers and I am glad and proud to be among so many of my old colleagues here to-day. It is a great pleasure to me to be able to visit this part of the Punjab, which is the centre of the area, standing second to none in the Empire in its contribution of fighting men during the war, while all classes in the districts in this neighbourhood answered the call. This is essentially a Mussalman recruiting area and you may take just pride in your share of the total of 170,000 Mussalman soldiers, who joined the colours from the Punjab. The Jhelum District, which stands first among the districts in this part of the Province, had, at the end of the war, one man in nine of the total male population serving in the Army and under the voluntary system of territorial recruitment, by which they were enlisted, in some villages more than 50 per cent. of the male population had joined our forces.

This splendid record needs no words of mine to embroider it, nor need I embellish the tale of the gallant manner in which these men did their duty far from their homelands in distant fields of war. The world knows that story already, and it will live. I am proud to think that I am to be more intimately associated with the Punjab and with you through the representative Punjabi regiment—the 92nd Punjabis—which is so closely connected with the Jhelum District and will, in future, be known as the Prince of Wales' Regiment. We have spoken of heroes of armies of to-day and yesterday, but we must not forget to-morrow. The sons of our soldiers must some day take their stand in the ranks of the armies of India. It is to their right hand that India looks to guard her in her need in future. The question of providing for the education of soldiers of the future and the sons of soldiers of to-day, has been engaging the attention for some time of my father, the King-Emperor, whose thoughts are ever with his Indian troops. By his command, the monies of the King-Emperor's Patriotic Fund are to be devoted to the provision of school-houses and hostels for the sons of Indian soldiers, and these schools are to be known by his name. The teachers will be officers of the Indian Army. The education given will be of a

sound general character, to fit a man to take a worthy place in civil or military career and to be a good citizen of the Empire.

It is my privilege to lay the foundation stone of one of these schools on this spot. I trust that I may, at the same time, communicate to the school, which will grow up here, those traditions of courage, loyalty and devotion which inspired my comrades-in-arms from the Western Punjab in the great war.

### REPLY TO WELCOME IN PESHAWAR

[ His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, replying to the address of welcome presented at Peshawar on March 6, said : ]

I am most grateful to you for the kind words in which you have addressed me and to the people of this Province and City whom you represent for the very warm welcome which I have received on every side. It is now more than three months since I landed at the maritime gateway of India and that period has been filled with some of the most varied and interesting experiences of my life. But I feel that those experiences would have been incomplete without a visit to the great inland gateway of India, the home of the warlike Pathan and of the staunch chieftains who have, for so many years, shared with us the burden of protecting the border. I have seen only a small section of the Frontier, but it has been enough to impress me most strongly with the interest of your problems and with the charm of your country and your people. During the Great War I made the acquaintance of some of the brave soldiers who were in such numbers from the Province to fight for the British Empire and I look forward to meeting some of these again when I visit the Ex Service men to-morrow. It is a great pleasure to me to learn of the progress which has been achieved of recent years in more peaceful spheres of education. I trust that peace on the border may enable you in future to devote even more efforts and energy in these directions. I will gladly convey your message of loyalty and devotion to His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor. His Majesty has always taken a special interest in this corner of the Empire and will, I know, be gratified to hear from me of your progress and welfare.

## SPEECH AT RAWALPINDI

[The Prince of Wales, replying to the Civil address at Rawalpindi on March 10, said:]

I am very grateful to you for coming here to-day to offer me so warm a welcome on behalf of the inhabitants of Rawalpindi Division. I have heard with pride and admiration how the innate martial spirit and sense of loyalty was at once aroused in the people of this division of the Punjab at the outbreak of the Great War. You have fully earned for your division the name of the fighting division of the fighting Province. You stood first among the divisions in the Punjab in the number of men enlisted in the Army during the War. You stood first in the number of men who served with colours during the War. You were first in the number of casualties, first in the number of military decorations and first in the donation of cash and gifts to the War funds. From this division went to France with the first contingent, the first Indian Volunteer and the first Indian holding the British Commission. Both were mentioned in the despatches dealing with Indian Forces. The first Indian to win the Victoria Cross came from your division. This record speaks for itself and it is a very real pleasure to meet you to-day and express the gratitude and appreciation of the Empire for your splendid efforts and to see the name of so many of my comrades in the great War. I will convey to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, your expressions of loyalty and devotion. I know that your message will be treasured as coming from races whose brave deeds form a chapter of honour in the annals of the Empire. I wish the inhabitants of Rawalpindi division all prosperity in the years to come. They may rest assured on my abiding interest in their welfare.

## KAPURTHALA BANQUET

[In reply to the toast proposed by H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala at the State Banquet on March 12, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales said:]

On this occasion I cannot let it pass without thanking you for the cordial manner in which you have drunk my health and for the very kind expression, which Your Highness has used about me. I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to visit Kapurthala and to renew my acquaintance with Your Highness and to meet the members of your family. I esteem it a privilege to be able in person to congratulate Your Highness and your State on your ready help in the great war. The Kapurthala Imperial Service

Regiment served with distinction in East Africa for nearly four years. During this period its strength was raised to 1,000 men, and everything that could be done was done to keep it in a state of efficiency. After the conclusion of its work in East Africa, it again saw service in Sistan, Mesopotamia and Afghanistan. Your Highness' third son, Maharaja Kumar Amarjit Singh Sahib, set a good example by serving with the Indian Contingent for more than a year. Your Highness and Your Highness' State did their utmost to help us to victory. I know that Your Highness has ever kept and will keep the simple but glorious motto of your House before your eyes and that service to King and country will be your inspiration and the mainspring of all action in the Kapurthala State. I thank Your Highness very warmly for all your kindness and hospitality during my all too brief visit to your State.

## DEHRA DUN CADET COLLEGE

[H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, in opening the Prince of Wales' Indian Military College at Dehra Dun on March 13, said:]

As Your Excellency said, the services of the Forces of India in the great War has won for the rising generation of Indians a right to hold the King's Commission, and the path to the highest ranks in the Indian Army is now open to India's young men. Never has a fairer or more honourable field been displayed before them and I look with confidence to young India to prove worthy of the great opportunities won for them by the soldiers of an older India in the hour of supreme trial. From my own experience I may say that it is the first few blows on the anvil of life that give human weapon, the set and temper which carries it through life's battles. It is the pride of English public schools that they have supplied the early training of those British Officers who, with the aid of the gallant body of Indian Officers, have for years led and guided the fighting men of India to victory on many fields. It is in order to give you the same opportunities and advantage that this College has been established. Young men of India, who wish to go later to Sandhurst, who aspire to hold the King's Commission, who receive their early training here, I trust that those who are responsible for the administration of this College will keep before them not only the great ideals of the public schools of England but will also further and maintain the fine old Indian spirit of mutual reverence which bound together the Guru and his Chela. To those who aspire to the honour of a King's Commission, I say, work,

hard, play hard, live upright and honest lives, maintain untarnished the great martial traditions of India's fighting men, keep unsullied the chivalry and honour which has been handed down to you as a heritage by the Indian Princes and warriors of old, by the Indian Officers of the past and by the British Officers who have trained the Indian soldiers in peace and led them in war. I shall always follow with interest the fortunes of a College which is to bear my name. I hope that its future record will make me proud of it.

#### MILITARY SCHOOL AT SENAWAR

[ H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, presenting Colours to the Royal Military School, Senawar on March 13, said : ]

I should feel proud to belong to the College which was founded by the brave Sir Henry Lawrence, which was built and started by the gallant Major Hudson and to which my father gave the name of Royal in recognition of the services of its old boys during the Great War. To the boys belonging to this College I need not explain the meaning of Colours. "All soldiers' sons take pride in Colours such as their fathers have served under. Your old Colours will now hang in your chapel to remind you of the record of your old boys. Your new Colours I entrust to your keeping. Cover them with glory and honour.

May they be an inspiration to you to serve your King and Country as faithfully as John and Henry Lawrence did in the hour of need.

#### REPLY TO KARACHI MUNICIPALITY

[ His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, replying to the address of the Karachi Municipality on March 17, said : ]

Gentlemen—I thank you for the warm welcome which you have extended to me and for your good wishes. I am glad that I am able to pay a visit to Karachi before I leave India. My father and mother will be interested to hear from me of the great progress and expansion which has taken place in this city and port since their visit years ago. It is a special pleasure to me to see your city because of the prominent part which it played in the War and its close association with the fine work of India's fighting forces. I entered India by one of its oldest gateways. It is fitting that I should leave it by one of its most modern, for the rapid growth of your city and population, your ever expanding export trade and your grow-

ing importance as a focus of communications, are the direct result of one of the most striking achievements of British rule in India. Your expansion is the outcome of the triumph of engineering and colonizing skill which transformed millions of acres of desert into the granary of India, which added in no small measure to the world's stock of food-grain and clothing and peopled a waste place with a happy and prosperous peasantry.

I read in this the symbol of good which united effort can secure in India and in your rapid growth, I find good augury for that high position which India may fill in the commercial world of the future. Your civic duties are onerous and important. Increased work and responsibility will be your lot as rural prosperity increases in Sind, Punjab and Rajputana. I know that, in the task which lies before you the welfare of the people of this city will be your first care. My visit to Karachi has been one of no common interest for me. Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind words. May Karachi prosper.

#### BALUCHI WAR MEMORIAL

[ Unveiling the Baluchi War Memorial at Karachi on March 17, the Prince of Wales said : ]

I deem it a great privilege to unveil this memorial to over one thousand officers and men of the Baluchi group of Indian Infantry who laid down their lives for their King and country in the Great War. Three of these regiments are closely connected with my family by specialities. Whether duty called them in France, Egypt, Palestine, East Africa, Persia, Waziristan or on the Afghan Frontier, the men of all these units, one and all, fought with characteristic courage and upheld the glorious traditions of their regiments and of the Indian Army to which they belong. Among the many distinctions won by officers and men I may mention the two Victoria Crosses which were won by the 129th Baluchis and treasured with pride. This memorial has been erected by the men of the regiments, to the honour, and in memory of, their own brave comrades. There can be no more fitting memorial for soldiers. In unveiling it, I trust that it may long keep their name, their sacrifice and their brave deeds before the future generations. May it inspire those that come after to work for their King and country in that spirit of loyalty and devotion which has always animated the Baluchi Infantry Regiments.

## FAREWELL TO INDIA

[The following telegram was sent by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to H. E. the Viceroy, dated 17th March, 1922:]

I bid farewell to India to day with feelings of the deepest regret. I praise the hand of friendship which India has extended to me and shall



ever treasure the memories of my visit in future years. By God's help I may now hope to view India, her Princes and people with an understanding eye. My gathered knowledge will, I trust, assist me to read her needs aright and will enable me to approach her problems with sympathy, appreciate her difficulties and appraise her achievements. It has been a wonderful experience for me to see the Provinces and States of India and to watch the machinery of the Government with interest. I have noted signs of expansion and development on every side. It has been a great privilege to thank the Princes and people of India for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the Empire in the Great War and to renew my acquaintance with her gallant fighting forces. Finally my warmest thanks are due to your Excellency, to the officials of your Government and to the

Princes and peoples of India by whose cordial assistance I have been helped at every stage of my journey to secure my cherished ambition. I undertook this journey to see and know India and to be known by her. Your Excellency's welcome at the outset and the encouragement which I have constantly received on all hands since landing in India has given me heart for my task. I have received continuous proofs of devotion to the throne and person of the King-Emperor and on my return to England it will be my privilege to convey these assurances of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. I trust that my sojourn in this country may have helped to add some grains to that great store of mutual trust and regard and of desire to help each other which must ever form the foundation of India's well-being. On my part, I will only say that if the memories which I leave behind in India are half as precious as those I take away, I may indeed feel that my visit has brought us closer together. That India may progress and prosper is my earnest prayer. I hope it may be my good fortune to see India in the years to come.—EDWARD, P.

## THE PRINCE IN CEYLON.

## REPLY TO CEYLON LEGISLATURE

[His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales landed at Colombo on March 21. The Ceylon Legislative Council presented an address of welcome, to which the Prince replied:]

Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the words in which you, as the representatives of the people of this Island, have welcomed me on the occasion of my first visit to Ceylon. You have reminded me that I am of the third generation of my family to visit these shores, and I regard it as a great privilege to have an opportunity of renewing these ties, which personal association and knowledge go so far to strengthen, and to be able to convey to His Majesty the King your assurances of loyal attachment to his Throne and Person. It is a matter of regret to me that my visit to Ceylon is of comparatively brief duration, but I feel sure that the sympathy and experience which I hope to gain during my short stay amongst you will enable me, in the years to come, to take a very special interest in your progress and development and to watch the labours of your Government with an abiding optimism. I

gratefully appreciate your good wishes for the remainder of my tour to the Far East, and would ask you to express to the people of Ceylon my heartfelt desire for their future prosperity and well-being.

### COLOMBO MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

[ On March, 21, the Municipal Council of Colombo presented an address of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to which His Royal Highness replied as follows : ]

Gentlemen, I am very grateful to you for the welcome that you have extended to me on behalf of the Municipal Council and the citizens of Colombo, and deeply appreciate your good wishes and the declaration of loyalty to which you have given expression. It is fitting that, on paying my first visit to Ceylon, I should land at the capital and principal seaport of the island, where my grandfather, King Edward, came as long ago as 1875 and laid the first stone of that great breakwater, which, completed nine years later, has contributed in no small measure to the present day prosperity and importance of Colombo as a leading port of call in the East and one of the finest artificial harbours in the world. Colombo has for long been intimately connected with the Royal Navy, and I would take this opportunity of expressing to you my appreciation of the manner in which Colombo, in accordance with its traditions of generous hospitality, entertained the officers and ship's company of His Majesty's Ship "Renown" during her recent stay in these waters. In the course of my drive this morning, I am looking forward to seeing something of a city which is well-known to be a credit to the labours of its Councillors, and in thanking you, gentlemen, once again for the terms of your address, let me assure you that I shall always watch the progress and welfare of Colombo and its inhabitants with the deepest interest.

### REPLY TO EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION

[ The Chief Headmen's Union of the Ceylon the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce, Low-country Products' Association, and the European Association of Ceylon presented addresses of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at Colombo on March 21. The Prince read the following address to the these four addresses conjointly : ]

Gentlemen, I should ask you to convey to the members of the various representative associations, who play so important a part in the life

and destiny of Ceylon, my sincere thanks for the cordial words of welcome which you have addressed to me on their behalf. His Majesty the King will, I know, be gratified by the messages of steadfast devotion with which you have entrusted me. I am sure that my four days' stay in your midst will be full of interest to me, and an event in my life, that I shall always recall with pleasure, and I look forward to the possibilities of a second brief visit to the island on my return journey from Japan. Gentlemen, I trust that your Associations may prosper in themselves, and at the same time co-operate whole-heartedly with a vigorous determination to advance the well-being of the island as a whole.—EDWARD P.

### REPLY TO CEYLON LIGHT INFANTRY

[ H. R. H. the Prince of Wales presented colours to the Ceylon Light Infantry at Colombo on March 22. In doing so he said : ]

Col Jayewardene, officers and all ranks of the Ceylon Light Infantry,—I am very proud, as your Colonel-in-Chief, to inspect the Battalion to-day and present these new Colours. The regiment was formed 31 years ago. It was mobilized throughout the war and you are mobilised now, relieving a British Regiment. I congratulate you on the splendid work you have done here in Ceylon during the last few years. I know that in handing over these Colours to you, they will always be in careful and safe-keeping.

### KANDY MUNICIPAL ADDRESS

[ In reply to the address presented by the Kandy municipality on March 23, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales said : ]

Gentlemen, my visit to Kandy to-day is a double pleasure, for it has not only enabled me on the journey from Colombo to catch a fleeting glimpse of the wonderful scenic beauties of the interior of the Island, but to find myself in a city round which hangs so much of the romance of the early history of Ceylon. His Majesty the King retains the happiest recollections of his two visits to Kandy and I shall be glad to assure him that you, on your part, cherish those sentiments of loyalty and devotion which form a common bond between the peoples of the Empire. I thank you with all my heart for the words in which you welcome me here to-day, and trust the years to come may have nothing but happiness in store for the inhabitants of Kandy."

## CEYLON PLANTERS' ADDRESS

[The Planters' Association of Ceylon presented an address of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at Kandy on March 23. In reply the Prince said:]

Gentlemen,—I greatly appreciate the terms of the address, which you have presented to me on the occasion of my first visit to Kandy, and thank you for the manner in which the members of your



H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Association have welcomed me here to day. I am proud of my connection with the Ceylon Planters Rifle Corps and glad of the opportunity I am afforded of congratulating the Planters of this Island, on their war services. The numbers in which they volunteered and the distinctions gained by them on various fronts constitute a record to which future generations in Ceylon will ever look as an example of fortitude and self sacrifice. I trust that the great industries which you represent may prosper, and wish all possible success to the members of your Association.

## DURBAR AT KANDY

[On March 23 the Chiefs of the Kandyan Province presented an address of welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at Kandy. In reply His Royal Highness said:]

'I thank you sincerely for the terms of your address and shall ever recall with pleasure the welcome that you, the Chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces of Ceylon, have tendered to me here this evening. Brief though my stay in Ceylon must of necessity be, I could hardly have failed from these shores without having paid a visit to this historic and picturesque city, the old time capital of the Kandyan Kings. Some twenty years ago, my father, the King, was last amongst you, and when I am telling His Majesty of my visit to a spot which he himself knows so well, I shall not fail to deliver to him your assurances of unswerving loyalty and attachment. In thanking you again for your welcome I wish you and your people all that is well

## FAREWELL TO CEYLON

[The following message was sent by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to H. E. the Governor on 25th March, 1922:]

On leaving Colombo I would ask Your Excellency to convey to the people of Ceylon my heartfelt appreciation of the wonderful welcomes which they gave me during the first visit to the island. The spontaneous warmth of these welcomes not only in Colombo and Kandy, but at every small station through which I passed on my journey inland, has sped me on my way to the Far East with a fresh heart, and makes me regret more than ever that my stay amongst you was so brief. I am very grateful to all those responsible for carrying out the excellent arrangements for my visit and am much looking forward to seeing you all again in two months' time.—Edward P.

## PRINCE EDWARD'S SPEECHES IN INDIA.

Now that the Royal tour has been completed, Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have brought out an exhaustive collection of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' speeches delivered in this country. It opens with the message from H. M. King George read by the Prince on his landing at Bombay and contains the full text of all speeches made by His Royal Highness both in British India and in the many Feudatory States he visited. His Royal Highness' speeches in Ceylon are also included. The book begins with a biographical sketch of the Prince and contains eight illustrations. On the cover page is an excellent cartoon of the Prince enclosed in a map of India. This is a handsomely printed companion volume to H. M. King George's Speeches published some years ago and is priced Re. One only. To Subs. of the *Indian Review*, 12 as.



# MOPLAH—MISUNDERSTOOD

BY

MR. MAHOMED MANSI KHAN

IT is a pity of course that even the educated persons do not do justice to their education, which is the greatest purifier of human morality; and allow themselves to be affected by the feelings of inhumanity. The fanatic feelings of Mr. U. B. Nair which had been shown in an article "Democratic Marriages" by coarse terms used about the Holy Prophet, Mohammed, (Peace be on Him), have again been given vent in another article "The Moplah Rebellion" which appeared in the last issue of the *Indica Review*. His orthodoxy has prevailed upon him not to see the other side of the picture. If his provoking remarks are allowed to go unchallenged they are sure to poison the atmosphere, and the great and valuable sacrifices that the political leaders—both Hindus and Mohammedans—are doing for the sake of the illiterate masses of India to ameliorate their pitiable conditions and to ensure harmony of action amongst them and thus avoid such lamented misdeeds as the "The Moplah Rebellion" will be undone. Any man who has got blood in his veins running will never endure such maltreatment as has been meted out to the poor Moplahs by their worthy neighbours and those in office and authority. By this time the world is not in darkness about the motives that led them to such fury. Enlightening statements have been published in the newspapers about the inhuman treatment to them by those who take delight in boasting themselves to be nobles and gentlemen. They are looked down as the most despicable creatures. They have been supposed to be animals having no human feelings and sense. Countless instances can be cited which happened during the present rebellion in which the most atrocious crimes have been done to them. No modern history of any country of the world can cite instances of the nature of 'Moplah Train Tragedy' and innumerable others which they have been subjected to by their treacherous neighbours. The Moplah is not a man to present his second cheek to receive another slap when he has received it on the first; he is not also the man to receive the blow on his back. He is a man of undaunted courage, keen sense and quick intelligence. Though backward in the present day polity he has not cheaply sold his sense of respect and honour. It is deplorable he has cut

his own feet by open defiance of the established rule yet, he is not to blame so much and the weight of his crime when compared is not so heavy as that of those who have shamelessly committed the most sinful misdeeds (i.e. kidnapping their females and violating their modesty) behind the veil of law and order.

These and many others are the motives that have been misnamed as religious frenzy. If any religion teaches such atrocities to endure for nothing better, there would have been no religion at all in the world. When studied in the light of impartiality, after having taken off the spectacles of fanaticism and orthodoxy, their actions, though some of them bearing that likeness, shall not be called by that misapplied name. And the worst is that any such activities of Mohammedans in any part of the world are sure to be called by the term 'religious frenzy' by the peoples of the modern world. If the demand of justice is frenzy, if the demand of right and freedom of action and liberty is frenzy, if the spirit of true vengeance is frenzy, and if this frenzy is bad, I and every sensible man would certainly like to do this *bad*. If the Moplahs who were tortured by inconceivable means were prompted by *frenzy* to vindicate the natural law, what was the spirit at work inciting the miscreant rioters at Arrah, Ajodhia and many other places—where innocent citizens were butchered and exposed to every sort of despicable cold blooded inhumanity.

The writer does not stop in incriminating the Moplahs but he goes on too far and beyond toleration to associate the names of those veteran soldiers of South India—Hyder and Tippu—with atrocity. It is nothing but throwing earth in the face of all ablaze sun. History is not poor in the 20th as it was in the 19th century to show convincing proofs of their innocent and just intentions and inclination to follow justice and to mete it out to those who deserved it and inflict exemplary punishment on the defaulters. To deport thousands of people without their fault means 'misunderstanding of the facts.'

It is hoped the writer of the articles mentioned above will deliberate in cool mind and temper before he proceeds to write such things as may invoke the feelings of the other party.

## The Situation in India

\* "Watchman", writing in the *Young Men of India* for March declares that the Indian situation demands reconciliation—but it is unparalleled, persistently engineered by minds which stand indomitably for non-violence and Government encountering it with such undiscourageable calmness. The trend of the situation was, however, seriously broken when

Mr. Gandhi, though saintly in life and strikingly astute in the discernment of men and events, is strangely susceptible to tragedy. This has led him into certain first-class blunders in leadership, such as have disconcerted his own loyal followers. The first great blunder was the idea of burning foreign cloth: and it was a grotesque misreading of Indian psychology. Gandhi wanted to burn and still not to hate! India saw that it cannot burn and not hate. The better minds saw that it really led to hypocrisy more deadly than the hatred it stirred up. Mr. Gandhi's discernment was seriously doubted, and many a man and woman, who in quiet and law-abiding life was still worshipping Gandhi as a Great Deliverer and obeying his commands with real sacrifice, were painfully perplexed at this apparently inexplicable order to burn. Often in revolutions matters of comparatively small intrinsic value start psychological changes leading to grave results.

Then there was the colossal blunder, most far-reaching in its damage,—the attitude towards the Prince. It was a fearful mis-estimate of the psychology of the Britisher. The Britisher is undoubtedly democratic. He will not brook any interference by the Crown in his rights of citizenship, no more now than in the Stuart Period. But the personal affection and loyalty to the Royal House is an absolute reality.

Blunder called for blunder on the part of Government; and the series of arrests was a first class blunder so far as Bengal and the particular time were concerned. The Conference suggested by Pandit Malaviva could not do much.

The next move was with the Government. The Home Member in the debate had warily stated that Government was not closing the door. If Government had then opened the door on its own initiative, it would have been great: *noblesse oblige*. The next move, however, came from Mr. Gandhi; and it was dictated by the apparent excellence of the people of Bardoli. A letter was sent off precipitately to the Viceroy, in which he virtually answered Assembly and Council by emphatically laying down the Congress attitude as the irreducible minimum. The tone of it, even more than its substance made it terribly difficult for Government to act conciliatingly, as it might otherwise have done with great advantage to its prestige. A sharp reply was made stiff as sharp. Mr. Gandhi's reaction could have been only along one line, and the fate of the country hung on a slim thread.

Right then there descended Chowri Chowra, dashing Mr. Gandhi once more to the ground. Once more, as many times before, the warning came. A smaller

man would have been broken. Mr. Gandhi did the right thing, as after every tragedy: in fact, a wiser and more courageous thing than on occasions of previous penances. The now famous Bardoli Resolutions definitely called a halt and asked for constructive service. Its immediate effect was great: happily on the Prince's visit in Delhi, on the Government conclaves, Whitehall itself. Every paper in the country poured out praise, cautious as regards the future but wholehearted so far as Bardoli went.

## The World after Washington

Mr. C. H. Douglas, writing in the March number of the *English Review*, says that America is the modern citadel of the doctrine of Original Sin involving theories of improvement and perfection—it is "the G. H. Q. of Dollar Diplomacy, the home of moral uplift, the Blue-Sunday and the hit-don't-argue policeman." He thus writes about the real significance of the Washington Conference, so far as the British are concerned.

"The real objective (towards which the Washington Conference was one move) is the stabilisation and centralisation of the present World Order of Finance and Law, and the Hegemony, or final, permanent, and indisputable control of that centralised order by the powers represented by Wall Street and Washington. That aim involves certain limited and preliminary objectives. It is obvious that a situation, such as would arise should the United States become involved in war with Japan on anything like equal terms, would leave the British Empire (which has developed a culture too tolerant for doctrinal purposes) in somewhat the position in which America herself was left by the late-lamented war—relatively unexhausted and a creditor to all combatants, a position which would shift Financial World Power back to London. Utilising the financial power recently acquired, the combined movement, of which the Washington Conference was the visible symbol, drove a wedge into the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, reducing the naval armament question to a question of credit-power, i.e., potential building capacity, rather than actual power, thus apparently eliminating, or at any rate greatly delaying, any possibility of distraction from the main objective, and, at the same time, forcing a settlement of the Irish question on lines which seem well calculated to eliminate Great Britain as an Atlantic Naval Power, while strengthening the hold of Finance on Ireland. Without offering an opinion as to whether the situation was inescapable, it may be remarked at once that President Harding is justified in his complacency."

## The Geneva Conference

Mr. A. G. Glow, I. C. S., writing in the *Journal of Indian Industries and Power* for February, says that the Geneva Conference may be regarded as the first regular International Labour Conference:

"The Washington Conference met before the organization had been established; it received little preparation, and much of its time had to be occupied with deciding preliminary details of procedure. The Genoa Conference dealt with a specialized branch of labour only, and the representatives there were chiefly maritime experts who were not concerned in the wider aspects of the labour question. This Conference dealt with a broad selection of subjects, each of which had received a certain amount of preliminary study. And it was attended by a body of men genuinely representative of those interested in labour throughout the different continents. The United States of America is still outside the organization, but there is a very general hope, and some expectation that she will not remain outside for long."

Commenting on the features of the Conference, the writer proceeds—

"The labour leaders from the British Empire lacked the fire of the Latin races, but carried more weight in consequence. Mr. Poulton, the British Workers' delegate, spoke in a passionless argumentative style bred of long sessions in the House of Commons. Mr. Crawford, whose name is written large across the troubled labour history of South Africa, and whose conflict with the Government there first brought him into prominence, proved himself a consistent apostle of sanity and a genius for points of order. The Indian delegation will remember him best for a sympathetic and masterly speech at a small private meeting of British Empire delegates, where the subject of emigration within the Empire happened to arise. Another gathering of the Empire delegations was made memorable by a racy speech from the Right Hon'ble J. H. Thomas, M. P., who was an adviser to the British Labour delegate.

"The employers delegates were mostly of the 'strong, silent' variety. Among the most prominent were Mr. Edstrom of Sweden, General Baylay of Great Britain, Mr. Parsons of Canada, and M. Fraipont of Belgium.

"The Government representatives were in the majority and had the greatest voice in the deci-

sions. The most prominent were Signor de Michaelis of Italy, who was Chairman of the Selection Committee, and Sir Montague Barlow, Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the British Ministry of Labour and an authority on international law. The woman advisers were numerous; the only woman delegate represented the Norwegian Government, and convinced the President on one occasion that a mere man cannot prevent a lady from getting the last word."

## The Dawn of a Better Era

Mr S. H. Swinny, writing in the *Positivist Review* for February, maintains that, among other advances made by the world, the advance of nationality has been very great and that the poverty due to the years of war will pass and the new centres of national freedom created will remain.

After dealing with the establishment of the Irish Free State, the writer proceeds to say:—

"Egypt affords a less pleasant picture. It might have been expected that a plan approved by Lord Milner, whose Imperialism is beyond dispute, and who has in addition an intimate knowledge of the country, could have formed the basis of a settlement; but apparently preference is given to another plan—to hold Egypt by force. It is a desperate policy in our present circumstances. This country has just issued from a war in which it proclaimed the freedom of subject peoples, and as a result of which, in fact, many such peoples attained independence. It has just failed in an attempt to hold Ireland by terrorism. We are poor, ground down by heavy taxation, overburdened with unemployed. Is this the time, to enter into a contest with the Egyptians, who have as their advocates not merely the words of their own leaders, but the recommendation of our own commission? Should we not rather, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, seek to reduce our obligations? And what I have said as regards Egypt applies also to India so far as the future is concerned, with this added force that there the solution of freedom within our commonwealth of nations can be applied, and is still the demand of the most influential leaders; let us beware of driving them to claim freedom outside the Empire. Can it be pretended that the people of this island will be able and willing to hold Egypt and India by the sword for ever?"

## The Importance of Ideals in Education

Mr. T. K. Gajra, writing in the March number of *Indian Education*, says that any system of education preparing for life must pay greater attention to ideals than to facts. He says pertinently that ideals are in the present day much more important than before.

"Necessary as the presentation of worthy ideals in education is under all conditions of life, it is much more so to-day when life is being gradually dominated more and more by industrialism and the factory system. The three great ideals of mankind are the ideals of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. And much has modern industrialism done to keep these ideals away from men. Modern industrial cities are dirty and squalid and the child living in them is deprived of the visions of natural beauty vouchsafed to those who live in the country. But imagination, the "charioteer, still drives and in default of better drives the hogs." The modern mill hand has his ideals no less than the country farmer. But his ideals are those of drink and debauchery, of cinemas and scuffles, and of life in the gutter. Similarly the extreme division and sub division of labour has crushed out the ideal of morality in work. The modern factory hand does not take a pride in his work and say, "I have produced this finished article," as the handicraftsman used to do. The ideal of the true has also been far removed from men's vision owing to modern factory life."

The writer then proceeds to suggest remedies. "Of course the school cannot make amends for all these drawbacks of modern life. But the fact that these drawbacks are there makes it incumbent on schools to give greater importance to the inculcation of worthy ideals. And something the schools may also do. They may place art pictures before the boys and allow them freedom of imitation, of creation, and of construction. Thus they may build up the ideal of beauty and morality in work. They may also lead the boys to take an interest in truth for its own sake, when they are not yet pressed for time."

"Ideals are more important than facts in education, because (1) they are so in life, (2) because children are more strongly imaginative than adults, (3) because modern industrialism and the factory system have greatly lowered the ideal element in life, and (4) because the present reaction in favour of intrinsically useful studies is likely to go to the opposite extreme of neglecting ideal values altogether."

## The Conception of Space in Indian Art

Stella Kramrisch, writing in the *Modern Review* says that to the mind of the Indian artist all objects are equally near and they are distributed and extended according as their relative importance demands it. The Indian artist cannot make mistakes as regards spatial representation, for he never attempts a suggestion of space. His figures do not move in space, but they live in the significance of the scene. The figures once isolated from spatial surroundings, can be disposed of freely in the picture, according to their significance.

"An artist is never satisfied with his work as long as he has not entirely expressed his intention. To the mind of an Indian artist his work of art seems unfinished, empty and meaningless, until he has entirely filled it up with figures and form, so that not the smallest part remains unformed. The monumental gateways which lead to the stupas, the wall paintings of the Ajanta caves are covered with figures in such an exuberant manner that on a limited surface the whole creation—man, animal, plants, objects and symbols, life and legend, reality and imagination—are united. The greatest care is bestowed to eliminate emptiness. The forms are so crowded, so close to one another and intimately connected that they exist only by themselves in a world where there are only figures and life, where space and interval have lost their necessity. The artist was afraid of space. It seemed to him empty and meaningless, incomprehensible, impossible to be formed by his creative power. This unknown and frightful force has to be conquered and driven away by the fulness of life, by crowds of figures moving about. Life, form, significance and fulness, all of them are identical productive means of the artist, by which he tries to overcome the abyss of nothingness. He covers it with an abundance of forms and they represent life and he escapes the silent tranquillity of the unformed infinite."

"The Indian artist denies space in every aspect. He does not care about distance, for to his mind all objects are equally near. On the other hand he is afraid of the vastness of space. Possessed by a psychical 'horror vacui', he replenishes this vacuum with the super-abundance of life, which is manifest through form."

## Maritime Enterprise in Ancient India

Mr. J. J. Campos, writing in *Indian Business* for February, gives us some interesting evidence of the existence of trade between India and foreign countries from very early times.

"With regard to Arabia, Agatharchides (200 B.C.) says he saw large Indian vessels arriving at Shaba from Patala on the Indus. Strabo gives a story told by Eudoxus who sailed to India twice in 118-112 (B. C.) and speaks of an Indian ship stranded off the entrance to the Red Sea with only one Indian soldier alive. This man having been brought to Egypt, eventually acted as a pilot for the first trading expedition to India under Eudoxus. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea refers to the local Indian shipping and speaks of ships from Gujarat (Ariaka) visiting Muziris or Cranganore and of Government boats large and well equipped piloting the foreign incoming ships through the shoals obstructing the passage to the ports of Gujarat. The Periplus mentions the existence of pirate ships on the coast of Konkan, and these must have been larger than the coasting ones, at least in the time of Marco Polo who speaks of Konkan and Gujarat pirates sweeping the seas with more than 100 vessels and plundering all the merchant vessels which chanced to pass that way. The Periplus definitely mentions that Broach carried on a regular trade with Apologos which is at the head of the Persian Gulf and with Omana, supplying logs of sasamina and ebony, wood for rafters, sandalwood, copper and other commodities. It must be remarked that the Periplus speaks only of Indians as merchants while he speaks of the Arabs as sailors and shipmasters. It is interesting to note in this connection that Indian mercenaries served in the European armies. Pliny in his description of Ceylon throws much light on Indian shipping. The ships were built with prows at each end so as to overcome the difficulty of their turning about in narrow channels, the Ceylon mariners not being able to make any observations on the stars, brought with them birds which they let loose and followed them till they made for land (Pliny VI. C. 22.) According to Pliny the tonnage of these vessels was 3,000 amphorae, that is, nearly 80 tons."

We have also the well-known evidence regarding the maritime and trading activities of the Tamils of South India.

## The Aim of Missionary Education

Writing in the *Bharat Sevak* for February, the monthly journal of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, Mr. R. C. Das of St. John's College, Agra, condemns the communal selfishness of many missionary institutions which would largely affect the intellectual and spiritual growth of the Christian community itself; and he says that missionary education has killed genuine Indian instincts and suppressed the growth of specifically Indian virtues. He asks the following very pertinent and urgent question and thus answers it.

"Is Christian education then to be *exclusively* Indian. Is India not to accept anything from the West except the Bible? May not the European Superintendent or Principal modify his own ideas and methods according to Indian wish and demand and in the spirit of the best traditions of the country? No. I do not believe it will or can ever be done in that way. The foreigner has an essential limitation to his desire and imagination. Cool speculation or calculating reason is ineffective. The ideal must be *dynamic*—it must be conceived in sympathetic imagination and realised by creative emotion. The foreigner with all his good gifts and honest motives is out of place here. But he has a definite, though subordinate, place in the scheme of national Christian education. If he is to give and we are to receive, this acceptance by us must be active and intelligent and not passive and blind. The process of acceptance is more important than the methods of giving. Care must be taken that giving does not vitiate productive assimilation. When the foreigner is at the head, he imposes from outside and from above in spite of his humility. When he takes his place in an Indian system he gives and we receive—as a brother from a brother."

Then as regards the need of the foreigner in national education, the writer says:—

National education is not a system that can be established by a foreigner. It is essentially a sentiment and an atmospheric personal influence which the foreigner is debarred from creating. This emotion or ideal is sure to embody itself by evolving institutions. But it is spirit with which we must begin and the spirit is sure to find a suitable habitation of its own. Behind the oft-repeated query (sometimes ingenuous) "what is national education," there lurks a demand for the presentation of a fully worked-out system. As this demand is wrong, the question is irrelevant.

## Gandhi, the Way of Prophets

The British Raj has answered the old question "What shall we do with our saints and prophets?" in the orthodox way of Governments, writes the *New York Nation*, commenting on the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has since been thrown into prison. "Such is the end of a policy which has illustrated once more the futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crises." That policy, says the *Nation* was "an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was, divide and govern." "Neither the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State are solely responsible for this. It is the perversity of public opinion in England which has hardly any correct understanding of the Indian situation. The Indian Government's note on the Turkish peace was 'the last desperate measure to bring the facts of the situation home to the British Cabinet but that only resulted in the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu."

The Viceroy's note which Mr. Montagu made public bears unanswerable testimony to the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Moslem adherence to the National cause was the sole reason for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslems: it did not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien Government arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

Even so the protagonists of Imperialism all over the world assure us that there is no other course open to them. And what sort of a man is it that the Government have condemned to the jail? Says the *Nation*:

In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any Government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy. Not he but Lord Reading, by his refusal to abandon repression, prevented the proposed Round Table Conference which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question of the Kaliphate we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered—apparently with

the consent of those British Liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi while they praise his saintliness! Yet that hope is not dead while Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long his people will follow the way he pointed out, we do not know; already there are signs of revolt. But this we know: If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands, finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence, but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects.

Why has Mr. Gandhi provoked the ire of the bureaucracy? He had for several years spent himself in generous efforts to redress the admitted wrongs of his countrymen and to promote wherever possible, a righteous partnership between India and Britain. But after the war his hopes were shattered. Says the *Challenge*, which finds some justification in his methods:—

"On several concrete points, our treatment of Turkey, the Rowlatt Acts, the Punjab disturbances, he saw us apparently repudiating our obligations. Cases of gross exploitation, such as that in the jute industry, and of preferential treatment emphasised the same doubts. The effect, of industrialism, the moral failures of our civilisation and the Westernising of his own people had already filled his soul with dismay. And, on weighing up the whole, he decided that the ideal of partnership must be abandoned, and that only by 'contracting out' of international life and surrendering at once the advantages and the contamination of contact with the West, could India realise the fullness of her spiritual heritage. He would not appeal to force; he sternly and repeatedly forbade it to his followers. Non-violent Non-Cooperation, a complete policy of passive resistance, was to be the means. India was to cut herself off from recognised and indisputable evil.

"It is the ideal of the hermit applied to a people familiar of old with such withdrawal from the world. It is an ideal which, in these days when the disastrous effects of corporate guilt are so evident, few of us, save the superficial and the worldly, will care to condemn offhand. For there comes a point where acquiescence in compromise and a sharing in others' sins becomes rightly intolerable. His arrest is a challenge to us all."

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## Israel, Assyria and Egypt

The Editor of the *New Age* discusses under this heading Prof. Radhakrishnan's article in the *Hibbert Journal* on "Religion and Philosophy." He writes:

"Every Christian expects, hopes for and to the extent of his ability and opportunity promotes that union of religion, philosophy and science which is predicted at the end of the 19th chapter of Isaiah. For Egypt stands in the world throughout for science or the faculty of the mind which observes facts or statements and acquires knowledge from them, and Assyria stands for the reasoning faculty which cannot help philosophising. . . . But Israel stands for religion, an awareness and love of God—which harmonises and reduces to order the subservient faculties of reasoning and knowing or makes them willing to be harmonised. The author of the article we are noticing has done well in showing clearly the difference between the life of religion and the mere tradition of life. . . . Whether he believes that the Bible contains a tradition which, when rightly interpreted, will be found soul-satisfying to all who obey its injunctions the Professor does not say. . . . Prof. Radhakrishnan does not disclose the nature of his own belief. Would it not be the part of a philosophical religion to assess the relative value of the different traditions and explain how or to what extent it comes to pass that something of vital religion may be attained in them, given sincerity and a whole-souled quest. There is also the standing marvel of the persistence of the Jewish race, through which the Hebrew scriptures were given, and of which the Messiah was born. Some light on this astonishing phenomenon might be expected from a philosophical religion as described and desiderated by the professor. He leaves us in the dark as to which of the sacred books he regards as most valid; though he believes that some traditional revelation is needed for the initiation of faith in the living God. . . . The leading feature of the article we have all-too briefly noticed is that it awakens an overwhelming desire to hear the answer which philosophic religion has to give to these, and innumerable other inquiries. Solomon who is pretty generally accepted as the type of religious wisdom, is said to have answered all the hard questions put to him by the Queen of Sheba. Has the wisdom of Solomon no parallel in these modern times? At any rate Prof. Radhakrishnan seems to be an 'Assyrian' in the best sense—of a very advanced type."

### National Churches

A writer in *The East and the West* for January discusses the origin and the essence of the idea of National Churches. He says that the problem is as old as the Church itself and meets us as early as the 6th chapter of The Acts; and it is only the result of the development of national differentia in religious characteristics and in the appreciation of religious truth. St. Paul's missionary career is marked by the question of the free development of national characteristics, and he is

charged with having over-Hellenised the doctrines of the Church while others lament the Latinisation of the faith by Tutullian and Augustine. The Apostles desired always to leave scope for free development.

The essence of the problem, according to the writer, is as follows:—

"Faith in Christ is 'a life, not a code, a seed not a pressure from outside. So it is a seed which we have to sow, not a shape which we have to impress; and there is, in the heart of man, the soil in which the seed can grow till it fills the life of man. The missionary work of the Church is, not to impose on men the Ten Commandments or the Thirty-nine Articles or any code of rules, but to convey the Faith in such away that they may grow to the understanding of it and be transformed from within into the measure of that stature of the Christ. To use the modern English proverb, you cannot make people good by Act of Parliament. And the principle is just as true in the realm of thought as in that of conduct. The soil is all right everywhere: God made it. And 'God giveth the increase.' Our part is to see that the seed is true, and has the real germ in it, and that it is unmixed with irrelevant and misleading accretions; and that it gets right into the soil."

### Co-operation in Bengal

Mr. M. Thorpe, Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Bengal, writing in the *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* for January, deplores the fact that the so called reserve funds of a co-operative bank are in circulation within that and are no more easily realisable as reserve than other loans are for repayment, and that a reserve fund which is not readily convertible is not properly a reserve fund. Again he grieves over a second defect of co-operative organisations.

Once more we get back to the fact that for many, membership of co-operative institutions is only a means to cheap credit; that is the most plain implication of the fact that so large a proportion of individual members of primary societies for years make no attempt to reduce their liabilities. Without going into the economics of the matter one can confidently assert that the cultivator of a moderate holding who can get credit at a cheap rate is able to make in any normal year a profit on his produce, yet this is the class of men which year after year omits to reduce the amount in which he is indebted to his society and in many cases does not even pay the interest. This type of man is still untouched by the valuable ideals which underlie co-operative activities and his econo-

mic outlook' on life has not been affected by the institutions with which he has been brought into contact. He is not more thrifty than he was before and it may safely be assumed that he is neither a better worker nor a very useful member of the community.

When industrial societies are started, people generally do not look into the consideration whether the things produced can command a sure market and these should not merely build upon hopes or expectations of success.

An assured market is no less imperative in distributive societies than in productive societies. A suggestion has recently been made for the establishment of a Calcutta Co-operative Wholesale Society. I cannot think that such an institution would succeed at present. Within the last few years from causes which are well-known a great impetus has been given to the movement towards co-operative stores. These, however, can only succeed if their members have sufficient *esprit de corps* to support to their utmost the stores of which they are members, realizing that the stores and themselves are the same body. If the members support the stores the market for the latter's goods is assured.

### Talismanic Magic

The *Occult Review* for April contains an article on the basis of belief in amulets and talismans which is world-wide. The power of the talisman is the power of the mind or imagination brought into activity by means of a suitable symbol. The talisman, according to the occult writers of Egypt, Greece and Medieval Europe, is the embodiment in symbolic form of an idea—nay, of a whole philosophy.

Talismans proper are always astrological in their symbolism. The object of their use is to be obtain virtues of one or other of the heavenly bodies, which the ancients regarded as spiritual beings. But the term is seldom used with only this restricted meaning, and may, I think, be usefully extended to apply to any symbolic prayer or demand addressed to a spiritual being for aid in the achievement of man's purposes.

As so used, the term "talisman" will be found applicable to, if not all, certainly a large proportion of amulets. The peasant who nails up a horse-shoe on his cottage door, does so unthinkingly. The ancient Greek did much the same thing, but not unthinkingly; he was invoking the moon-goddess Isis.

In no other case, perhaps, is the connection between amulets and the gods so clear as in that of the amulets of the ancient Egyptians. These were not only carried by the living, but, owing to the great importance attached to the preservation of the bodies of the dead by the peculiar religious beliefs of the Egyptians, were lavished on their mummies.

### Co-operation and Cottage Industries

Co-operation affecting the peasantry has been successfully practised in Ireland, Belgium and Holland; and in India it can be applied very well to the cottage industry of hand-weaving and to a host of other occupations for our masses. We take the following from an article on the subject in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for March. First as to spinning and weaving the writer says :—

"You can first form a society of weavers. Do not fritter away your energies on improving existing methods of hand-spinning. I have seen the latest improvements in the Patna Exhibition. They are sometimes inept and clumsy adaptations of power machinery, and yet the quantity spun in a day does not exceed 6 oz. of the usual 2½ ch. done on a country Charkha. Charkha spinning will always play its part in keeping the old and the decrepit or the able-bodied in the idle moments busy, and the price of yarn spun when sold will supplement the exiguous family budget. But that yarn is not equal to the evenly spun machine yarn unless the work of spinning is done very very slowly, and then, if would pay still less. No, better arrange to purchase machine-spun yarn and for higher counts some hand-spun yarn too, in addition to machine-spun yarn for your society from some recognised stores. Set up on behalf of your society or several joint societies a central factory for preparing beamed warps of standard lengths and widths and then sell to the individual weaver these beams. The cloth when ready can be taken on by the factory on payment of a certain price, which will be equivalent to his wages. The cloth will be then calendared and finished and sent to some central stores for sale. The individual weaver gets at once the price of his cloth, has to pay nothing for the warped yarn."

He urges co-operation in other industries also and pleads for central bureaux or co-operative societies of workers in various centres.

"I would have a band of organisers come forward to form a co-operative society of workers of artware. On their funded credit, you will be able to get an advance of money. You will have to put forward a subvention by way of a development fund. You will buy the raw materials. You will build up a bureau d'études. You will have a small museum exhibiting games of artware. You will have a seminary to train up apprentices. Each worker will work in his cottage, but will receive his inspection and direction from here."



### Christian Mysticism in an Indian Soul

The Archbishop of Upsala (Sweden), writing of Sadhu Sundar Singh, the Christian mystic of India, and his ingenious speculations as to a higher synthesis between the Bible and India, in the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, says that the Sadhu is not permeated by the modern Western conception of nature, but lives essentially in the ideas of antiquity; and therefore he is more able to comprehend and apply the sayings of the psalms and the Bible in general on God and nature.

"Sundar is filled with the Gospel. God's mercy and forgiveness are the alpha and omega in his preaching.

"Forgiveness implies an inner change. Here he finds an essential difference between religions. Other religions say: 'Do good' and you will become good.' Christianity says: Be in Christ, and you will do good. The path is outward from within, not inward from without. The latter path is the way of training, the usual method of mysticism, brought to perfection by the Indian Yoga, the way of methodical self redemption, or the way of suggestion. The path outward from within is God's way, Christ's way. It is not enough that our daily sins be forgiven, but the old man in us must die. Begin with the heart."

Christ is the centre of all Sundar's visions; and love of Jesus really constitutes the whole of his religion; and Christ means to him, first and last, the crucified One. The doctrine of suffering is one of the leading features in Sundar's preaching and experience. He however does not take an ascetic view of life.

\* The writer thus proceeds:—

"We have already seen how decidedly Sundar turns against Hindu asceticism. Yoga teaches a man how by systematic training he may acquire merits and gain supernatural powers. Self-torture is a holy act. Sundar has chosen the life of a mendicant monk in order to serve his fellow-men, not to torture himself or accumulate merit.

"However highly Sundar esteems ecstasy, which he would not give up for anything in the world, still this spiritual transport must not be systematically sought after, but must come as a gift. This is according to the Christian principle adopted by Sundar that in both great and small things human life must proceed from the inside to the outside. 'Ecstasy, unlike Yoga, is not self-hypnotism. I never try to get into it. Nor do I think on the same subject for an hour together in order to induce the state, as those do who practise,

### Reparation Demands

A writer in the *English Review* for February regards the recently published book of Keynes as a timely appendix for saving a situation that would otherwise be economically disastrous. Mr. Keynes proves the outrageous exaggeration of French demands for damage until the total demand averages three times any fair estimable figure. The same applies to the Belgian demand. The truth is that politicians aimed at crippling Germany for good and did not at all think as economists. In the delirium of greed politicians forget the exchange with the result that Germany has to sell out her currency to pay anything.

"Now if France, thirsting for revenge, like Shylock, demands her full pound of flesh, we and America must ask for ours; this, however, implies continuous chaos. But if we step in and lead, renounce our claims, write off the Allied debts, France would and could receive in payment every year a sum equal to half the total amount of gold now held in France, and in thirty years receive ten times the amount paid by her to Germany after 1871. That is practical politics, the other is fairy finance. Every banker in Britain knows it. Every merchant of standing knows it. The country at large, weary and suspicious, at least understands the pinch of poverty consequent on reparation demands which cannot be applied, which cripple trade, which promote unemployment, which threaten to destroy the foundations of Western civilisation."

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY. By Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S. [*The Modern Review*, April, 1922.]

INDIAN STATES AND MILITARY DEFENCE. By Mr. G. R. Abhayankar, B.A., LL.B. [*The Modern World*; March 1922.]

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN EAST AFRICA. [Round Table, March 1922.]

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN BENGAL. By Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., PH.D. [*The Calcutta Review*, April, 1922.]

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER PROVINCES. By Visheswar Dayal Dantazagi. [*Journal of Indian History*, Feb. 1922.]

MALABAR AND ITS TENANCY PROBLEM. By Kotlieth Krishnan. [*The Young Men of India*, April, 1922.]

FREE AND COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY. [*The Local Self-Government Gazette*, March, 1922.]

INDIANS IN THE WEST INDIES. By the Rev. W.H.M. Walton. [*The East and the West*. April 1922.]

## Mr. Keith on the Indian Problem

"The gravity of the official news from India renders it opportune to consider whether any steps are possible to improve relations between Great Britain and India. Three points are at present of special interest," writes Mr. A. B. Keith in the *Scotsman*.

(1) Mr. Churchill's policy in Kenya, which means nothing more or less than the exclusion of Indian immigration, is wholly indefensible when based, as it is at present, on the interests of the white settlers. As Sir F. Lugard has recently shown, the interests of the natives of Kenya are now strongly opposed to any substantial immigration of either Indians or Europeans, and restriction on immigration in either case would be wholly justifiable. The differential treatment on racial ground of Indians already settled in Kenya cannot be defended on any principle whatever, and Mr. Churchill, who encouraged Indian immigration, should be the last to approve it.

(2) The revision of the Treaty of Sevres in favour of Turkey will doubtless be shortly undertaken. But it may be taken as certain that we cannot fully meet the desires of the Mohammedans of India in this regard, for to do so would involve us in grave danger and difficulty. The obvious truth is that the Mohammedan demands are pitched so high as they are with a view to make it impossible for them to be conceded. It is a vain delusion, which has, unhappily, deceived Lord Northcliffe, that by concessions to Moslems we can divide the people of India, and use Moslem aid to postpone further reform. The gulf between Moslem and Hindu is very deep, and it will reveal itself later in its real strength. But no concessions which we can now make to Moslem feeling will avail to break the present union against the Government, and those who persist in the belief in this policy will have a painful awakening.

(3) It is idle to hope to meet the situation without very substantial concessions in the way of Self-Government. The independence of Egypt has been conceded, and Mr. Churchill's menaces are quite insufficient to overawe India. We could not suppress revolt in Ireland; what chance have we of maintaining India in unwilling subjection? We were not prepared to find the men or money to deal with Ireland; can we find them in far greater numbers and amount for the idle purpose of checking for a few months or years

the outward manifestations of Indian unrest? Present conditions in India are ruinous enough for British trade; but what trade will there be if once we enter on a mere regime of suppression?

I repeat my suggestion that the time has already come (1) to entrust to Ministers the control of all provincial matters in provinces under Governors, and (2) to transfer to Ministers those functions of the Central Government which are not immediately concerned with foreign relations with Native States and defence, these matters remaining in British hands pending the creation of an effective Indian Army, capable of defending India from attacks from the frontier tribes and maintaining internal order, without the use of British troops. Of the objections to this proposal, I am well aware. But the alternative is made clear enough by the Irish precedent. We shall have a period of futile attempts to repress entailing doubtless as many (or more) atrocities as in Ireland, and at the end we shall have to make wholesale concessions in an effort—probably unavailing—to retain India even nominally within the Empire.

I may add that the Government appears to me to be assuming a very serious responsibility in persisting in the recruitment of Europeans for the Indian Civil Service under present conditions, and that the practice of bringing to this country for education and training Indians selected locally for that service seems wholly without justification.

## Cost of the Reforms

In a notable debate on taxation in the Imperial Legislative Council several years ago, Sir George Lowndes pointed out that democratic Government was never cheap Government, and that, as power fell into the hands of the people, they invariably demanded increased amenities from the State. This, no doubt, will be the experience of India; meanwhile we understand that the extra direct annual expenditure resulting from the introduction of the Reforms is nearly Rs. 49 lakhs. Of that total the creation of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly accounts for over Rs. 11 lakhs, the travelling and daily allowances of the members of these bodies being about Rs. 7½ lakhs. Coming to the Provinces, the extra expenditure in Bengal and Madras is in round figure Rs. 5½ lakhs in each case; in Bombay Rs. 5½ lakhs; in the United Provinces nearly Rs. 8 lakhs; in the Punjab Rs. 4½ lakhs; in Bihar and Orissa Rs. 3 lakhs; in Central Provinces Rs. 2½ lakhs; and in Assam Rs. 2½ lakhs.—*Pioneer*,

# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Mr. Sastri on India's Status

The Right Honourable V. S. Sastri delivered an open air address at Poona, on Tuesday, the 4th instant. The chair was taken by Mr. B. S. Kamat, M.L.A., a Vice-President of the Deccan Sabha, under whose auspices the meeting was held.

Mr. Sastri, in addressing those present, said that he proposed at the outset to make a few remarks on each of the assemblages he attended in London, Geneva and Washington so as to afford an indication of their nature and the subjects that they dealt with. Having done that Mr. Sastri made a few observations so as to bring out their bearing on India and her status. He said:—

The question which I wish you to answer is "What does India gain by representation in these Conferences". Why should Indians trouble themselves about seeking a place in these Assemblies? My answer is that the subjects discussed at these Conferences being of international importance, they affect the general welfare of the people of India no less than those of other countries. Are the people of India to say 'No' when invited to add their contribution to such discussions. Are the people of India to say 'No, we are not amongst the peoples of this world; we have nothing to do with the other peoples of this world.'

In the work, therefore, of all such international assemblies, India must be brought to take her share, to share her burden, and, may I add, to sustain her credit. I think for every single person, who now asks, why should we go to these assemblages, there would be 20 who would ask, if we had been excluded, why should we be excluded? Some say we are on the way to Responsible Government. But many others, in India say, no, not at all. Apparently so, but really not so. Now, I sympathise with India and I respect those who feel the taunts and the sufferings at home. It is true that Indians have not yet attained to full Dominion status. It is true further, however, that they are fairly on the way to that goal. That, however, does not mean that we should cease agitating for further political advance. On the contrary, I am not one of those who think that we should for one moment go to sleep without making any attempt to improve our status at home. I am not one of those who think that we should cease our efforts for a day; moreover, I am one of those who think that at the present moment, it is rather inopportune, somewhat impracticable, to put forward our rightful claims for further constitutional advancement.

I do not make these difficulties; you did not make them. But you and I and all alike have got to remember that the difficulties are there. Among the constituted authorities that we have to deal with is the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. To the entertainment of the proposal of constitutional advancement in India and for reasons which are obvious to you all, I hope you will not consider it offensive, if I mention in part the great prejudices created against our people are a great hindrance. The hostile reception to the Prince of Wales in some places and by some sections of our people and also the great suspicion that any power given to our people might be so used as to sever the connection of India from Great Britain have only served to deepen those prejudices. Some little propaganda has to be done in Great Britain, in the Dominions and in America to dispel this unfavourable impression and to make the people there understand the real condition of things in India. I take leave before closing to recommend to you a favourable reception of any proposals that may be made for such propaganda to be undertaken by our prominent men. I know that the necessity for such propaganda has been advocated in times past by great authorities, by men now holding high rank amongst the Non Co operation party.

## Mr. Chintamani on the Council's Powers

It was my misfortune to be in a helpless minority as a non-official member of the late Council, and it is my misfortune now to be a Member of the Government which is in a minority in the present Council, the elected members being 100 out of a total of 123. If I were a non-official Member now, with the power granted under the Government of India Act and by the rules framed thereunder, I should feel supreme confidence in my own mind. If I felt that Government were extravagantly spending the people's money upon objects which the people did not desire, that the Government were not observing due economy, then I would say to the non official members to bring the Government to their senses. The non-official members have this power. They can use this power, if the Government were so false to their promises as to break them, and if the Government were to employ the additional revenue upon objects which would not meet with the approval of the elected majority in this Council. It is the elected majority and not the Government which will have the power to give or not to give.—*From a recent speech.*

## Alwar on the United States of India

H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar, in the course of his speech at the State Banquet, held at the City Palace, Alwar, in honour of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Countess of Reading and H. H. the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, on March 29, said :

Ladies and gentlemen, the question of the Chamber of Princes, and particularly that of the future of the Indian States, is one of such magnitude that I do not feel competent to encompass



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR

it in the course of an after-dinner oration. But after all, truths are really simple. If the ideal is to merge our individual destiny into tidal waves or to be swerved into the vortex of humdrum idealism of one pattern and shape, then I have grave doubts of the future and much room for speculation and misgiving, but I do not believe that this can be our goal. For, variety in unity is the Law of Nature. My goal is the United States of India, where every Province and every State, working its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, its own tradition, history and religion, will combine together for higher and Imperial purposes, each subscribing

its little quota of knowledge and experience in a labour of love freely given for a higher and a nobler cause. I have no desire to entangle myself in arguments of despotism, autocracy, democracy, socialism, extremism and anarchy, for they are various avenues, the one almost leading the other, into an indefinite and vicious circle, some of these catchwords even meaning another form of Government, called hypocrisy. I believe in the saying,

"For forms of government let fools contest.  
That which is best administered is best."

There are many of my order in the Chamber of Princes who are interested in its future, but I believe that the test by which its success or failure can be judged is only one, and that is, how far it is able to achieve the object of helping India and the Empire.

## The Romance of Hyderabad

Mr R. Burton writes in the *Fortnightly* for February, on the Romance of an Indian State. Hyderabad, an appendage of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi, now occupies a quadrilateral shape, with sides 450 miles in length. The country is hilly and bounded by rivers and British Territory. The country on the North and South is filled with Mahrattas and Telingas. There are aborigines, also karkus, inhabiting the Satpuras. Tigers, panthers, leopards, black bears, wild elephants, the wild oxen, gaur and other animals are found within its boundaries. The first English Resident was established in 1779. Achilles Kirkpatrick, who married a Mohammedan lady of Hyderabad, Henry Russel who effected reform in the Nizam's army, George Yule, Richard Temple, Richard Meade, and Stewart Bayley are among the list of eminent men who served there. Mr. Burton says, "in the ensuing years, the history of the State is largely the history of the Hyderabad Contingent. During the 90 years of its existence the force first established and then maintained a condition of tranquillity in the dominions of the Nizam."

## The New Dewan of Mysore

It is authoritatively stated that health considerations have now unfortunately compelled Dewan Sir M. Kantaraja Urs to apply for retirement from public life at the end of his leave. Mr. A. R. Banerji has been offered the Dewanship of Mysore, and it is now definitely stated that he has accepted the offer and that he will be formally confirmed as the Dewan of Mysore from the date of Sir M. Kantaraja Urs's retirement.

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Mr. Sastri on India and the Dominions

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri, in acknowledging the toast at the Western India Liberal Federation at Bombay, made his first important utterance since his return to India. After narrating his wide experience at the Imperial and other International Conferences in which he took part, he said that, when sitting at the Imperial Conference, he felt that India belonged to a great Empire and that so long as she remained within that Empire, they could never cease either to grow or to hope. While at this Conference delicate negotiations were proceeding about the status of Indians in the Dominions, Mr. Montagu watched India's interest with the utmost solicitude and the final resolution on the subject was largely due to the guidance of Mr. Montagu (Applause). It was now his business to see this resolution carried into effect by the different Dominions. His immediate mission, therefore, was to go forth to plead the cause of Indians settled in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, to address the Parliaments of those countries and to educate the electorate with a view to help and facilitate the work of their Prime Ministers to carry on legislation giving effect to the resolution of the Imperial Conference.

## Nairobi Indians' Attitude

In Nairobi leading Indians express disfavour at the suggestion by a Committee of the Indian Congress to withdraw their representation on the Legislative Council. A meeting of the full Congress will be held shortly when the matter will be threshed out. It has been decided to send an Indian Delegation to India with regard to Mr. Churchill's recent statement on the position of Indians in East Africa.

## Indians in British Guiana

The Government of India have sanctioned the return to British Guiana of 116 Indians, repatriated from there and 160 from other Colonies. The Government of British Guiana have agreed to provide them with free passages and to secure employment for them.

## The Kenya Problem

Lord Delamere has returned to Nairobi from England. In an interview, he declared that Mr. Churchill was now convinced that his original proposals with regard to the position of Indians in the Kenya Colony were unacceptable either to Europeans or to Indians and he would shortly be forwarding the Governor fresh proposals.

## Mr. Churchill on Kenya

Commenting on Mr. Churchill's recent pronouncements adverse to Indian sentiments, the *Servant of India* quotes his own words written fourteen years ago in his book, "My African Journey" (1908). Mr. Churchill then wrote:—

His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject, are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed. It is the Indian banker who supplies perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and enterprise, and to whom the white settlers have not hesitated to recur for financial aid. The Indian was here long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the white settlers can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man, to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith? Most of all must we ask, is such policy possible to the Government which bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?

## Indians in East Africa

Sir Robert Corydon in a recent lecture to the African Society in London referred to the claims of Indians in East Africa and declared that in view of the gravity of trusteeship, the standard of dominating European influence must be the highest, and the qualifications both for immigrant and voter, of whatever colour or creed, must be most stringent, particularly in Uganda, where the trusteeship was of peculiar gravity. Sir Robert Corydon regretted that the grave problems of India, Ireland and Egypt were absorbing the energies needed in the solution of the permanent economic problems of the colonies and protectorates. He hoped that the East African Confederation was within a reasonable distance, as he believed that it had immense possibilities.

## Imperial Preference

The following is a continuation of the symposium on Imperial Preference extracted on pages 255 and 256 of this issue of the *Indian Review*.

MR PURUSHOTHAM DAS THAKURDAS

Generally we would say on this subject that we are strongly opposed to any policy of Imperial Preference; for we consider that this country ought to have the right of safeguarding its industrial interest first, second and last. The commercial situation has been in the past, and is to-day, that this country imports in normal times two-thirds of its total imports from within the British Empire; while two-thirds of its exports are to countries outside the British Empire. In other words, the United Kingdom takes from India less than one-half of the value of goods which she exports to India. A policy of Imperial Preference, therefore, would have the disastrous effect of keeping our tariff door still open to the British Empire as far as our necessities of manufactured articles go. That is to say, by such a system we should be forced to buy our requirements from the British markets, and would not, therefore, have the benefits of making our purchases in the larger world markets. And since it ought to be the declared policy of this country to develop its industrial potentialities by means of a tariff wall as against all-comers, a policy of Imperial Preference would have the inevitable effect of hampering us in that direction. As it is, the British Empire enjoys, and has enjoyed for years past, a unique position in the Indian market; and any attempt on our part to give them *increased preference* will only have the unfortunate result of perpetuating India as a market for their goods. Apart from these considerations, India would on balance lose more than she would gain by granting preferential rates on Imperial goods at the expense of the foreigner. And there would also be the risk of retaliation by foreign countries which would weigh heavily on our export trade, and therefore on the Indian producer.

Furthermore, under a system of Imperial Preference any attempt to keep a cheaper foreign article out of India by a higher duty would merely result in its being imported through the United Kingdom and under British guise. Attempts will also be made by the United Kingdom to obtain a larger percentage of our export trade.

MR. B. F. MADON

I am altogether against Imperial Preference because :—

(a) preference to several of the Colonies and Dominions is unthinkable in the state of Indian feeling as to the treatment of Indians there;

(b) preference to England is both inadvisable and unnecessary.

1. Inadvisable because England is perhaps the foremost industrially developed country of the world and to give it special preference would practically mean handing over India's markets to England. If any preference is to be given to England the tariff would have to be put sufficiently high to give India's infant industries a chance against England's industries that are already in a very high state of development. It is further inadvisable because India's principal customers are foreign countries.

2. It is unnecessary, because England already enjoys an immense unseen preference on account of the special position it holds in India, on account of English capital being interested in many trades and industries and on account of English personnel being overwhelmingly predominant in all administrative positions in the Railway, Public Works and leading industries with the exception of cotton manufacture where, too, the bulk of the orders go to England.

MR. J. A. WADIA

As regards preference, I would be in favour of it, if India got any advantage, but so far as I can see there is no advantage. Take for instance cotton goods. We are levying a duty on all foreign imports at the rate of 11½ per cent. If we resolve to levy a duty of 20 per cent., on all goods not coming from England or her Colonies, we would make such imports so much dearer to the consumer. I therefore, see no good in Imperial Preference. Import duties and Imperial Preference are all taxes on the consumer.

## Canada's Trade with India

The Canadian Government has now established a Canadian Government Trade Commissioner's Office for India and Ceylon at Calcutta. Major H. A. Chisholm arrived in India last month in Calcutta. The opening of an office of this kind in Calcutta is in pursuance of the policy of the Canadian Government to provide for direct commercial representation in the leading markets of the world. There are now 23 Canadian Government Trade Commissioners established throughout the world.

# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## Agricultural Statistics of British India

The Director of Statistics has issued summary tables showing the total area, cultivated and uncultivated, area under irrigation, and area under different crops in British India in the agricultural year 1920-21. The total area of British Provinces (excluding Indian States) to which these tables relate, is 621 million acres according to professional survey, or 618 million acres according to village papers. Of the latter area, 230 million acres represent uncultivable area comprising forests (88 million acres) and other area not available for cultivation (142 million acres); 115 million acres represent culturable waste other than fallow, and 61 million acres, the area left fallow during the year. The remainder, 212 million acres, was the net area actually sown during the year. If areas sown more than once be taken as separate areas for each crop, the total area sown in the year 1920-21 comes to 239 million acres, which is 16 million acres or 6 per cent. less than that of 1919-20.

## The Soy Bean

Cultivation of the soy bean has developed in China to such an extent that it now represents the principal agricultural industry of that country. Immense areas of the great plains of Southern Manchuria are devoted to this crop. The world's demand for soy beans is steadily increasing, and China's export of them bids fair soon to surpass in value that of its silk output. There are more than 1,000 varieties of soy beans, from which an experiment station at Kung-chu-ling, in Southern Manchuria, has chosen one as the best of all. It is nearly spherical, yellow in colour and of the bigness of a small pea. A yield of 22 per cent. of oil is obtained from it. The soy bean yields milk and butter (or products equivalent for table use), as well as great variety of other edibles, including a famous sauce. Taken all in all, the five-ounce bean is one of our most versatile vegetables.

## A Vegetable Leather

The Japanese are, it is reported, making great strides in the manufacture of a vegetable leather from a plant called the mitsumata, which they grow largely. Its inner bark, after going through certain processes, is converted into a substance as tough as French kid, and so translucent that one can almost see through it. As Japan produces very little real leather, this new substance means a great deal to her industrially.

## Agricultural Publications

We have received two bulletins issued by the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, viz., "The Weevil Fauna of South India with special reference to species of economic importance" by T. V. Rama Krishna Iyer, Assistant Entomologist, Madras and "The Preparation of Anti-Rinderpest Serum using animals of moderate susceptibility as Virus producers; part 1 Buffaloes," by W. A. Pool, and T. M. Doyle.

The first of these bulletins records information about 190 species of weevils found in South India. Of these over forty forms have so far been noted to be of some economic importance.

## Cotton in Madras

The total area sown with cotton in the Madras Presidency in 1921-22 is estimated at 1,795,200 acres. The area finally recorded last year was 2,151,000 acres. The present estimate represents a decrease of 16.5 per cent. below last year's figure. The area in an average year is estimated at 2,303,800 acres.

The estimated yield in bales of 400 lbs. lint for the Presidency is 347,000 bales which is 10,000 bales less than that of last year.

## Cattle in India

The disquieting nature of the cattle question in India must be traced to the gradual rise in population and an increased demand for foodstuffs, involving proportionate diminution of land under fodder crops. The solution of the question lies in the direction of improving the quality of cattle, so that the demand for fodder may not be raised very considerably, as it is bound to be by increase in the number of cattle. Much can be done, says *New India*, by a campaign to educate rural folk in the fundamentals of cattle-breeding.

## Weight of Seed and Lint in Cotton

The question is often asked as to whether any attempt to increase the weight of lint on the seed of a cotton plant will mean also an increase in the weight of the seeds themselves, or whether it will be accompanied by a diminution of the seed-weight. In the case of Egyptian, Sea Island and Cambodia cottons, investigators have found that an increase in the weight of lint does involve an increase in the weight of seed. A writer in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, recording his trials on Gujarat herbaceous cottons, says that just as in other types of cotton, an increase in the weight of lint per seed involves an increase in the weight of the seed also.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

**Burma: A Handbook of Practical information.** By Sir J G Scott, K. C. I. E. Published by Daniel O'Connor, 90, Great Russell Street, London.

Burma is always the land of enchantment. Alike the country and her people have strangely fascinated many a foreigner. Poets and writers have vied with one another in their appreciation of the simple charms of her natural scenes, and many a vivid sketch of her people and their manners have familiarised the Burmans to the English reading public. Sir J. G. Scott's book affords a happy mean between a ponderous tome and a scrappy sketch. It is an excellent hand-book, crammed with information on all aspects of Burma and her people and written with a vivid appreciation of her life and thought. There are special chapters on the Fauna and Flora of Burma, her forests, her means of transport and of her music also which must greatly add to the interest of the book. The book contains about seventy illustrations depicting the varied works of art and scenes from her beautiful landscape.

**Dramatic Divertissements.** By Mr. V. V. Srinivas Aiyengar, Everyman's Ltd, Madras.

Under the somewhat disconcerting title "Dramatic Divertissements", Mr. V. V. Srinivas Aiyengar, a leading lawyer, in his leisure hours has strung together some of his little plays in a charmingly got up volume. One has seen them staged and thoroughly enjoyed them: one now reads them and renews the old pleasure.

The only regret is that they are so obviously due to the fleeting impulse of the moment, the urgent stress of some social function, the insistent energy of some secretary. The author depicts from different points of view the true and loving devotion of a young Indian wife reclaiming an erring husband, the easy susceptibility of romantic youth, the evils of early marriages arranged on purely commercial bases and the consequent dislocation and possible inflammation of hearts. But the author has no special prescription for the evils of Life. He does not claim to be a surgeon-general, as yet—he may, and one trusts he will, in time. Sooner than later.

The author is an artist in life. He wields his pen with considerable facility. Social drama has indeed a very high mission in Life, in Indian life, particularly in these days of political unrest and social upheavals. It votaries are none too many. One enjoys these fancy strokes but one hopes and *Waits for the Strokes*.

**English for the English.** By George Sampson; Cambridge University Press, London.

Mr. Sampson's "English for the English" is a powerful plea for teaching the vernacular on rational lines. Since the vernacular is the only language that the majority in a country learn and use, he is of opinion that it should be made to satisfy all the cultural needs of the population. His views that the classics should not be confused with the humanities and his assertion that the humanities lie mostly outside the sphere of the classics have been more or less accepted, even though an attempt has been made recently to restore the classics to their privileged position. There is nothing novel in the method of instruction he advocates, but to our school teachers whose acquaintance with books dealing with the teaching of English is not over much, the book may be useful. One thing to be noted in his method is his insistence on concreteness in the teaching of composition. His view that the education of children up to fourteen should not possess in the least degree any vocational bias is worthy of the most careful consideration.

**Mahatma Gandhi.** With an appreciation by Lala Lajpat Rai, National Literature Publishing Co., Bombay.

Even those who do not see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi are attached to him by the nobility of his character and his singular charm of manners. In this collection we have pen portraits, criticisms, biographical tit-bits, appreciations from a number of writers, English, American and Indian, who have come in contact with him. It opens with a thumbnail sketch by Lala Lajpat Rai originally contributed to the *New York Nation* and includes Rev. Holme's well known sermon on Gandhi and a number of articles by special correspondents of English and American journals.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM.** By E. M. Tannison: The Society of St. Peter and Paul, London.

**THE CULTURAL UNITY OF ASIA.** By James H. Cousins. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

**CREATIVE UNITY.** By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co, London.

**A PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF REFORM.** By Percy Bysshe Shelley. With an Introduction and Appendix. By T. W. Rolleston. Oxford University Press.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 21. Earl Winterton has been appointed Under-Secretary of State for India.
- March 22. H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation on the present situation of Indians in South Africa.
- March 23. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay left Calcutta for England.
- March 24. Lord Lytton and Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry arrived in Bombay.
- March 25. The Legislative Assembly passed unanimously the Bill to repeal the Press Act.
- March 26. A Convention of the Irish Republican Army was held at Dublin.
- March 27. Sir Henry Wheeler has been appointed Governor of Bihar and Orissa.  
—Sir William Vincent is appointed a Member of the Council of India.
- March 28. Lord Lytton assumed charge of the Governorship of Bengal.
- March 29. The Maharaja of Alwar entertained the Viceroy at a State Banquet at Alwar.
- March 30. The Bihar and Orissa League of Education has been formed at Patna.
- March 31. Report of the Committee on Public Petitions to Legislature is published.
- April 1. The ex-Emperor Karl is dead.  
—The Poona Dacca Sabha entertained Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri at dinner.
- April 2. The Indian Fiji Deputation left Fiji to-day.
- April 3. The Genoa vote of confidence in Mr. Lloyd George was passed in the Commons by 372 votes against 94.
- April 4. Mr. Dadabhai Dalal, Member of the Council of India, was appointed to represent India at Genoa.
- April 5. Maulana Muhammad Abdul Hakim Siddiqi, Secretary, Jama'iat-ul-Ulema-Hind of Delhi, was arrested to-day.
- April 6. Mr. Hasan Iman of Patna has resigned his membership of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.
- April 7. H. E. Lord Willingdon has transferred the portfolios of Law and Order including Police and Civil and Criminal Justice wholly to the Indian Member, Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, on the retirement of Sir Lionel Davidson.
- April 8. The Non-Brahman Federation met in Conference at Kumbakonam, Sir M. C. T. Muthiah Chettiar presiding.
- April 9. Death is announced of von Falkenhayn, a former Prussian Minister for War.
- April 10. The Genoa Conference opened to-day.
- April 11. East Indian Railway strike has been settled.
- April 12. The District Magistrate of Lahore has prohibited a meeting of the City Congress Committee to be addressed by Pandit Malaviya.  
—H. E. Sir H. Wheeler assumed charge of the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa.
- April 13. Sir A. J. Balfour has been created an Earl.
- April 14. Sardar Kharak Singh, President, the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, was sentenced to 3 years rigorous imprisonment under Section 124 A.
- April 15. The Bengal Provincial Conference met at Chittagong, Mrs. C. R. Das presiding.  
—Maulana Hasrat Mohani was arrested to-day at Cawnpore.
- April 16. A Non-official Committee has been formed at Lahore to enquire into the officials, alleged excesses in the arrest and trial of political offenders in the Punjab.
- April 17. The Fourth Conference of the Departments of Industries was held at Calcutta, the Hon. Mr. C. A. Innes presiding.  
—A Russo-German treaty establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries was signed at Genoa.
- April 18. The Financial Conference of the Representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments met at Simla.
- April 19. The Second Maharashtra Conference was held at Pen (Colaba Dt.), Mr. K. P. Khadilkar presiding.
- April 20. The Second Session of the Opium Commission was held at Geneva.
- April 21. The Irish Labour Party has proclaimed a 24 hour strike as a protest against Militarism and failure of politicians to come to an agreement.  
—The King received Lord Ronaldshay in audience and created him a Privy Councillor.
- April 22. A large number of men of the 1st and 2nd Hyderabad Imperial Service Lancers struck work.  
—Italians have begun evacuation of certain zones in Asia minor.
- April 23. The men of the 1st and 2nd Hyderabad Imperial Lancers who refused to resume duty were dismissed.  
—A Treaty is reported to have been signed between the Vatican and Russia.

## Literary

### Bernard Shaw and Parliament

Mr. George Bernard Shaw the dramatic critic has declined, in the following amusing letter, the invitation of the West Edinburgh Labour Party to contest that constituency at the next election :

"Why should I plead with the citizens of West Edinburgh to allow me to waste my time at Westminster for a salary on which I could not live, when I can command a far more eligible position and much larger emoluments as a leading member of my profession ?

"If the Labour Party or any other party, will guarantee me an unopposed election and a salary of £4,000 a year, with a handsome pension I may at least consider the proposition that I should narrow my audience from civilised mankind to the handful of bewildered commercial gentlemen at Westminster who are now earnestly ruining Europe as the stupidest way of ruining their own country; but my answer would probably be the same—it would be easier and pleasanter to drown myself.

"At the same time I am very sensible of and grateful for the esteem which has prompted your invitation. I am well aware that I have a few friends in Edinburgh, it may be even a few thousand, but not enough to win the seat, even if I wished to win it. You may, therefore, relieve the minds of all the foolish people in the country by announcing authoritatively that they have nothing to fear from me at the forthcoming General Election.

"I shall stand not for Parliament, but for telling Parliament what I think of it, and, incidentally, of the political intelligence of the people who elect it. That is a useful and necessary occupation, but not one that wins votes."

### Mr. Churchill on the Press

Mr. Winston Churchill was the guest of the London Press Club at a house dinner recently, and, replying to the toast of his health, said he felt he had a right to call himself a journalist.

"When I reached the age of twenty," he said, "I became entirely dependent for my support upon my own exertion and, although I had the advantage of inheriting my father's friends I found no other substantial means—(laughter) of providing for the vulgar necessities of existence, and it was to journalism I turned in order to provide the ammunition for the campaign which I had to wage.

"I am all for a free Press," he added, "the freer the better, but it must be a free Press in a country which has a free Parliament and a free platform." Alluding to the newspaper insurance scheme, he said he cut the coupon out of every newspaper he subscribed to and filed each one in.

Referring to the history of newspapers during the war, Mr. Churchill said there was no doubt that at a certain period they exerted a power in this country beyond what was their proper function in the State. They dominated the counsels of Government: they made and unmade Ministries; they blasted or boasted or, rather established reputations of public men.

Since the firing had stopped there was no doubt whatever we had got back towards the normal balance of things, "and," added Mr. Churchill, "we politicians feel, on the whole, that it is for us to make the policy—you don't mind my saying that—and it is for you to criticise it or approve of it."

### Anatole France

Anatole France, who this year was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, has given the entire sum to the Russian Famine Relief Fund. Born in 1844, he is the son of a Paris bookseller, one of the last of the booksellers immortalised in the pages of literature. As a child he used to listen to the nightly talks on literary subjects which took place in his father's shop. Naturally he turned to literature and though his first work was a volume of verse, *Les Poèmes Dorés*, he was yet to find his richest vein in prose. He himself has expounded his theory of style! "A simple style is like white light. It is complex but not to outward seeming. In language, a beautiful and desirable simplicity is but an appearance and results only from the good order of sovereign economy of the various parts of speech." M. France, at the age of seventy, served his country as a soldier in the trenches when the call came to fight for freedom, and has now given away a large fortune at the call of humanity. That is the poetry of action.

### Press Congress of the World

The formal session of the Press Congress of the World in Honolulu, Hawaii, October 20, has re-elected Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Vice-President for India, of the Press Congress.

# Educational

## Educational Controversies

When a country is expending nearly £60,000,000 in a single year upon education—the estimated expenditure of the Board of Education for the current year—it is worth while asking what results are being obtained, asks the *Review of Reviews* which appears in an improved form under the new editorship of Daniel O'Connor. Are children being taught to read and write well, to take an intelligent interest in the English language, to spell its words correctly and use them with a sense of their meaning? That is one question which concerns every employer of young people more or less, but is of particular interest to those who depend on alertness and quick comprehension in the juniors—the clerks, typists, and assistants—of various departments. We fear that this question cannot be answered satisfactorily. It is comparatively rare to find an office employee who can be trusted to compose a presentable, well expressed and correctly spelt letter or document. The conversation of the average boy of the poorer class—is it pleasant to listen to? Yet for his education (perhaps “schooling” would be a more suitable term) much money is being spent, many teachers are labouring.

The idea of the continuation schools sounded excellent; but how has it worked out in actual practice? On all sides we have the complaint that the boy is missing just when he is required; he is, of course, at his class. Often the compulsion to attend these schools twice a week means that a child cannot obtain regular employment. In one instance which came under our notice a boy of the least hopeful type was being taught “Shakespeare and Science,” as he vaguely reported; both excellent subjects, but a trade by which the lad might later on become a useful member of society would have been more to the point. The classes held in connection with various handicrafts are doing a more beneficent work than the highflown attempts to impress Shakespeare on boys who can hardly spell the name of their street. A boy, or a girl, for that matter, who can use the tools of a craft is well started on the way to happiness and profit, and will more often than not carry out the great ideal of William Morris, “the pride of the worker in his work.”

## Technical Education in Bombay

The committee appointed by the Government of Bombay, under the Presidentship of Sir M. Visveshvarayya to consider the question of the expansion of Technical and Industrial Education in the Presidency, has issued an interim report the main recommendations being (1) higher engineering education, (2) secondary or technical institutes, and (3) industrial middle and lower schools. For higher engineering education the committee recommends that the College of Engineering in Poona, should be enlarged so as to accommodate at least 300 students, and a separate technological college be established where technology as a well as mechanical and electrical engineering should be taught. For secondary or technical institutes, the Committee is of opinion that the scope of the existing Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute should be expanded and enlarged considerably. Industrial schools—middle and lower—whose aim will be to impart knowledge in the smaller industries, have been recommended at least one in each district, though for the present only 12 such schools may be established at a yearly grant of five lakhs of rupees. In addition to these, 100 lower schools should be established at a yearly grant of seven lakhs of rupees. The committee is of opinion that at certain selected places two or three experimental and demonstration stations should be opened where those interested in particular industries should be shown and taught the most modern methods employed therein.

## Reforms in Afghanistan

The Afghan newspapers continue to be full of evidence of the reforms which are being carried out in the internal administration of the country, particularly in the field of education.

The spread of education in Afghanistan under the stimulus of Amir Amanullah Khan's energetic policy is remarkable. The time is past when this movement was scoffed at as idealistic. The principal school in Jallabad now has some 150 students on its rolls and was very well reported on at a recent inspection and schools are dotted about in villages and are being opened even in quite remote localities. Education in these rural schools is entirely free and keen official interest appears to be making headway against the conservative opposition of a backward people. The older and more fully equipped schools of the capital are already turning out a steady stream of educated youths who are drafted at once to posts in the army and civil departments.

## Legal

### Justice Darling on Grand Juries

Mr. Justice Darling addressing the Grand Jury, at the Berks Assizes recently, said it was some years now since the Grand Jury had been summoned in England to undertake those duties which they had performed almost from time immemorial. The war made it necessary to suspend them from their functions, and he had no doubt that a great number of the gentlemen he was addressing found work to do in the war, which would have been impossible had they been summoned at sessions. The war being over, the Grand Juries had again been summoned, but it would be affectation altogether to ignore the fact that there was much discussion at present, and he had no doubt there would be much more, as to whether Grand Juries should be summoned to the assizes or not. He was not going to express his own view about it. It was a matter which would require, if Grand Juries were to be discontinued, legislation, and many points would have to be considered by those who would alter the law as it now stood. The Grand Jury was in a way peculiar to justice as administered under the English law, but it was not only in England that it existed. The Grand Jury system was carried to the United States by those who left these shores when the United States were a Colony of England, and though the United States were no longer our Colony, the Grand Jury still existed as portion of the machinery for administering justice there. Formerly the functions of the Grand Jury were very much wider than was the case to day. He did not of course, say there was danger in this country if the Grand Jury did not exist as it was now because he did not know anything which might be called a miscarriage of justice arose during the war, because the cases were not investigated by a Grand Jury.

### International Justice.

It was a concrete and living manifestation of the international conscience, said the Dutch Foreign Minister, in welcoming the permanent Court of International Justice which was formally opened on Feb. 15 at the Hague in the Palace of the Peace Home, with considerable pomp and splendour. Members of the Dutch Royal Family and Government representatives of the League of Nations and the International Labour Bureau and also prominent officials and diplomatic personages were present, when the Judges attired in rich robes took the oath.

### Crimes in Punjab

The following press communique has recently been issued at Lahore;—Crime in the Punjab during the year 1921 showed figures higher than in any of the past ten years with the exception of 1913. The increase was greatest in the Central Range where the total was greater by 4,296 than in the preceding year. It is explained that the increase in what is practically defiance of law and order though affected by unfavourable economic conditions and high prices, is largely the result of political unrest and attempts to undermine authority in any form. There were 115 more dacoities than in 1920, 117 more murders and 7,816 more and burglaries. These conditions will compel the Government to consider further increases in the strength of the police force.

### A Test Case

At the Patna High Court, Justice Jwala Prasad passed orders reversing the decision of the Lower Court in which a railway passenger was fined for stopping a train by pulling the chain on the ground that his compartment contained more than the stipulated number of passengers and he felt suffocated. His Lordship thought the ground was sufficient and remarked the railway, instead of thanking the accused prosecuted him to transfer its liability.

### Portfolios of Law and Order

The Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar has been entrusted with the portfolios of Law and Order, including Police and Civil Justice in the Government of Madras. In this connection it may be added that the Raja of Mahmudabad, Home Member in the United Provinces, is the first Indian who was entrusted with these portfolios under the New Reforms Scheme.

### U. P. Co-operative Conference

The U. P. Co-operative Conference held at Allahabad resolved that the Government be moved to revive the rule that arbitration decrees may be decided either in Revenue or in Civil Courts at the option of the decree-holder.

### Unnecessary litigation

"I cannot shut my eyes to the fact," said Judge Parry at Lambeth County Court, "that lawyers have made use of some of the complicated and difficult sections of the Rent Restrictions Act to indulge in quite unnecessary litigation. It is both harsh on the landlords and the tenants. This Act has caused a vast amount of friction between landlords and tenants which did not exist before it was passed."

## Medical

### Iron as Food

Iron is an essential element in the food of man and the higher animals, and the best way to take it into the system is not in the form of pills and tinctures, but by the consumption of vegetable food containing the metal. An exhaustive study of the distribution of iron in various parts of plants has been made by L. Maquenne and R. Cerighelli, whose report appears in the *Comptes Rendus* (Paris) of the French Academy of Sciences.

They say, in substance: that potatoes, carrots, and the leaves of spinach, lettuce and romaine are exceptionally rich in iron; but in these only a very slight proportion of iron exists dissolved in the cell sap, and this is almost entirely precipitated by boiling. It often happens, as is also true in case of lime, that the pods of leguminous plants and the integuments of seeds are richer in iron than the seed leaves themselves, but if one takes care in such cases to separate the embryos one finds that these are richer still in iron in a very considerable degree, a fact which indicates the great physiological importance of iron to plants. Finally iron, like copper, is found to accumulate in the kernels of the seeds enclosed by fleshy fruits, at the expense of the surrounding shell and even of the pulp.

"Thus we find that iron, like nutritive elements in general, is capable of changing its location in plant tissues, and that it tends to travel towards the organs which are vitally active, and those of reproduction. This affords fresh proof of the well known necessity of iron in the food supply of plants and offers, furthermore, increased presumption in favour of the idea that copper may be an equally useful element."

### Cure for Cancer

Dr. John Shaw, who has devoted most of his professional career to cancer research and for many years has advocated the treatment of the disease without operation, discussed the subject with a press representative, to whom he said that the offer of prizes for the effective non-operative treatment of cancer within five years implies two fundamental fallacies:—(1) that cancer has hitherto not been curable without operation, (2) that operations has been an effective treatment.

"Lord Athlone, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Middlesex Hospital, has stated that

since 1791 this foundation has gladly afforded facilities to voluntary workers. It was a surgeon-in-chief to this foundation who stated that the problems of cancer were best studied in the female breast. My proposition to Lord Athlone, is: I can present to the authorities of the Hospital abundant proof that I have cured cases of cancer of the breast without operation. Let the surgeons of the cancer foundation make their diagnosis of operable cancer but let the patient have the chance of being treated without operation by myself should she elect this alternative. I venture to believe that the time would not be far distant when operations for cancer would appear as anomalous as blood letting to the practitioner of to day."

Dr. Shaw holds that facts and statistics and particularly the experience of the Swiss doctors go to prove that cancer is not a local disease and operation not its rational treatment. In this connection he mentioned that the Swiss authority, Dr. Louis Guillaume, had become a convert to his views. "In the meanwhile," concluded Dr. Shaw, "I am perfectly ready to defend my thesis before the University of London, or elsewhere, that there are to day in Great Britain and Ireland from twenty to thirty thousand sufferers from cancer, victims of the false theories and erroneous practice of modern surgery."

### Rabbits Attract Malaria

Some French physiologists believe that the prevalence of the custom of keeping rabbits explains the comparative freedom of Europe from malaria. They say that the *Anopheles* mosquito, the chief agent in spreading malaria infection, has a special fondness for rabbit flesh, and abandons its human victim in the presence of this delicacy. It is affirmed that in *Anopheles* infested places near rabbit hutches not only man but domestic farm animals are free from attack.

### Mosquitoes that do not Bite

A curious failure of *Anopheles* mosquitoes to spread malaria has been discovered in a marshy district near the Bay of Naples. The absence of malaria was noticed fifteen years ago, and now B. Grassi, after several visits, has concluded that the strange immunity is due to the fact that the mosquitoes, though present in vast swarms, never attack human beings. It is suggested that this race of *Anopheles* acquired their peculiar habit 40 or 50 years ago, when great flocks of cattle were kept in the marshes with few men in charge.

## Science

### Sir Bose on wireless Stimulation

Sir J. C. Bose gave a highly interesting demonstration of life, under wireless stimulation at the Bose Institute, recently. The demonstration was witnessed by a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen. In course of the demonstration he exhibited the wireless apparatus with which, so far back as 1894 he was able, by impulses sent through space, to fire a pistol and explode a mine situated at a distance. It is a matter of interest that his Galena receiver had, till lately, been found to be the most sensitive detector of long distance wireless signals. The latest development of the wireless is the transmission of human voice through space, which has been brought to a state of great perfection through the exigencies of the war. It was necessary for the aviators to be in constant verbal communication with the base and the British Air Ministry was able to construct a portable and very highly efficient set for the purpose. In this development the Thermionic valves have played the most important part. The British Air Ministry through the Secretary has supplied the Bose Institute with the latest type of the wireless, with which experiments are in progress on the effect of various lengths of ether waves on the life activity of plants. Incidentally the reproduction of human voice sent through space has been a side issue and has been in successful operation at the Institute for several months. The visitors had the opportunity of finding extraordinary perfection of reproduction of human voice, which was loud enough to be heard by the audience.

(One accustomed to telephones is struck with wonder at the human quality of the reproduced voice, which does not undergo any distortion during its journey through space.)

### A Radium Institute

A Radium Institute is being equipped at Ranchi in the Bihar Province. The Institute, which is expected to be in working order this year, would be the only one of its kind in India.

### The Ascent of Sap

Sir J. C. Bose, the eminent Bengalee scientist, is reported to have been able to solve, by the invention of several types of apparatus of surpassing delicacy, the mysterious phenomenon of the "ascent of sap," by which water is raised to the top of the highest trees, sometimes as high as 450 ft.

### A Novel Dynamo

Mr. Brooks Sayers claims to have invented a dynamo which will reduce the cost of building a dynamo or motor by one-third. It is estimated that, for a given weight and size, a machine can be constructed on the new principle that will be capable of producing an output very nearly double that of a standard machine. Moreover, the motor can be run, if necessary, very much faster than is usual at present, and the dynamo may be driven at the same speed as the turbine if required. Definite proposals are made to construct the machine in such a manner as to reduce the heating, eddy current, hysteresis, and other losses, in addition to commutation troubles, to a very considerable extent.

### Chemical Analysis

Scientists have now at their command two methods of chemical analysis which enable them to detect the minute traces of any particular element in a substance. The first of these is the spectroscopic method. Most elements, when vaporised at a high temperature and examined by it, indicate their presence by producing characteristic coloured lines instead of the ordinary spectrum. Still more delicate is the positive apparatus of Sir J. J. Thompson in which each element is made to record its presence, so to speak, by means of a curved line on a photographic plate, the position of the line depending on the density of the element. This instrument will show the presence of helium in a thimbleful of air.

### Automatic Train Control

The Angus system for the automatic prevention of railway collisions was recently given a successful trial on the railway at Dyke, near Brighton, when a large number of railway officials and other interested persons were present. The system, it is claimed, protects trains from collision at every part of the railway track, single or double, junctions, termini, crossings, etc. Each train is automatically warned if there is a risk of collision, but, if not acted upon promptly, then each locomotive automatically shuts off its motive power and applies the brakes to the train. A train thus stopped cannot proceed until the track is clear again. Trains can run at full speed through the densest fog or other adverse weather conditions without danger of collision. Each train is automatically protected against derailment at curves and points.

## Personal

### Lord Ronaldshay's Future

"I should not be surprised if 'the Earl' of Ronaldshay, (who has now returned Home on the completion of his term as Governor of Bengal) were to again enter Parliament at the forthcoming general election, writes "The Clubman" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. "His Lordship was for a period of nearly ten years a



LORD RONALDSHAY

most useful M. P. for a London constituency—Hornsey—which he represented in the Unionist interest. Lord Ronaldshay made a speciality of Indian and foreign affairs, and was one of a small band of Unionist members, including the late Lord Warkworth, who rapidly came to the front as skilful debaters and whose work was continued in later years by the late Sir Mark Sykes, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Mr. Ormesby-Gore."

### The Bishop's Farewell

On the eve of the departure of the Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead to England, they were entertained at various functions in Madras. Archdeacon Nuttall gave a farewell party on the 20th and presented an address on behalf of the clergy. Mr. G. A. Natesan invited a few friends to meet Dr. and Mrs. Whitehead at his residence. In response to his invitation, there was a distinguished gathering, which included the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, the Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer, Bishop Azariah of Dornakal, and his wife, the Hon. Mr. Patro, Major Gen. Giffard, Miss. McDougal, Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer and others. The guests were received by Mr. Natesan and his brother Mr. Vaidyaraman and conducted to the terrace, where they were served with light refreshments. After the Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead had spent some time talking to friends, Mr. Natesan addressed a few words of farewell. He dwelt on their popularity in the city, their good social work among the poorer classes and referred in feeling terms to their forty years' connection with India. The Bishop has warmly supported the Indian cause for self-government; and Mr. Natesan pointed out that the appointment of the first Indian Bishop was an earnest of Dr. Whitehead's faith in the capacity of Indians for offices of trust and responsibility. Thus the Church under his direction led the way in the matter of giving effect to a great and just principle. Mr. Natesan also dwelt at length on the Bishop's liberal ideas and concluded with an appreciation of his great services on behalf of Indians in South Africa at a critical period of the struggle. The Bishop in thanking the host made a feeling reference to his forty years' stay in India and the many friendships he had made in this country. "I have been in India for forty years" he said, "and I can say with all sincerity that I have met with nothing but kindness, respect and affection from Indians of all classes."

### The late Swami Brahmananda

Swami Brahmananda, the President of the Ramakrishna Mission (India, Burma, F. M. S. and Foreign Centres,) entered into *Maha-Nirvana* on Monday, the 10th April, in the 59th year of his life. He was elected the life-President of the Mission by the late Swami Vivekananda, who out of reverence for him, refused to take the honoured seat in the presence of such an unique personality like Swami Brahmananda.

## Political

### The Tragedy of King Karl

The ex-Emperor Karl died a young man whose life must have been to him a tragedy, says the *Times of India*. He ascended the throne in 1916 on the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph at a time when the fortunes of the Dual Monarchy were rapidly on the wane, and his brief reign



#### THE LATE EMPEROR KARL

came to a close when he fled the country after the collapse of his armies in the autumn of 1918. Soon after his succession the young Emperor made his influence felt; and as a result there was a revival of Austrian as distinct from Hungarian influence in the affairs of the Central Powers. His first action was to endeavour to bring about peace and he declared that a satisfactory basis for peace could only be found "in mutual recognition of a glorious defence". Having had no personal responsibility for the outbreak of the war,

he was able to co-operate with, and to some extent to lead, the best elements not only in Austria but in the German Empire who were aiming at a general peace by understanding. It is scarcely necessary now to enter into the reasons which prevented those efforts from being successful. Karl's task was really impossible from the outset, and in August, 1918, when the British Government recognised the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation, the fate of Karl was virtually sealed. His formal abdication did not come until a few months later and then in a pathetic proclamation he claimed that he had not retarded the re-establishment of constitutional life and that he had re-opened the way to solid national development.

Had he been content to live in retirement then he might have retained the generous sympathy of his countrymen, but his two escapades of last year, in neither of which was there anything romantic or heroic, showed him to be a man who never knew the temperament of the people over whom he once ruled. He thought, or he pretended to think, that the people wanted the return of a Hapsburg (it is common delusion with fallen sovereigns and exiled courtiers to believe that a country is pining for their return); but Hungary soon showed that it did not want him, and both those escapades ended, as they were bound to end, in ignominious failure.

#### • Mr. Montagu's Cambridge Speech

By all accounts, the speech which Mr. Montagu delivered at Cambridge, soon after his retirement from the Whitehall in defending himself, was a brilliant performance. Says the *Daily News* :—

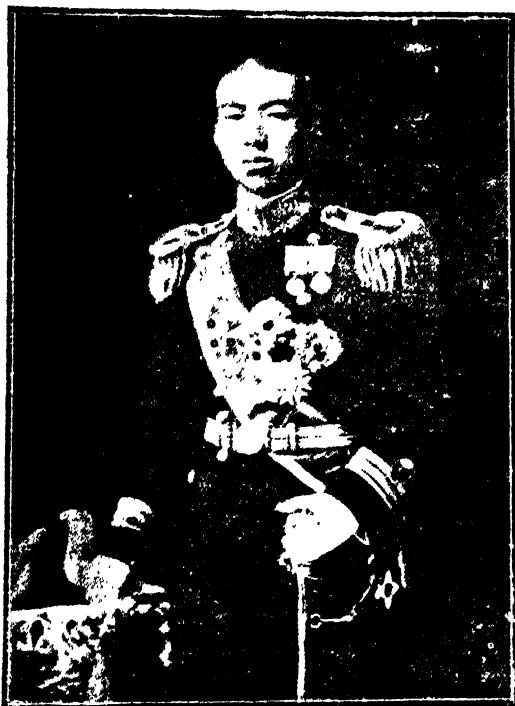
It was an amazing oration, seldom, indeed, in the whole course of modern political history has a fallen Minister made so damaging an attack upon the Cabinet colleagues whose counsels he has but newly quitted. He was unsurpassing in his treatment of them. The Premier, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Curzon, Mr. Churchill, Colonel Amery—he flayed them all in turn. All the disappointment of a defeated idealist lent vigour to his arm, and all his intimate knowledge of the men he was assailing endowed him with deadly accuracy in thrusting at their weak spots. The personality of the speaker was picturesque and vividly displayed. He was not impassioned, but intense, and would pause and smile with disarming candour over some bitter taunt. Some of his sharpest pieces of invective were wrapped round and round by a soft cotton wool of gentle and conciliatory phrases.



## General

### • The Prince in Japan

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived in Yokohama on the 12th April, and immediately left for Tokyo the capital of the Japanese Empire where he was received by the Crown Prince of Japan with fitting honours. The latter who is



THE CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN

now the Regent of the Mikado (ever since his last illness), accompanies the Prince of Wales in many an important engagement during the Royal tour in Japan. The Prince received addresses from the President of the House of Peers on the 12th and later visited the Imperial University where he also received an address on the same day. H. R. H. lunched with the Prince Regent and was given a rousing demonstration by the children of Japan who gathered in their thousands to greet the Prince of Wales.

### India's Farewell to the Prince

His Excellency the Viceroy sent the following telegram in reply to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' Farewell Message:

The heart of India will be stirred by Your Royal Highness' message of farewell. You came to India on an embassy of good will. The youthful heir to the Throne, a veteran soldier of the King, India's friend, you leave India having won India's heart. The heart of the people lies through knowledge and sympathy. From the day you landed in India you set yourself to gain the one and Providence has endowed you with the other. Long will the memory of your embassy live in India's heart. On behalf of the Princes, people and officials of India, I thank Your Royal Highness and express for myself and them our particular gratification that Your Royal Highness's hopes to see India again in the future. For myself and them I wish you Godspeed, all happiness until we again have the inestimable privilege of welcoming Your Royal Highness to India.

### The Cost of a Question

Those members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Provincial Councils who make liberal use of the privilege of asking questions may be interested to learn that questions asked by M. P's in the House of Commons cost the Government over £1 each. Members are now limited to four questions a day each, but they may put a larger number on the Order Paper provided they do not rise to ask them. From this little fact says a contemporary the man in the street may be able to gather that the man who talks loudest about economy may be the greatest sinner in extravagance.

### General Townshend

General Townshend, Independent member for Wrekin, a division of Shropshire, announces he has joined the Conservatives. He says the nation is in peril on all fronts and it is the duty of all to unite against the common enemy.

### Dr. John Mathai

It is announced that Dr. John Mathai has been permanently appointed to the Indian Educational Service as Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Madras.

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## MY EDUCATIONAL POLICY

BY

THE HON. MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

*Minister for Education and Industries, the U. P.*

MY friend Mr Natesan has asked for a statement of my educational policy for publication in the *Indian Review*. It is with some little hesitation that I



THE HON. MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

comply as there is not much that is new in the policy followed in the United Provinces since the constitution of the new Government. Secondly, what is new in the

policy is not only my own but Sir Hargourt Butler's. His Excellency lost no time after the publication of the Report of the Sadler Commission, in taking steps to reform Government's policy in relation to University and Secondary education more or less on the lines recommended by that Commission. It has fallen to me to carry through Council the Intermediate Education Act and the Allahabad University Act, more liberal in certain respects than previous Education Acts, but essentially in conformity with the recommendations of the Sadler Commission.

I should state here that Primary Education is not in my charge. It is in the hands of my hon. colleague Pandit Jagat Narayan, Minister of Local Self government and Public Health.

The Government of the United Provinces hold that reform of Secondary Education is necessary in order to fit the recipients of it the better to profit by University as well as Technical and Professional Education, and also to qualify them for service. The Intermediate stage of education will henceforth be a continuation of High School education and not the beginning of University education. High School and Intermediate education will be controlled by a Board of High School and Intermediate education which will be strong and representative. Arrangements are in train for the establishment of a number of Intermediate Colleges. It is the strong hope of the Government that the new Board will include in the curriculum of high schools and Intermediate colleges subjects which will qualify the student for technical education. The re-organised Allahabad University will be a unitary, teaching and residential institution but will also have an external side to deal with affiliated colleges outside the city of Allahabad. They will be known in future as Associated Colleges. The University will have two new Faculties, Engineering and Agriculture, the Civil Engineering College at Roorkee and the College of Agriculture

at Cawnpore being transferred to it by the Government. There is at present a Faculty of Commerce but only a diploma of the Intermediate standard is given by the University. In the reorganised University there will be a degree in Commerce as there will be in Engineering and Agriculture. It is Government's intention that when funds permit a Medical College should be established at Allahabad as a part of the University.

There is no ground for apprehension that the Associated Colleges in outlying centres will suffer in consequence of the reform of the University. Repeated assurances have been given in this behalf.

We now have Universities at Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh, the two latter being private and all-India institutions. It is Government's intention that when the financial situation improves there should be Universities also at Agra and Cawnpore. The Agra College is the oldest in the United Provinces. It will celebrate its centenary in February 1923. St. John's College, Agra, is perhaps the most important of our Missionary colleges. Both of them are efficient institutions with a noble record of which they have every reason to be proud. They ardently desire to be federated into a local University. His Excellency the Governor and I are in full sympathy with their aspiration, which is in accord with our own policy. And we shall do our best to facilitate the accomplishment of their laudable desire. Cawnpore is our industrial and commercial headquarters. There we have the College of Agriculture, we have an aided College of Commerce and we have started the Technological Institute. A committee has been set up to work out a scheme for the establishment of a Local University which will be a federation of the institutions named above and of the Arts colleges that exist in the city. The University of Cawnpore, when established, will be more like the Universities of Birmingham and Leeds and its principal function will be to train men in Agriculture, Technology and Commerce, Faculties of Science and Arts being at the same time maintained.

Reverting to High Schools and Intermediate Colleges, Government aim not only at opening Intermediate colleges wholly maintained by the State but at aiding the most efficient among private high schools to be raised to that status. A survey of the position in respect of Secondary Education has brought into striking relief the

fact that the existing number of high schools is more than adequate to meet the popular demand and that the immediate need is not an addition to the number of institutions but the strengthening of those that already exist. Government's policy is therefore directed to this end.

Before leaving the subject of general education, I should mention a reform which Sir Harcourt Butler describes as the greatest in its way. It is to effect a divorce between Public Service and University Education. Henceforth the qualifying test for the Provincial Executive Service is to be the Intermediate Examination of the Intermediate Board. One reason of the unpopularity of educational reforms that aim at raising the standard was that a University degree was held to be indispensable for entrance into the Public Service. This difficulty has been removed from the path by the Government of the United Provinces who have laid down that the test of admission for the competitive examination for the recruitment of Deputy Collectors will be success in the Intermediate examination conducted by the Intermediate Board.

We have a fairly large number of technical and industrial schools opened during the last dozen years. But the Government recognise that there is need for more. We propose to have in the course of years one big technical school in every division and one industrial school in each district. In addition to the College of Agriculture at Cawnpore we have opened an agricultural school at Bulandshahr imparting instruction in the vernacular. The school promises to be a great success. It is intended to open more such schools as the demand becomes pronounced and funds are available.

In a word, the educational policy of our Government is expansion and reform. Every effort is being made to facilitate all-round progress. There is a slight set-back in the present year owing to financial stringency, but I am sure it is only temporary. The United Provinces are fortunate in having at the head of Government His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler who has shown himself to be our foremost educational reformer.

### KING GEORGE'S SPEECHES IN INDIA

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# AN INDIAN MERCHANT MARINE

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BY

PROF. BHUPATI. B. MUKHERJEE, M. A. B. L.

*G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.*

THE cry for protecting Indian Industries is daily gaining in volume and intensity, but the suggestions about the method of affording this have centred round the erection of an effective tariff wall to shut out the inflow of imported goods. Import duties are no doubt very essential, and in some cases absolutely indispensable, but they represent only the negative aspect of Protection. Protection, it must be remembered, cannot by itself create industries, it only serves to secure the proper environment wherein a number of industries can spring up. Other measures have to be undertaken which, in addition to providing the necessary immunity from external competition, should help to build up the industries and make them strong.

Pre-eminent among these positive measures is the encouragement of shipping. In India, we have no merchant navy of our own, and the foreign carrying trade of the country is almost entirely in the hands of British and Foreign Steamer Companies. In 1910, before the war, 6,438 European vessels with a total tonnage of 14,740,000, entered and cleared for foreign ports, while native craft accounted for 2123 vessels with a tonnage of 138,864. In 1918, the respective figures were—European vessels 6,920 with a tonnage of 17,142,000, and native vessels 1697 with a tonnage of 126,933. After the war, the number and tonnage of European vessels declined to 5,966 vessels and 10,091,648 tons, while there was a happy increase in the case of Indian vessels—3,598 vessels with a tonnage of 355,752. So in previous years the tonnage of Indian ships was a negligible proportion entirely; it rose to 3 per cent in 1918.

Of these European vessels in 1919, 2285 were British and British Indian, 79 Dutch, 20 Greek, 46 Italian, 76 Norwegian and 306 Japanese. This gives us some idea about the share of the non-Indian companies in the carrying trade of India. Not only this, but in our coasting trade, where the Indian steamer lines had some sort of a monopoly, the competition of the British lines is increasing, and Indian steamers are being gradually displaced. The tonnage for the Indian vessels in the coasting trade fell to 3,150,000 in 1918.

The industrialization of a country cannot be complete unless she has a mercantile navy of her own. If she has to depend on foreign carriers, she cannot fashion her commercial policy to suit her own industrial needs, as it may militate against the interests of the carrying country and may lead to tariff wars. The advantage which the particular country gains by pursuing a protective policy, she has to forfeit by having to pay unduly heavy freights on foreign ships, so that in the foreign market her goods do not enjoy that comparative advantage which her policy attempted to secure for her. Two objects should always be kept in view—(i) A country must always secure the largest possible share of the seaborne trade for her own mercantile marine and thus gain a large amount of freight earnings from abroad which increase the National wealth; (2) The ocean traffic should be subservient to the interests of the production and commerce of the country. Home ports should be more frequently visited, and home articles should be charged a lower rate. England owes the rapid expansion of her commerce to the Navigation Laws of 1651 which secured a ready carrying trade for her own ships and thus stimulated that industry beyond measure. Other continental countries have also tried similar measures but have preferred a positive and direct navigation policy, and have attained considerable success.

It was quite in the fitness of things that it was left to that great industrialist, the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas to move in March, 1922 in the Council of State for a committee to consider the best means of encouraging the shipbuilding industry in this country. The resolution has served to attract the attention of the public to this important matter, and it is to be hoped that steps will be soon taken to create gradually an Indian shipping.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji has shown that Indian ships used to visit distant shores laden with merchandise and carrying passengers. Shipbuilding was carried on extensively at different ports, and several places have even now retained a tradition of shipbuilding. Indian vessels had a monopoly of the trade of the Indian Ocean till, within recent times, but owing to the com-

petition of foreign companies, shipbuilding, has decayed and those few Indian shipping companies work with foreign-made steamers. In 1918, the number of Navigation Companies registered in India, including the Inland Navigation Companies was 23 with a total authorized capital of Rs. 8,83,90,000, (Bengal and Bombay 11 each, and Burma) Besides these, there were 15 companies registered elsewhere than in India, but working here with an authorized capital of Rs. 26,277,000. The proportion of Indian owned and Indian managed companies is extremely small, but the Indians have a fairly large share in the capital of these other companies, the crew of which is also mainly Indian. So, with a view to develop an Indian Mercantile Marine, these companies will have to be utilized as a nucleus till further developments take place. Two methods can be mainly employed to encourage shipping—(i) Ship subsidies; and (ii) bounties.

(i) Subsidies:—The Government can make grants of money to some existing companies for a term of years in return for the maintenance of regular lines and other concessions, namely, cheaper freight rates and the employment of Indians largely in the marine. In the West, many countries have secured regular carriage of Mails by means of subsidies. France subsidizes the *Compagnie Generale Transatlantique* for the carriage of mails, the expense amounting to 27,600,000 francs in 1912 Austria pays the Austria Lloyd for maintaining lines in the Mediterranean and Eastern Asia according to mileage. When private enterprise failed to start Railway Companies in India, and the opening up of the country was largely hindered, the Government had to directly promote Railway building by means of Guarantees and Rebates. These will certainly prove a burden for sometime to the Indian Exchequer, but, as the effect will be far-reaching, the people must be prepared to make sacrifices.

(ii) Shipping bounties are general payments open to anyone in return for certain legally specified performances in the interests of the National Shipping. These may be given to existing companies, whether British or Indian, or to new companies, provided they perform the required services. These may be of two classes—(a) building bounties; and (b) service bounties.

Building bounties are very useful in stimulating shipbuilding. India has practically no shipbuilding now, except some light vessels constructed at Chittagong and river craft turned out by the Engineering workshops in Calcutta and

Karachi. With the development of our iron and steel manufactures and with the importations of shipbuilding materials free of duty, it will be increasingly possible to start shipbuilding enterprise in India. France started the practice of giving Construction Bounties by paying 60 francs per ton for ships of iron or steel and 20 francs for wooden ships under 200 tons provided the plans of the ship were sanctioned by the Navy Department. Italy graduated this bounty in 1900 according to speed; it was fixed at 45 lire for steamers of less than 12 knots, 50 lire for steamers of from 12 to 15 knots, *et cetera*. In 1893, Austria introduced a unit bounty at 6 gulden per ton per year for iron steamships and 450 gulden for iron sailing ships; and 3 gulden for wooden sailing vessels. Japan passed a bounty law in 1896 to encourage shipbuilding.

Service bounties are given to companies maintaining regular services between home ports and foreign ports, or between specified home ports. These are given on a calculation of the mileage covered and the cargo carried. They may also be given to foreign built steamers, but the practice is not uniform. France granted service bounty in the case of steamers at 170 francs per gross ton for 1000 marine miles covered. Italy gives bounty at reduced rates to foreign-built ships. The Austrian merchant navy owes its rapid expansion to these bounties. All merchant ships constructed in Austria, mainly with Austrian capital, are not exempted from the Industrial tax, but are paid both a unit bonus and a service bounty.

The Indian Mercantile marine can be developed along these lines in course of time. Until we have large shipbuilding concerns, we will have to start companies with foreign-built steamers, and develop the existing lines to further the interests of the Indian Trade.

### PRINCE EDWARD'S SPEECHES IN INDIA.

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Foolscap 8 Vo, 208 pages Price Re. One.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

# THE "SUBJECT" OF A WRITER

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By

J. C. MOLONY, I. C. S.

"IT is such a good thing for a young man to have a subject," so said, or is reported to have said, the Master of Balliol to no less a young man than the Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon. Dr. Jowett might have added that even for an old man "a subject" is of scarcely less importance; "Plato without this Jowett—a pen without a nib," wrote some wag; but would Jowett without his Plato have been in any better case than a nib without a pen? Mr. Frederic Harrison must owe much of his general literary success to his life-long absorption in a particular "subject," the somewhat arid and unattractive tenets of Positivism. Mr. Stephen Paget is on his own showing "of a certain age"; he turns a neat phrase, he has read and travelled; but, after all, what or where is the "subject" to give unity, cogency of appeal, to the twelve *essays* collected under the title "I have reason to believe." The particular essay which bears this title is a somewhat rambling discourse on a child's gradual apprehension of what is popularly called "religion." It leads to no definite conclusion, and reading it one feels that the same thing has been done, as well or better, many a time before. In such narrations is found almost invariably mention of some quaint childish misunderstanding of "religious" words; and Mr. Paget faithfully supplies his example. His literary child—or is the writer recalling his own real experiences—had learned the hymn "Pity my simplicity"; simplicity proved, as one might expect, too polysyllabic for an infant, so the words shaped themselves as "pity mice and plicity." The child could understand pity for mice, and saw no immediate reason why "plicity" should not have its share of divine compassion.

But "Town mice turned country mice," how often has the old essay been written and rewritten; it is an old friend have it never so new a title face. Mr. Lytton Strachey has indeed resuscitated and made interesting "the Victorian Age" and many an "Eminent Victorian"; but his method, commendable or otherwise, has the merit of originality, is peculiar to himself. Mr. Paget on this period of the world's history is gently decorous, but, one fears, gently uninteresting as well. Essays such as "Catchwords," and "the

Writing of a Life" recall, to their own disadvantage, Sir Edward Cook's delightful "Literary Recollections".

"Our medical correspondent" indeed suggests a "subject," a definite line of thought which Mr. Paget might have pursued and expounded as his particular message to the world. Mr. Paget, by profession a doctor, here writes arrestingly enough on the need for the medical enlightenment of the people through the medium of the great newspapers. The column of "our medical correspondent", is ordinarily poor stuff; at its lowest it is the bait of free medical advice to attract subscribers to the paper; even at its best little better than platitude that fills a vacant space. Mr. Paget's ideal correspondent would be an accredited representative of the profession, a medical editor, censor and adviser, rather than a medical correspondent. He would see that the general reader is saved from the bitter disappointment that ordinarily follows on the proclaiming of some new and infallible "treatment" for cancer and consumption; he would see that "discoveries" announced are tested and proven. He would not essay the impossible and seek to make "every man his own doctor"; but, to the extent that medical science and practice can be explained to those without technical knowledge, he would see that explanations offered were at once thoroughly sensible and thoroughly truthful.

## HEROIC MOTHERHOOD

BY

MR. MEHERMANECH PITHAWALLA.

What tho' in radiant realms of bliss you roam  
And deeper, deeper drink life's ruby wine,  
And freely taste of wedlock's joys divine,  
O happy bride, yours is but half a home;  
But when your tiny treasure, fair and sweet  
You proudly hold to your own ardent heart  
Which with its baby laughs and cries doth smart,  
A perfect home it makes; a life complete.

O Mazda Lord, wilt Thou not deign to bless,  
Each worthy wife with mother's honoured name,  
And with the crown of glorious parenthood?  
Grant that 'in all her grace and steadfastness  
She soon may start and play a treble game,  
And claim for rights of truest womanhood!

\* *I have Reason to Believe.* By Stephen Paget, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

# DYARCHY AND AFTER

•BY MR. C. R. REDDY, M. L. C.

**T**HE introduction of Dyarchy came none too soon; the matter for enquiry now is whether it satisfies the needs of the times or has already become a creed outworn. Is it too soon to judge? Mechanical measurements of time are no test; account must be taken of the volume and velocity with which the new forces in India, created and let loose by British education and British ideals, are moving. If the tide is strong and flowing in the very direction in which the best minds in England desired and encouraged it to flow, it will be nothing less than self-stultification to try to meet it by a blank negative and its inevitable offspring brutal repression.

The circumstances under which Dyarchy was introduced militated against its popularity. A reform, which, had it come earlier, would have been hailed as a striking proof of England's good will and humanitarian mission, failed to evoke universal enthusiasm or allay the suspicion engendered by the insincerities and chicaneries of the Bureaucratic regime. People could not be certain whether this was only new tactics or the beginning of a new strategy in consonance with the moral professions held all along and accentuated during the war. The Mohammadans had been treated to a dose of diplomatic sharp practice from which they will not recover in this generation. The solemn pledges given, doubtless in consultation with the Allies, to the Indian Government, in order to secure the loyalty of Mussulmans and Mussulman troops, regarding the treatment to be meted out to Turkey when the time for making peace arrived, were set at naught in spite of the unanimous protest of India; the Hindus, Europeans, the Government of India as well as the Moslems more directly affected were in plain words duped. When it was known that France and Italy were prepared to treat Turkey generously and it was only England, or rather Mr. Lloyd George, that favoured Greece, the Mohammadan exasperation became unbounded. In this hour of betrayal the Hindus, who resented in full the insult offered to India, as well as the other creeds and races in India, stood by their Moslem countrymen in their demand for the fulfilment of the pledges given by England; they were not prepared to concede that England could treat her bond to India as a scrap of paper. The situation of distrust and hostility thus created was rendered intolerable to national self-respect by the happenings in the Punjab. A gruesome outrage on humanity was perpetrated as a matter of system, principle and

method at the very time when the British and Allied statesmen and more than half the world were ringing with professions of high morality, and singing the song of a new heaven on earth, a new righteousness and a new secular brotherhood. The defeat of Germany was to have been the prelude to this new glory; and the only benefit and franchise that India got from it was the cold-blooded massacre of innocents at Jallianwallah! People looking at the reign of greed and unscrupulous ambition raging rampant in Morocco, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and other Eastern lands and the English colonies could draw only one conclusion that neither generosity nor justice was to be expected for Orientals from the European; that the war had not made him less selfish but only more hypocritical; that the White Peril should be fought at once and that delay would lead to its irresistible consolidation. Asia feels like a big bull over which the coils of the boa are tightening. Wilson's fourteen points had crumbled into hypocritical dust at Versailles. The American Senate had doubtless upheld the standard of international morality; but its attitude was at best only negative. It would not have anything to do with the cynical peace treaties forged in Paris; but it lacked the missionary zeal and impulse to redeem the world by active intervention. Moreover—people knew that after all the Senate was a corporation of plutocrats; the world had never received anything but damaged goods from that source; moral elevation and spiritual fervour are the last things to be found in their bulging pockets. Though it is true that Reparation was substituted for Indemnity and Mandate for Annexation, terminological camouflage was not what humanity had sighed for during the war; and its hope was dashed to pieces. Self-expression, after playing a brilliant part in the diplomacy of war, was amended out of existence; and has to-day become a forbidden reference. The bitter contempt for truth and pledges that the peace proceedings betrayed had its share in shattering the confidence of the East in the honour and humanity of the West. There can be little doubt that the Paris treaties are a betrayal of the world's hope and robbed the great sacrifice of war of its possible fruitfulness of humanitarian good.

It is almost certain that the conduct of the politicians and Governments did not represent the convictions of the masses in Europe; and that even now, there are popular forces at work

which will bring about in the near future a higher order of international relations. There are in India a number of thinkers of the first rank headed by Tagore who see beneath the surface of things and are satisfied that the deeper currents have not been affected by the materialistic fury of Clemenceau and Lloyd Georges and is steadily following in the right direction. But the average Indian has no faith in the European will to be good. This scepticism has become accentuated by the reckless increase of salaries for the higher officialdom in India. Such an increase ought to have started from below where the justification was greater; and if that had been done, it could have stopped at whatever level our finances called halt without causing hardship or heart-burning; but now that it was started in the higher ranks it has to be carried through down to the lowest at whatever cost to the State. In Madras the Legislative Council resolved to double the pay of village headmen—an addition of 20 lakhs to the expenditure! Government could not resist the proposal. If pity for the man getting Rs 3,000/—a month is a sentiment, will it not become a passion as it contemplates the plight of him that is getting but seven rupees? The country is passing through an industrial and commercial crisis; the finances are in disorder; deficits amount to more than what the cautious and the pessimistic anticipated. The after-effects of war, when the penalties of lavish borrowing and enforced credits are to be met, are not a surprise; they should have been foreseen. And yet during this very crisis the salaries of the Indian and provincial services, which relatively to those obtaining in other countries, far richer than India, are a scandal in extravagance, were added to largely without a thought for the future of economy. Not a few in India are under the belief that it was a bribe to the services to accept the Reforms loyally—compensation paid for damage done to power and prestige. Are the reforms worth the purchase? Opinions differ, but the school which is inclined to give a negative answer gathers strength as each day demonstrates the impossibility of embarking on any Development Scheme without recourse to fresh taxation, which in the face of Gandhism is a hazardous enterprise, or borrowing. In a poor country like India, political liberty, even had there been more of it than what has been given, could hardly face the seas with the mill-stone of heavy deficit budgets tied firmly to its neck. It is at this juncture that the patriotic and moral

furies of Gandhian nationalism are upsetting trade and drink revenue. The fact cannot be disguised that the Ministers chosen—elected is too good a description—to office under the present regime have not the popularity and in some cases even the moral prestige attaching to personal distinction, to undertake to propose new taxes or do anything beyond thread-bare routine. They know that though they may have office, they have not the power and influence; they are already a beaten lot. Even in Madras, where up to a limit, party support could be relied upon, and nationalism is not yet the force that it is in Northern India, caution has to be strictly observed. The philosophic student of constitutionalism can however find consolation in the growing strength of extra-parliamentary opinion, which keeps Legislatures in check—and not infrequently in dread. Much contention is possible on the relative merits of timid *versus* courageous ministries, but constitutionalism does require, if it is not to degenerate into disguised oligarchy, that some regard must be shown to opinion outside when its strength has been unmistakably demonstrated; otherwise it will provoke a revolution.

In some measure Gandhi gained his revolutionary point when he induced his party to boycott the Reform Councils and refuse to go to the polls either as voters or as candidates. It caused a split in his party; some distinguished men, who had till then been swearing absolute, indefensible loyalty to Congress, discovered other grounds on which to exempt themselves from its full consequences, but though they got elected they came shorn of moral prestige. On this question the majority of Congress leaders were opposed to Gandhi, but they manfully yielded as a matter of discipline—the first instance in Indian history when loyal subordination to an acknowledged leader was practised on such a large scale inspite of deep differences of opinion. Even to-day, Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar and the illustrious Malaviya consider the boycott of councils a big mistake and there were the clearest possible signs of their breaking away from Gandhi next Christmas if he still persisted in it, when the repressive policy of Government then inaugurated came to his rescue and restored for a further term a united following. Gandhian madness is never without a method. The boycott was started in order to impair the moral competence of the new councils, to organise his forces free from the distractions inevitable to legislative participation and responsibility, and to create an extra-constitutional force



which will overawe the legal agencies of Government. Responsibility is a moderating influence on the exercise of power; a revolutionary therefore prefers the irresponsible position of an agitator. Moreover the Gandhian constructive programme, if such a thing does exist outside the clouds, is an irritant and not a sedative; it will not work and will soon be rejected by his own followers. It is doubtful also if in 1920 he would have had a majority, had he contested the seats.

For electoral fights in India are still predominantly personal and communal. The general politics of press and platform hardly affect the voting. The landlord, the merchant and lawyer have their clientele; and every man has his tribe, clan, or creed behind him, who follow with sheepish fidelity. In this mediævalism political conviction counts for little. In a way all are nationalists; and until the irreducible minimum of Home Rule has been acquired, true parties, based on conflict of internal interests, are not likely to arise. Whatever the reason Gandhi avoided a trial of strength in which even victory would leave him but weaker for his purpose. And has he not succeeded in impairing the representative character and constitutional, as opposed to legal, competence of ministers and legislatures? The answer is, I am afraid, in the affirmative. No member behaves as though he has the support of an electoral majority behind him; no minister dare assume that accident and good fortune have not had as much to do with his acquisition of office, as factors of more legitimate computation. Add to the moral distress of the situation the empty purses and wrong balances—you have a picture of their sorry plight. Gandhi is a relentless foe; he drives the screw the whole length through and won't spare a single turn if he gets the chance. If the ministers keep quiet, they are a costly blunder; if they wish to do anything and ask for the funds (a contingency that they have so far carefully refrained from creating), why then they are another set of plunderers, native parasites more troublesome and more difficult to shake off than unacclimatised ones of foreign origin. So far as constructive work is concerned he has reduced Government to his own level! It can do nothing; it is at a stand-still.

And Non-Co-operation is the threat that produces this paralysis. The villagers in the Kistna District, tillers of the soil who had never known any politics beyond the payment of their early taxes, gather round an Executive Councillor, honour him, fete him, praise him, flatter him;

and inform him firmly that if the water-rate is revised up—the very purpose for which the diplomatic journey is undertaken—they will join Gandhi and withhold payment of taxes. The councillor has to be affable, for they are his hosts; he smiles; but the feel of the cold steel is already in his heart. The representative ministers fare no better. A party demonstration, well-planned, grandly engineered, is held in honour of the Madras Triumvirate at Cocanada; but the resolutions passed include total prohibition and other ingredients of Gandhian dynamite. In Palnad the ryots of out of the way villages resist the forest laws; the officials of the District, European and Indian, descend on them for the usual enquiries and sympathetic considerations; they are refused all supplies and are forced to return filled with hunger and resentment; one of the ring-leaders, a Barrister of Gray's Inn, is sent to jail as he will not give security for good behaviour as called upon by the District Magistrate; though his word is enough as bail bond he elects the jail; and his wife, a girl of tender nurture brought up in the secluded dignity of a Hindu house, takes to the platform and invites Government to be so kind as to cause her to join her husband; and the officials, some of whom realise, even though they do not approve, the tragic beauty and intensity of this new sentiment, either refrain from action or act with a courtesy and reluctance unknown to the days of sun dried bureaucracy. A new grace has permeated their hearts too as it has done that of the country—and in this is the hope of intimate re-union between Government and people in the future. Gopalakrishnayya, called upon to give security for good behaviour, refuses with a wealth of humour and courtesy; the Magistrate, a European, laughs with him, begs him to yield, and driven to send him to jail enquires what he could do to make his life as comfortable as possible there. The humane treatment of political prisoners is a novel feature in India. But will it last long? It is already becoming apparent that Government have repented of their chivalry and are resuming harsher methods of repression. This change is due to the insult offered to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales by the organisation of a nation-wide *hartal* on the day he landed in Bombay and the riots which broke out in that city on that occasion. Since then wholesale arrests and rigorous imprisonments for political offences have become the order of the day. The total number of youths educated and

high spirited, that are in jail to-day (the 10th December)\* cannot be less than 3,000; and if this rate of incarceration is kept up the British Government will soon come to be regarded as the gaoler of educated India; but this is sure to be a passing mood; the very excess will produce a reaction; and when Government realises that the jail is no cure for nationalism, they will think of their ways, including, possibly conversations with Gandhi, Malaviya, and other party leaders most competent to speak on behalf of India. Most Indians are sorry that the Prince has been put in a false position by this untimely visit; and hope that he will not be found to be less generous in his estimate of Indians than Lord Hardinge was inspite of the bomb-attack made on him.

The new spirit in India has on the whole spread to the Bureaucracy also. If it has made the Indian a greater patriot than before, it has implanted in the British official a chivalry that he was not accustomed to display in his relations to people of another colour:

The manner in which Dyarchy has been worked must have caused disappointment to men accustomed to the Parliamentary psychology of England. But there is nothing surprising in India failing to catch at a bound the evolution of centuries. Though responsibility has been introduced, it extends only to a part of the Government—the rest of it which is the major portion, is still bureaucratic. Parliamentary light has to contend against heavy clouds and clear a way for itself. The mentality of the Councillors in charge of the reserved subjects is of course of the classical, official pattern; but the ministers, legislators and the people too have not yet acquired the Parliamentary mind, outlook and attitude. Ministers mimic the bureaucratic tone. Most of them know no better ethics or manners than those they saw exemplified by the Executive Councillors in the days when the Legislative Councils were only advisory bodies, and responsibility was not admitted; and the lordly Councillor, appointed without reference to party following, or non-official wishes, sometimes cultivated popularity by doling out condescending nods and patronising words, and deigning even to applaud the elected members for their wisdom in supporting his omniscient measures. Thus a minister, supposed to be the leader of the most numerous though not a majority party, gravely thanked the house for its kindness in adopting

his budget—the style of the old bureaucrats. In England, the Ministers take the lead in furthering the party policy: here owing to the bureaucratic reticence which ministers, credited, to be party leaders adopt, the private members are in full command of the field of policy. They move resolutions of the first importance, which are not infrequently carried, without the responsible ministers contributing anything, not even their votes! The Ministers ape the dignity and reserve of the Executive Councillors of the Old Regime—and have in fact become a reserved subject—very reserved indeed! The resolutions of private members range through all degrees of importance and generality, from fundamental policy to the smallest details of administration. The English Parliament rarely interests itself in executive minutiae—here the Legislature is inquisitorial and has no desire to limit itself in the main to legislation and general control of Government. This is due to three causes: (1) love of power and absence of self-restraint and the reaction from ages of suppression; (2) lack of ministerial guidance and lead in debates and (3) the excusable jealousy of a foreign bureaucracy which has to be taught how to administer with sympathy. As an object of criticism the high official of some other caste or creed is no less attractive than a European. Legislators desire to be in evidence; must they not cut a figure in the eyes of their electorate? and quantity of speech, resolution and interpellation is one way of justifying popular choice and retaining electoral confidence. Where their departments are involved, the Ministers meet the situation by the stale device of giving a sympathetic assurance; whereupon the resolution is withdrawn and a moral victory is claimed. Or is it an Educational Reform or a New University that the members are after? The Minister will gladly appoint a Committee, an irresistible attraction to people hoping to find a place on it. There is not a Minister who is not surrounded by an impregnable circle of Committees; even the League of Nations could not give him greater security than the loyal Committees of his own fertile creation. It would have been thought that Government by a responsible Ministry would have meant Government by Ministers who knew what they were there for, and who would, therefore be able to take a definite stand on the questions presented. Further having their own plans and programme, they would be expected to say what exactly they would do and how finances, time, and other conditions being what they are, they could not accept any more propo-

\* The publication of the article was delayed for reasons beyond the control of the writer. The number of political prisoners now cannot be less than 20,000.

sals as practicable whatever their merits in the abstract. Such an attitude is uncommon, scarce to a degree. On the contrary it is usual to find Ministers dealing out sympathy liberally and professing the utmost readiness to do anything that the house wished, if only the house would find the money! As if it is not his business to make up his mind and if he made it up in favour, to find the money! Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Paranjape are not formed of such back-bone-less stuff; but even the latter had to be reminded on one occasion that he should shoulder the responsibility for saying yes or no and that if he approved of a scheme should stake his career on finding the ways and means. It is not many months yet since one of the Madras Ministers declared that he had an open mind; that he had no pre-conceived notions to force on the public; that he invited all to give their views; and would consider them carefully. If such a thing had been said by an Executive Councillor of the old regime it would have passed muster for popular sympathy and devotion to democracy. Coming from one presumed to be a party leader it betrays confusion of thought and insufficient realisation of the elementary conditions of responsible Government. Where the ministers have no minds of their own, but are only too ready to carry out whatever others want, the principle of responsibility cannot rise at all and no progress is possible towards party or constitutional Government as it is understood in England. They are agents and tools and no longer leaders, fit only for subservient routine and not for initiative.

The people do not know how to keep up the dignity of democracy and servile manners have not yet become extinct. Eagerly do Associations, Committees, and Societies desire to approach ministers to get this or that item included in their policies. Up to a limit there is nothing undignified in this; but a universal rush to Ministerial ante-chambers is hardly a sign of democratic self-respect. "Seeing people" is a fine art in this climate; the man who wants to get on goes on a pilgrimage to those that have; and the man who has got on would be offended if ceremonial visits are not paid to him and the proper quantity of incense burnt. Our public men do not quite realise that no ministry is immortal; that all policies and schemes could be criticised after they are published, and amended if not now yet in a subsequent legislature; and that there is not the same need to-day, as in the days of secret, omnipotent, infallible bureaucracy, to pray

to the gods in good time before they act and let your wishes be known. While every one should be ready to co-operate with party or Government, it should be done only under conditions conservative of the tone and dignity of public life. Now that autocratic terror is over, people should give rest to their knees and not crawl so very much; Garlanding and ceremonial reception of ministers by officials and non-officials is another vestige of Mahabism. Every minister is presented with a municipal address on his first visit to a town; and much garlanding by loyal officials and gentlemen is indulged in and even expected. Honours that should be reserved for rare merit and achievement have become the perquisites of mere office and the sport of party spirit. However, these pastimes of political infancy will, I trust, be speedily transcended.

In a recent speech delivered at a demonstration of the Non-Brahmin party the present writer thus criticised Dyarchy:

"It is high time that Dyarchy should be replaced by full provincial autonomy. It was introduced as a compromise and like most compromises on principle it has not satisfied either of the parties to the bargain. It is a political paradox which required instant resolution, no matter whether it is a success or failure. If it has been a success it must naturally lead to a fuller and more logical system; if it has been a failure it must give place to something better and autonomy is the only possible alternative. After a careful study of the work of the Provincial Councils in India I have come to the conclusion that it is an anomaly, persistence in which will do no credit to British Indian statesmanship. Under it neither the Ministers nor the Councillors enjoy the requisite freedom and power; and while these are absent constitutional responsibility is impossible. The Councillors seem to feel that they are too frequently left in the air without sufficient support. The Ministers again feel that their influence is not sufficiently pervasive and with finances practically taken out of their hands they are put to the invidious task of making bricks without straw. Further, elections are not fought on the transferred subjects only. Popular leaders and candidates have to declare their views on all the problems of the day and when questions outside the transferred subjects come up for discussion they find themselves in a situation of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy. In the absence of full control over their subordinates in the higher services the Ministers can at best be only responsible advisers to the Government and not responsible executive as intended by the statute. It is a question for consideration whether under this system we have had Ministers with collective responsibility or only Ministers with individual. Owing to their illogical association with Executive Councillors and the influence, I suppose, of bureaucratic traditions and atmosphere, Ministers have not been able to take the lead in the Legislatures in the same way as the Cabinets in Europe do and the Legislative Councils are therefore left very much as they were formerly though with more power.

In several of the Provinces Ministerial Government has been rather passive, taking defeats in the same way as the Executive Councillors would and reducing themselves more or less to the position of a slate on which the Legislative Council could write what it pleases. For these defects and unsatisfactory features the system is to blame and not the persons. It was a cruel irony to have enthroned, as a cynic might aver, dyarchy on the toddy shop, and with a treasury depleted by the reckless raising of salaries and Gandhism attacking one of the chief sources of our revenue, the ministerial position has been made extremely difficult. It is to the credit of our leaders and the co-operation of all members including Europeans that things are not worse than they are. But this political anomaly should not be prolonged beyond the term of the present Councils."

The notable feature about it is that it received the warm approval of the ministerial organ, *The Justice*. Things cannot be in a good way when ministerial organs themselves decry Dyarchy.

It was expected that party system of Government would come into existence in the new Councils; and amidst healthy rivalry and criticism responsibility of the transferred half of the Executive would be realised. Responsibility is the cardinal feature of the new regime; that is what differentiates it from bureaucracy. It is sad to have to confess that from this point of view the Reforms have not been a success; they may even be held to have failed. Ministers are individually chosen by the Governors; and collective responsibility of the Ministry is therefore out of the question. Furthermore, officials nominated to the Legislature, are permitted to take part in the discussion and vote on subjects included in the Transferred Departments also, which apart from providing ministers with a dependable body guard, runs against the well-established doctrine that the services should not take part in politics. If Party Government had been contemplated by the Governors, this anomaly would not have been countenanced, since it is inconceivable that they would have deliberately approved of a scheme under which the

heads of certain departments would be put to the necessity of speaking and voting one way while serving under one Minister and in a different way when serving under a Minister of a different persuasion. From this and other absurdities of procedure one is forced to conclude that the implications of Ministerial responsibility were either not understood or ignored of set purpose and with a view to perpetuate under disguise the bureaucratic system.

The theoretical imperfection here described receives the grimmest possible comment from the facts and practices of the different Chambers and Ministers. There have been numerous instances even in Madras of the party voting one way and Ministers, the other. Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces afford more illustrations. As it is needless to quote all of them, I shall content myself with a few samples. On the Oudh Rent Bill, the Liberal Party, of which Mr Chintamani is a member and an ex-President to boot, broke away from the Government and opposed it bitterly; and yet Mr. Chintamani remains a Minister. He neither helped nor opposed his party during the heated discussions on the subject but observed a neutrality, hardly compatible with party principle. In the Bengal Chamber, both the Minister for Education and for Local Self-government have been in difficulties with the Legislature, but that does not seem to have affected their official position in any way. Does a man cease to be bound by the party programme from the moment he becomes a Minister? Is a Minister a new species of bureaucrat? Or is he an ambitious creature ready to crawl either on dry land or dive into the waters, according to the exigencies of the moment? In Bombay the discussion on the separation of Executive and Judicial functions revealed much inconsistency of conduct on the part of some Ministers. It has been said that the convention of resigning in circumstances that according to English custom render such action obligatory, has not yet obtained in India; and if to this is added the further factor that Ministers do not seem to be bound by their previous speeches and pledges, it is clear that responsibility has become a mere word and bye-word, and that the system is still bureaucratic *de facto*. It may be that not being accustomed to public life the party leaders spoke with less restraint and prudence at the time of the elections but whatever the explanation, incidents all over the country, have cast considerable suspicion on the system and its working. Not a

\*Since this was written some strange things have happened which further prove the other impossibility of Dyarchy. Sir Surendranath Banerjee has authorised a friend to notify the world that he had nothing to do with the Repression in Bengal and was opposed to it. Surely a statement like this ought to be made in the Council itself. The Madras Ministers as by statute bound, remained neutral while their party voted solidly for permanent settlement! Two points are clear. (1) Dyarchy is not a happy compromise between the principle of responsibility and that of unity of Government. (2) Under it, Ministers have to balance in an irresponsible manner and cannot exercise party leadership, and this will probably affect their chances of re-election.

few regard it as bureaucracy under a new name and style. I have not come across a single publicist, European or Indian, Moderate or Extremist, who does not hold Dyarchy in its present form to be extremely unsatisfactory and unworkable.

#### DISTRICT OFFICIALS

The position of the District Officials under Dyarchy is unhappy because anomalous. The District Magistrate was in the old days a Deputy Governor—head of all the branches of the local administration acting under the orders of his official superiors. To-day he has to play a double part, represent a responsible minister in respect of the series coming under the transferred departments, and continue in respect of Police and other reserved subjects to exercise bureaucratic rule of the old type. It is not easy for one and the same person to personify two contradictory ideals and illustrate two opposite sets of principles and methods; to play the bureaucrat for one half the day and the democrat for the other half. And Ministerial tours are more frequent; and the mode of their reception being popular, the exclusive collector has to rub his shoulders with the crowd waiting at the Railway Station. The democratic leaven of the new regime goes against the bureaucratic grain, and though many Britishers of culture and talent have in their devotion to India in which they are not behind the patriots, accommodated themselves to the other manners of these other times, there is a considerable section which has grown sourer in temper, and cynical of purpose under the new political hygiene. No blame to them; though all praise to the former. They came over here to rule; and not to be ruled. Colour prejudice, racial intolerance and the rest of the array of primitive irrationalities are not to be subjugated with the ease with which a white army overruns the Kafirs or Basutos. The barbarism within is a harder conquest than that which is without. Two or three solutions are possible; to let the malcontents go and fill up their places with Indians; to break up the illogical unity of the District Administration into its component departments, and place each under a separate head, directly responsible to the superiors at the Capital. The association between revenue collection, magisterial powers, and the headship of the Police and other services is a historical accident, a derivative of the Subedari of Mughal days. In those unsettled times, the sword had to be unsheathed for every purpose; and the erection of deputy despotisms and satrapies was perhaps

necessary. We have outgrown the necessities of those days as well as their barbarous conceptions of the relations between the rulers and the ruled; and a decentralisation on the lines here suggested is the only way to secure to each official the first desideratum of efficiency and self-respect viz that he will serve but one master. Gokhale's scheme of tempering the autocracy of the District Magistrate by means of Advisory councils is not worth trying under present conditions. It was a diluted version of the American principle of replacing the British-Indian system of one man Government by a Commission Government of three, of which two shall be natives, which they adopted with such excellent results in the Philippines. But then America worked consistently for uplifting the Philippines to national status; and that arrangement fitted in with their scheme. Unfortunately the British Government, though perhaps equally sincere in its desire to develop Home Rule in India, were not quite so consistent and the result is there is a legacy of inconsistencies and self-contradictions, in addition to heavy arrears of much needed legislative and administrative measures, which have to be wiped off by the new regime. No wonder with its limited powers and bankrupt exchequer Dyarchy has so far failed to make a powerful impression of success in the country.

Ministerial tours undertaken for party purposes should be differentiated from official tours; and the two purposes should not as a rule be combined. If a Minister goes to address a party conference, he should do so at his own expense and must not expect to be received by the officials. This course will remedy some of the wrongs that officialdom suffers from the lack of healthy traditions of public life and at the same time be more appropriate to the spirit of constitutionalism.

The rural parts, the Underellas of the Government household, have fared no better under the Reforms. Irrigation, Medical Aid, Sanitation, Veterinary Hospitals, Agricultural Credit, Education, these are their primary needs. They pay the taxes but it is the urban areas that absorb expenditure of the State. Ambulance lectures and other means of modernising the mediæval mind of the villages have not been tried; the system of schools, condemned as neither fish, flesh nor good red herring by Sir Sankaran Nair, too few in number and too badly organised, is still there and no attempt is being made to evolve a coherent educational organisation. Permanent

settlement, the universal creed of political India from the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy to Gokhale, is still in the air and refuses to descend to earth. And they complain that the appointment of more Indians to high offices and the increase of salaries all round is no comfort to the starving masses. The Fiscal Commission recently appointed contains no representatives of the Agrarian interest; and yet high protection by limiting the export of raw materials may tend to impair their value and inflict losses on the extractive industries, and chiefly agriculture. The cry of the city is heard and heeded; but, that of the village is lost in the wilderness.

From this description the reader should not draw the inference that the Reforms Act is a failure. In my opinion it is a success. If people expected a new heaven on earth in a single year, it shows how unprepared their mind has been to the slow march of practical politics. The Councils and Ministers are working with a will and are doing their best according to their lights and capacity. The Legislative Assembly has jumped to the first rank amongst the Parliaments of the world. As an education in politics, the new regime has surpassed all expectations. The circulation of every newspaper has gone up; more papers have come into being; and the air is full of the bustle of political discussions and controversies. Neglected social problems like those of the Depressed Classes and Untouchability are receiving an attention impossible but a year ago.

But the delays, difficulties and defects, described above, are vigorously exploited by the Gandhites to destroy confidence in the Reforms and precipitate a revolution, regarding the objects of which they themselves have no clear or coherent ideas. The methods adopted are the accentuation of financial embarrassments by means of the Prohibition movement; employing every grievance small or great, local or general to fan the flames; inducing Municipalities, District Boards and other local bodies that they have captured to adopt a defiant attitude and refuse to carry out Government policy or embark on measures which are a violation of Government orders; in one word the organisation of anarchy on an extensive scale. Ireland and Egypt are the models for their agitation. The conditions in India are very different, doubtless, but they are not troubled by consequences. Lord Milner's "Damn the consequences" is their motto; everything including the future of the country is subordinated to the passion of paralysing Government. Though the Irish and the English are people of one colour,

intermarrying with each other, and have not yet coalesced into a nation, we are asked to believe that Hindu-Muslim unity having few points of contact besides opposition to Government, is the impregnable rock of Swaraj. The Moplah outbreak has not cleared their mystic optimism. The people follow them enthusiastically. Anti-government feeling is very strong and is daily growing stronger. The situation demands the exercise of the highest statesmanship, sympathy, care and due regard for the future of the Empire.

When some Municipalities revolted and refused to accept Government grants or carry out Government policies, the Bombay Ministry issued a threat to prosecute the offending members. The clapping into jail of some recalcitrant Board of guardians in a London Borough was hailed as a working precedent. The Madras Ministry, having something of a stable following, permitted Government servants to bid at the sale by auction of the property of the Chirala people, who had left the place as a protest against the imposition of a Municipality on them against their unanimous will, when it was found that not a single private person was willing to bid. This permission has been treated as an unmistakable hint at a mandate; and petty officials including the Police went in and brought up the properties. Though industrial education is a reform loudly favoured by it, the same Ministry has ordered the exclusion of spinning wheel from the schools, Government and aided, on the ground that it had a political complexion. Poplar is no parallel for Nasik and Ahmedabad; in England public opinion is with the Government; the rate-payers are for strict adherence to constitutional procedure; and the Poplar martyrs became nothing more than objects of general ridicule. But here things are different. The nationalists have a passion for the jail; repression is what they want Government to exercise; whatever happens they will be either heroes or martyrs; and every such incident fires a thousand latent enthusiasms and even apathies into vigorous flame. A Government which cannot enforce Municipal discipline except by sending people, only too ready for it, to jail or through the agency of petty clerks or the police cannot long retain its prestige. And yet to yield or look on helplessly is to countenance the prevalence of anarchy unless the safer elements in society organise and assert themselves. Undoubtedly the massacre of Amritsar is the secret of Gandhi's strength. It probably drove him to this fierce opposition. He must have felt that his own

Satyagraha movement having been the excuse for that slaughter, the blood of those hapless innocents imperatively called on him for reparation. Otherwise it is impossible to explain how a man of his mild nature and well-proved loyalty to the Empire, in all her trials, could have started a movement the aim of which is the out-casting of the West from the East. The iron has entered the soul of the people; and they are reckless. Bankrupt of constructive policy, he is still sustained by the righteous indignation of the country.

His revolt is spiritual in the sense that it involves the entire personality of India. Western Industrialism; its labour-saving—or labour-starving—appliances; its culture; its science; its technology; all must be cast out, for are they not the expression of reason without conscience, power without feeling, and the apotheosis of the beast in man. Till now Indian leaders had placed the country first and creeds next; secular unity—the only unity possible—was to be achieved by the subordination of sectarian particularities to patriotism. But even this, savours of western materialism to Gandhi. It is like preferring the Earth to Heaven; the body to the soul; and the sacrifice of life everlasting to temporal comforts and luxuries. So he says, "God first and country next; our religions first and secular aspirations next." He praises the Ali Brothers for being Moslems "from first to last. 'If Pan-Islamism prefers the secular glory of Khalifa, the religious head, to India, it is religion and therefore good. If Moslems should side with Afghanistan against India, it would, I suppose, be the religion of the first lustre. The Hindu should prefer his cow to the Mohammadan. If Hindus fight for the restoration of the Caliphate Muhammadans may be expected to fight for the restoration of Sankaracharyas and the Brahminic polity. 'On his own showing Indians must fight for all the religions in the land—Christians of various denominations not excluded. He has mobilised the resources of superstition and the mythic mind. Such irrationalism is undoubtedly a power against which reason cannot for the moment prevail. And it will, if it can, make a hell of earth first—whatever it may do ultimately. Tagore has raised his voice against this implacable atavism; and I for one am confident that the days of this primitive rage are drawing to a close.

Signs were not wanting of a split in the Gandhi camp next Christmas. Malaviya and the Maharattas were disinclined to follow the creed

of grand negation beyond December. But the repressive policy of Government had given him a new lease of influence.

The times have moved more quickly than the reformers like Mr. Montagu; and there is a widespread feeling that further advances, political and administrative, should be made. The *Times of India* and other responsible organs of European opinion feel that the ten years' probation imposed must be revised. Without a constructive programme the defenders of constitutional methods cannot cope with Non-Co operation.

In spite of the noise and smoke affairs are involved, in I know that the situation in the villages is still safe and sound; and so long as the agricultural masses remain unaffected, the froth on the surface need not frighten the mariner. It is however essential that a good programme of rural progress should be taken up in hand. In regard to National Reconstruction, mere political reforms will not do; though they may go some way in counteracting the unrest what is wanted is an earnest endeavour at nationalising the services in India including the Military and the grant of Fiscal Autonomy. Even a twenty year programme will give the forces of Imperial Loyalty in India a good chance of defeating Gandhism; provided that a start on a really good scale is made. Lord Reading struck the right note when he threw open the Political Department to Indians, and promised to establish a local Sandhurst. No Viceroy has been able to sound the depths so accurately within so short a period after his appointment as Lord Reading has done and indicate so unerring a course. The elimination of racial discrimination from the Penal Code and large hearted schemes of Labour-Legislation are a record which ought to serve as good ammunition if only the Moderates had enough grit in them. But a comprehensive programme of the annual stages for Indianising the services within a period of 20 years must be immediately published and operated with absolute sincerity. Even the limited amount of Fiscal Autonomy now given has laid bare the absurdity of the Boycott Movement and has turned it from an attack on Manchester, which would have been popular, to one on Bombay, which can rouse no enthusiasm. The extension of autonomy to other departments will show up Gandhism in its true colours, as an invitation to the re-barbarisation of India. Subversion must be fought by a generous policy of substitution—the substitution of Indian for European Agency. If Madras has not caught the Non-Co-operation

contagion so badly as other provinces, the explanation is to be found in the liberalism of Lord Willingdon who is not reluctant to declare "that the Englishmen are here only for a time till you are able to govern the country yourselves." Dyarchy should give place to full provincial autonomy. In spite of the need for further reforms, the constitutionalists in India ought to have put up a better fight; and one feels rather disappointed at the poor figure they have cut.

Government cannot fight this movement so well as the people themselves. After all Gandhi's challenge is not only to Government but to all the Liberal and Rational forces in the country and to our entire history as shaped by the leaders from Ram Mohun Roy to Gokhale and Dr. Naïf. The intelligentsia have repudiated him without exception. The liberals and other parties of political reconstruction, the Non-Brahmins and other parties of social reconstruction bitterly resent his programme; but opposition is not organised and aggressive. This is due to lack of unity in these ranks, as also to insufficient courage and sense of civic responsibility. They are cowed down by the invidiousness of appearing as supporters of an alien Government; moreover since any grievance of any section is ground enough for Non Co-operation and since it is difficult to come across a large body of people who have no grievance of any kind, an attack on the cave of Adullam, which is continually receiving reinforcements, cannot be executed with ease. Further Ministers themselves are in most cases able to advance only under shelter of Gandhism. It is no secret that the liberals and Moderates crawl forward on their bellies under the protection of Gandhian big guns. The psychical impress of the old regime can't be wiped out in a day; people are still suspicious of Pro-Governmentism and patriotism and loyalty are still regarded as being irreconcilably antithetical. Allowance has not yet been made for the partially Swarajic character of the present regime. Perhaps there has not been sufficient time.

The constitutionalists in India are a creation of Mr. Montagu; and but for the faith in him the force which is quietly exerting a persistent pull on the Extremists would not have existed. The battle is in effect between Gandhi and Montagu, and Montagu though he may lose a few battles will win the war. By his reforms he has succeeded in breaking up the old Anti-Governmental unity of the country. But the ten years probation imposed on New India and all the weary waiting it causes is a big mistake. It is galling to

national self-respect and the people are chafing under this undeserved restraint. The disadvantages of a rigid constitution in times charged with revolutionary spirit cannot be exaggerated; and it is a pity that British traditions of elastic constitutions were departed from in this instance. India is developing with astonishing rapidity and in her present mood she will regard hope deferred as hope denied. In any case ten years of Dyarchy would ruin any constitution however robust.

#### THE BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH.

The boycott of foreign goods—by which is chiefly meant British goods—is partly a political and partly an Economic weapon. It is intended to hit the enemy and even help the industrial revival of the country. The fact that cloth in the manufacture of which India is too well advanced to need protection has been selected for attack shows that offence has been the object more than defence. As cloth touches the person of the largest number of people in the land, no better commodity could have been chosen as an advertisement for a political campaign. Much economy could be effected in its consumption without such dire distress as would be caused by, say, reduced rations of food. Manchester is peculiarly vulnerable; if fabrics of higher counts could be declared unclean, sinful or anti-shastric or whatever commands the sheepish assent of the superstitious masses, a serious loss could be inflicted on one of the chief exports of England. By limiting their cloth alike in quality and quantity Indians score a big hit; and as the conscience of the Englishman is supposed to be in the neighbourhood of his pocket, it was confidently expected that economic loss would rouse his sense of political justice. Further the Englishman is a sportsman; he has greater regard for men of action than of argument. So whatever the result of this fiscal battle, he is sure to respect us for our courage and sacrifice. Gandhi is at heart an admirer of English character as it exists on the other side of the Suez Canal. He knows how to flatter it by imitation and it must be admitted that boycott has been resorted to by different peoples at different times. If it is a fallacy, it is one countenanced by the whole world—not excepting England. During the Boer War, the English Press used to threaten Pro-Boer France with the boycott of their wines and ribbons! Whenever China declared a boycott of Japanese goods, she received encouragement and support from the Europeans. And to-day, as I am writing this article, news comes from Natal of a white move-



ment to boycott Indian stores. Not the least of the motives underlying the hatred of Germany was her economic exploitations abroad. If Germany could exploit thus, it is absurd to say that England cannot and that she has neither the capacity nor will for similar intrusions on her own account. Every argument and measure advocated in respect of Germany could be transposed so as to affect England. India is in the economic grip of England. This is not a discovery of Gandhi but the cry of all our political leaders. There is nothing to be added to the case as presented by R. C. Dutt and Gokhale; and their arguments have never been answered. Why then should not India adopt a weapon by which this exploitation can be mended or ended? To prevent the annual drain of many crores of rupees to England, India should become administratively more self-sufficient. Her tariffs must be so arranged as to repair the mischief caused by the selfish policy pursued by the British from the days of the East India Company downwards.

In the absence of fiscal autonomy, regulation by popular movements is the only remedy available. This appears to be the substratum of truth in the raging, tearing, flaming propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth organised by Gandhi. But it is overlaid by much atavistic mania; by the avowed hostility to machinery and factory production, Indian as well as foreign; and an attempt to bring about a primitive simplicity of life with its primitive economies.

Gandhi's movement in its present form must fail and is failing. It is not possible to predict its future course with certainty. No Indian desires to see it destroyed completely. Its disappearance will leave a big gap that would horrify the Moderates themselves and deprive them of their tower of indirect strength. Without the Gandhian breezes the Moderate boat would get becalmed in its own placidity. Men of large vision would therefore like it to be transformed into an agent of constructive statesmanship. The soul of the movement, its energy, enthusiasm and nationalism, and genius for organisation and self sacrifice, should be immortal but it should undergo a reincarnation. The Gandhites should fight the elections and try to enter the Councils. If they fail to have a majority they would be serviceable as a vigorous opposition; if they win, they will come under the sobering influence of responsibility. Their chances of winning are as good

as those of any other party but not overassured. Social policies will play a big part in the elections and in this field Gandhism cannot have a united following. A radical programme will alienate the orthodox; their present reactionary programme will meet with the determined hostility of the Non Brahmin hordes of the Deccan, Southern Mahratta country, and the Madras Presidency. In the interests of the country, it may be desirable that they should win, for if they come into power, their unity will split at the first attempt to realise the policies they now favour. Let Gandhi try, for instance, to convert schools into spinning factories; to introduce personal law and permit the members of each religion to be tried by their religious codes; to discourage industrialism; to allow each local body to be a law unto itself; to legalise Non-Co operation with Government and Civil Disobedience on any and every pretext; or any one of the elements of moonshine that have served him in alliance with superstitious revivals so well in opposition; down he will go with no hope of resurrection. If Gokhale had been a revolutionary and succeeded he would have given us a Government and progressive policies and workable measures. Gandhi could give nothing practical or progressive; it is only when the wheel of electoral fortune brings him into power that his hopeless impossibility will be demonstrated beyond dispute. If on the other hand power will purge his party of its crudities and absurdities, it is so much gained to the stock of national sanity, at which all will rejoice. Fellowship in the Empire is the major premise of Dominion Home Rule so far as India with her internal and external difficulties is concerned; we cannot afford to relinquish the shelter of the Empire. Subject to that, we ought to be able, without meeting with more than the natural and normal amount of friction, to work up steadily to Home Rule and the condition precedent to its full accomplishment, the Indianisation of services and especially the Military. Such a consummation, consistent with the helpful presence of a large number of Britishers here and much intimate association, on a basis of equality and mutual self respect, cultural, economic, and political, between the greatest Liberal Empire and the most ancient civilisation of the world, is what Humanity yearns for and would bless with all her heart.

# Physical Education in Indian Universities

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BY

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MONTAIGNE has well said : " Our work is not to train a soul by itself alone or a body by itself alone, but to train a *man* ; and in man, soul and body can never be separated." The physical development of the young is a subject of the highest importance, and hitherto, in modern times, (especially in India), has not received the attention it deserves. Upon the health and strength of the body depends in the first degree the happiness and efficiency in life of both man and woman, but while it has been fully recognised that, for the proper development of the mind, education was necessary, it seems to have been thought that the body would in some inexplicable way develop without any need of care. It is true that the instinct of the young has neutralised this neglect to a great extent. The constant motion in which children delight to indulge, their love of games and sports, do much to form them into healthy adults ; but even this tendency of the young, specially in girls, is too often thwarted and repressed by injudicious parents and teachers.

## " MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO "

Man has often been compared to a chain, inasmuch as he is only as strong as the weakest link. It is therefore irrational, as is too often done, to develop to an extreme degree parts already strong, neglecting those which are weak, and thus still further increasing the want of harmony already existing. In the same way, just as the mind be over-developed and the body neglected ; equally may the body be over-trained and the mind left to remain fallow. Either extreme is bad, and that man or woman will be capable of the greatest degree of use in life, in whom the equal balance is maintained.

To accomplish this equal and harmonious development it is necessary that the following points be observed :

I. All gymnastic exercises should be devised with a due regard to the structure and functions of the body, and should therefore be founded on an accurate knowledge of anatomy and physiology.

II. That every exercise should have a definite aim and be localised, so that its action be understood.

III. That every part of the body should be exercised in turn, and having due regard to

physiological function, not any one part in excess of another.

IV. That harmony of function, including suppleness, should be regarded as of equal importance with the mere development of muscular power.

V. That all exercises, while directed to the development of strength, should be kept well within the vital capacity of the individual.

## HISTORY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Now, we know from the classics and other evidence that the Greeks had a very perfect system of physical training. The Romans, to a certain extent, adopted this, but not to its entirety, nor in its best aspects. In the course of time, gymnastic exercises with them became more and more confined to the military class and the professional athlete, including the gladiator ; the natural consequence of which was the decay and degradation of national tone ; the precursor of the fall of the Holy Roman Empire. Although from time to time, men of thoughtful minds advocated the necessity of physical training, apart from military exercises, but little attention was given to gymnastics and it may be said that the modern revival did not gain much strength until the first decade of the last century when the teachings of Basedow, Saltzmann and others began to bear fruit and the great German Gymnasiarch, Jahn, popularised them in his country. About the same time, the Swedish Gymnasiarch, Ling, commenced his labours, which resulted in the establishment of the Royal Gymnastic Central Institute at Stockholm in 1813. The French Gymnasiarch, Amoros, was also working in the same field of labour, and laid the foundation of the French system. To a very great extent, although developing peculiarities of its own, it was founded on the German model.

## SYSTEMS OF PHYSICAL TRAINING

Several systems of physical training have grown up, in various countries of Europe, but for purposes of discussion they can all be brought under one or the other of the three main types represented by Swedish drill, German gymnastics and English games.

### SWEDISH DRILL

It consists largely of exercises of the arms, body and legs without apparatus. The pupils are

usually drilled in large classes and the movements are performed at the word of command. The exercises are so devised as to develop the muscular frame, improve the health and assist physical development generally. Considerable ingenuity has been exercised in their invention and their advocates claim that they are based on a thorough knowledge of anatomy and physiology. That they are ingenious, methodical and systematic every one who knows them must admit. These qualities, indeed, are apt to carry away the mind and to induce an admiration and enthusiasm for them that render one blind to those qualities that should be present in every comprehensive scheme of physical training, but are absent from Swedish Drill. Method, indeed, so far vitiates the whole course of exercises and the procedure on which they are conducted, that practically nothing is left to the initiative and originality of the pupils.

#### GERMAN GYMNASTICS

They generally consist of exercises that are performed with apparatus in a gymnasium. They include exercises on horizontal and parallel bars and vaulting horse, exercises with Indian Clubs and dumb-bells and such contests as fencing and wrestling. Some of these are performed individually, others by the pupils in classes at the word of command.

#### ENGLISH GAMES

They involve running, catching and struggling movements. Some are played with a ball, some without. Some need implements and a special ground, others can be played in any open space. Unlike Swedish drill and German gymnastics, they are not the invention of educationists, but have grown up spontaneously through the ages as the common, every-day play of the boys and youths in common. Physiological principles, therefore, have not determined their construction, although physiological principles are not thereby broken in their pursuit. They appeal mainly to the love of movements, of strife and struggle, of emulation and rivalry, of competition and co-operation, of boyish fun and high spirits that are so eminently characteristic of the youth of all ages.

#### COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

If the principles of physical training that have here been insisted on be applied to a comparative examination of the exercises, games and contests of the three systems, very marked and fundamental differences in the educational value of the

three systems are revealed. The exercises of Swedish drill mainly develop health and strength, though certain elements of skill also enter into them. They cultivate the power of quick, smooth and easy movement at the word of command. It is obvious, however, that they fail to cultivate initiative. Into these exercises enter no continuous play of intelligence, and no individual strife demanding courage, endurance, self-reliance and determination. In German gymnastics, with apparatus, courage, hardihood and skill are certainly trained, while into the contests of wrestling and fencing intelligence and spirit enter. Fencing and wrestling are thus clearly of greater educative value than exercises on horizontal and parallel bars. In the latter, once the skill is acquired the feat can be performed almost automatically. Higher still in the educational scale come social games such as football, cricket, hockey etc. As for instance in the Rugby game, all parts of the body are exercised in the various movements of running, scrummaging, struggling, kicking, and throwing and considerable skill is demanded in many of these actions. During the game there is a need of continual alertness, keen observation of the state of the game, insight into the tactics of the opponents, and a cool head, ready wit and quick decision are great factors in success. Courage, hardihood and resolution are brought into play in tackling and scrummaging, while self-control, self-denial, free, active, and unselfish co-operation, a sense of responsibility and of honour and sportsmanship are encouraged (*vide* Whelpton, Physical Education and Hygiene).

#### MILITARISM IN THE SCHOOLS OF JAPAN

That this is done no intelligent Japanese would deny; most of them would be proud of the fact. For the Japanese, though giving up the customs of the Samurai, the Warrior-Knights, have always prided themselves on having retained their spirit. *Bushido*, chivalry or the way of the warrior is more than ever a compelling force in the Japan of to-day, and no one can deny that much good is done thereby. Manly courage, virility, endurance, willingness and even eagerness to lay down one's life for the sake of the Empire, all these are excellent things and if this training has made them chauvinistic, it has at least made them public-spirited, thinking of duties as well as rights. For one thing, the games and sports tend in this direction. Though baseball and to a certain extent tennis and football have caught hold of the popular imagination (cricket is entirely out of

the running), yet national pastimes continue to be *Kendo* or fencing and *Judo* or as it is usually and incorrectly called, *Jinjitsu* or wrestling. Both of these are inherited from the Samurai times and both, in addition to physical development, are supposed to tend to keep alive the old Samurai spirit. In this they are no doubt successful. Incidentally the boy is compelled to take up one or the other in all of the schools, save primary institutions, where less strenuous exercises are given.

Furthermore, military instruction, in the hands of a regular army officer attached specially to each school, plays an important part in the curriculum. At least each boy once a week receives a thorough drilling in military tactics. In the secondary and higher schools, rifle practice is also taught, so that the average middle school boy would make, without further training, a most excellent soldier (vide Mc Govern, *Modern Japan*, 139).

#### LACK OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Calcutta University Commissioners declare quite emphatically that in India, as a whole, the physical side of education receives too little attention both in colleges and schools. Facilities for games and physical training are inadequate. Great numbers of the college students and of school boys live in unsuitable houses where conditions are very unfavourable to health. Secondary and higher education in Bengal would be a much greater boon to the community if improvements were made in those conditions of student life. Besides the games, for which some colleges in Bengal already provide some facilities, there should be systematic physical training for all students; and this physical training should be under the supervision of a highly trained Director of Physical Education. In order that the course of physical training should be adjusted to the needs of each individual it is highly necessary for every student to undergo an examination in respect of physical fitness on entrance and periodically thereafter so that a record may be kept of his physical development. Therapeutic exercises could then be prescribed for students needing special care by the Director of Physical Education. As in the American Universities generally, and as already planned at the Benares Hindu University, this arrangement should be introduced in Bengal as early as possible.

#### A DIRECTOR OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

"The Director of Physical Education and his staff should hold training classes for physical

instructors and also for teachers who, in the discharge of their ordinary duties on the staffs of colleges and schools, would find it useful to have gone through a course of training in drill and physical exercise. The training courses which the University should provide for the attending teachers should be of two kinds.

(a) a longer course of physical training for physical instructors.

(b) A shorter course for ordinary teachers to be taken in conjunction with the general course of professional training. At first it would be necessary for the Director of Physical Education and his trained instructive staff themselves to give some of the physical instruction in Colleges in Calcutta and to help in organising similar instruction in the Muffussil. The Commissioners further recommend that smaller parts of ground near each college or the hostel should be acquired to encourage games like basket ball, volley-ball, and Indian games such as *Kobadi*. These are economical of time and space, practically inexpensive after the initial purchase of apparatus and afford admirable opportunities for recreation to a large number of students. Dumb bells in our opinion are admirable. They involve a little expense, but not very much when they are bought in considerable quantities. We are aware also there is a large number of persons drowned in the ponds and rivers and canals every year, through indulging in the desirable habit of bathing, a number of persons often standing by unable to render assistance, either because they cannot swim or cannot swim in their clothing of which there is no time for them to divest themselves. It is very easy to teach boys to make a chain with their handkerchiefs quickly. By knotting the handkerchiefs and then twisting them round the wrists of the boys a chain may be formed which hardly any power can break. The connection could not be broken in an instant as when holding hands in the water; it is a thing the boys can do immediately and affords a means by which they may be able to save a number of persons from drowning. Thus swimming is a pastime and an exercise should be encouraged, not only in institutions situated in villages but, whenever possible, swimming-baths are to be erected in cities, where the students can learn to swim.

#### POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Under the shock and stress of the World War, the aims and methods of education have to be considered anew. The reconsideration, in the special conditions of the time, brings with it a

risk that we may ignore elements in education vital to the formation and maintenance of national character. A great war in which material means and technical skill are the most obvious factors in deciding the issue, inclines a nation to prize these to the exclusion of forces finally even more important, and if in our reforms we find our eyes only on material ends, we may foster among ourselves that very spirit against which we are fighting to-day. At a time when the energies of the nation are necessarily concentrated on other matters, sweeping changes are proposed without their effects being thought out. It is of the utmost importance that our higher education should not become materialistic through too narrow a regard for practical efficiency. Technical knowledge is essential to our industrial prosperity and safety, but education should be nothing less than a *preparation for the whole of life*. It should introduce the future citizens of the community, not merely to the physical structure of the world in which they live, but also to the deeper interests and problems of politics, of thought and of human life. It should acquaint them, so far as may be, with the capacities and ideals of mankind, as expressed in literature and art, with its ambitions and achievements as recorded in history and with the nature and laws of the world as interpreted by science, philosophy and religion. If we neglect physical science, we shall have a very imperfect knowledge of the world around us, but if we ignore or subordinate the other elements of knowledge, we shall cut ourselves off from aspects of life of even greater importance.

But one of the most urgent problems in our present-day system of education is how to effect a compromise or bring about a working agreement between, (a) the tendency to lay stress on increasing the technical efficiency of the young, especially those who by birth are destined in the mass to form the labouring population; and (b) the tendency to regard as of paramount importance the intellectual personality of the child and to develop it through long and careful literary, scientific and mathematical training. What is being recognised with increasing clearness of late years is the fact that there is nothing fundamentally incompatible between these two ideals. In practice the one should be dovetailed into the other. It is impossible to get over two facts: the one that a child left alone is hardly ever idle, seeking continually with its hands to give visible realisation to

some concept of its young mind and that to quote Mr. Leland "from 7 to 14 years of age a certain suppleness or knack or dexterous familiarity with a pencil or any instrument may be acquired which diminishes with succeeding years." The second fact is that "School" is only part of education, that environment and atmosphere far more than direct instruction make up educational influence (vide M. E. Sadler, *Moral Instruction*).

It may be fairly claimed for schools which have undertaken physical training that they have fostered the feeling of self-respect among their scholars. For, so soon as a boy has begun to take an interest in physical drill, in gymnastics, free and applied, in running, jumping and healthy field sports, not only does he begin to exercise self-restraint and to avoid temptations which he knows may impair his bodily fitness, but his mind is stored with interests more wholesome than those which excited his curiosity or inflamed his cupidity in his unregenerate days. Further more, to take the physiological point of view, the vigorous discipline of the body in youth undoubtedly absorbs or dissipates certain humours of the body which are fostered by a confined, sedentary, crowded city-life and which, if allowed to get the mastery, will not only injure the body, but stimulate the brain to a noisome activity and poison the very wells of morality.

#### CHASTITY AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The influence of Nietzsche, direct and indirect, has been on the side of the virtue of chastity in its modern sense. The command: "Be hard," as Nietzsche used it, was not so much an injunction to an unfeeling indifference towards others as an appeal for a more strenuous attitude towards one's self, the cultivation of a self-control able to gather up and hold in the forces of the soul for expenditure on deliberately accepted ends. "A relative chastity," he wrote, "a fundamental and wise foresight in the face of erotic things, even in thought, is a part of a fine reasonableness in life, even in richly endowed and complete natures" (vide *Der Wille Zur Macht*, p. 392). In this matter Nietzsche is a typical representative of the modern movement of the restoration of chastity to its proper place as a real and beneficial virtue, and not a mere empty convention. Such a movement cannot fail to make itself felt, for all that favours facility and luxurious softness in love affairs is quickly felt to degrade character as well to diminish the finest satisfaction in life. Because on a higher plane, only the chaste can really love.

## VIEWS OF CONTINENTAL WRITERS

"Physical purity," remarks Hans Menjago (*Die Ueberschätzung der Physischen Reinheit, Geschlecht und Gesells* Chapt. vol. ii), "was originally valued as a sign of greater strength of will and firmness of character, and it marked a rise above primitive conditions. This purity was difficult to preserve in those unsure days; it was rare and unusual. From this rarity rose the superstition of the supernatural power residing in the virgin. But this has no meaning as soon as such purity becomes general and a specially conspicuous degree of firmness of character is no longer needed to maintain it. Physical purity can only possess value when it is the result of individual strength of character and not when it is the result of compulsory rules of morality".

Konrad Holler remarks in relation to physical exercises, "The greatest advantages of physical exercises is not the development of active and passive strength of the body and its skill, but the establishment and fortification of the authority of the will over the body and its needs, so much given up to indolence. He who has learnt to endure and overcome, for the sake of a definite aim, hunger and thirst and fatigue, will be better able to withstand sexual impulses and the temptation to gratify them, when better insight and æsthetic feeling have made clear to him, as one is used to maintain authority over his body, that to yield would be injurious or disgraceful" (vide K. Holler, *Die Aufgabe der Volksschule*) Professor Schafenacker who also emphasises the importance of self-control and self-restraint, thinks a youth must bear in mind his future mission, as citizen and father of a family.

A subtle and penetrative thinker of to-day, Jules de Gaultier, writing on morals, has discussed what new internal exhibitory motives we can appeal to in replacing the old external exhibition of authority and belief which is now decayed. He answers that the state of feeling on which old faiths were based still persists. "May not," he asks, "the desire for a thing that we love and wish for beneficently replace the belief that a thing is by divine will as in the nature of things? Will not the presence of a bridle on the frenzy of instinct reveal itself as a useful attitude adopted by instinct itself for its own conservation, as a symptom of the force and health of instinct? Is not empire over oneself, the power of regulating one's acts, a mark of superiority and a motive for self-esteem? Will not this joy of

pride have the same authority in preserving the instincts as was once possessed by the religious fear and the pretended imperatives of reason." (*La dépendance de la Morale et l'indépendance des Mœurs*).

## H. G. WELLS' OPINIONS

H. G. Wells, in his *Modern Utopia*, pointing the importance of character, invokes like Jules de Gaultier the motive of pride. "Civilisation has developed far more rapidly than man has modified. Under the unnatural perfection of security, liberty, and abundance, our civilisation has attained, the normal untrained human being is disposed to excess in almost every direction; he tended to eat too much and too elaborately, to drink too much, to become lazy faster than his work can be reduced, to waste his interest upon displays, and to make love too much and too elaborately. He gets out of training and concentrates upon egoistic broodings. Our founders organised motives from all sorts of sources, but I think the chief force to give men self-control is pride.

Pride may not be the noblest thing in the soul, but it is the best king there for all that. They looked to it to keep a man, sound, and clean and sane. In this matter, as in all matters of natural desire, they held no appetite must be glutted, no appetite must have artificial whets, and also and equally that no appetite should be starved. A man must come from the table satisfied, but not replete. And in the matter of love, a straight and clean desire for a clean and straight fellow-creature was our founder's desire and ideal. They enjoined marriage between equals as a duty to the race, and they framed directions of the precisest sort to prevent the uxorious inseparableness, that connubiality, which sometimes reduces a couple of people to something jointly less than either."

The chastity that is regarded by the moralist of to-day as a virtue has its worth by no means in its abstinence. It is not in St. Theresa's words, the virtue of the tortoise which withdraws its limbs within its carapace. It is a virtue because it is a discipline in self-control, because it helps to fortify the character and will, and because it is directly favourable to the cultivation of the most beautiful, exalted and effective sexual life. So viewed, chastity may be opposed to demands of debased mediæval Catholicism, but it is in harmony with the demands of our civilised life to day, and by no means at variance with the requirements of Nature. . .

### THE DOCTRINE OF ASCETICISM IN MIDDLE AGES

The Renaissance and the rise of Humanism undoubtedly affected feeling towards asceticism and chastity of the mediæval times. On the one hand a new and ancient sanction was found for the disregard of virtues which men began to look upon as merely monkish, and on the other hand the finer spirits affected by the new movement began to realise that chastity might be better cultivated and observed by those who were free to do as they would, than by those under the compulsion of priestly authority. That is the feeling that prevails in Montaigne, and that is the idea of Rabelais when he made it only the rule of his Abbey of Thèleme: "Fay ce que vaudras" In Protestant countries of Europe the ascetic ideal of chastity was still further discredited by the Reformation Movement which was in considerable part a revolt against compulsory celibacy. "The human race would gain most," writes the celebrated Senancour "if the virtue was made less laborious. The merit would not be so great, but what is the use of an elevation which can rarely be sustained" (vide Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. vi).

### MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS IN GERMANY

The medical inspection of schools, which, of late years, has engaged the attention of the public and particularly of educators and physicians has gained a firmer basis for advancement in Germany, even in the pre-war days, in consequence of the definite attitude of the Prussian Minister of worship, education and medical affairs. Opinions for and against medical inspection have been expressed. Educationists in general were opposed to it because of the extensive demands of some physicians and hygiene specialists. If those extreme demands were granted, the inspections, periodical and regular, would infringe upon the functions of teachers and seriously imperil the orderly procedure of schools. Many justifiable requirements could be satisfied as easily by teachers, properly trained, as by physicians. The physicians generally favour the plan, because with them it involves both pecuniary gain and professional authority. Lastly, the contention has lost some of its acerbity, but it has not come to an end. In this conflict of opinions, the experience gained under conditions existing in the city of Weisbaden seemed to offer a solution. To study those conditions the Prussian Minister of Education sent two of the Councillors. Herr Brandi, of the division of schools, and Dr. Schmidtman, of the division of medicine, to

Weisbaden and forwarded their reports to all state school-officers located at the capitals of the provinces, and also to the provincial school board at Berlin.

About 10,000 pupils of the city public schools, that is practically all the children of the school-age, were subjected to a medical examination by order of the city-council of Weisbaden. The result proved that 25 per cent. were sick, physically defective or were suffering even from contagious diseases. This one examination showed the practical significance of physical inspection for the health and education of the children as well as for the interests of school authorities. In proper appreciation of this result and in pursuance of the proposition made by Councillor Kalle, whose opinion on this subject was specially worthy of consideration, the city by way of experiment appointed four temporary medical inspectors of schools. Their duty as fixed by law comprised;—

(a) The examination of all new pupils who failed to furnish a medical report on their physical condition.

(b) The keeping of medical chart as record for 1½ days for every child not in health.

(c) A medical consultation hour in every school, with

(d) Examination and inspection of classrooms with respect to furniture, light, ventilation, heating, cleanliness etc.

(e) Brief lectures to teachers on questions concerning the health of the children.

The favourable result of this preliminary arrangement led to the permanent appointment of six medical inspectors. The health certificate given to each newly admitted pupil mentions, besides name, residence, vaccination etc., the following points: general build, height, weight (each school has apparatus for measuring and weighing) chest measure, condition of chest and stomach, skin diseases, measurement of spine and limbs, eye and strength of vision, ears and hearing, mouth, nose and speech, special remarks and propositions for treatment in schools, remarks for parents and observations for teachers.

Experience in that city has not substantiated the objections raised against medical inspectors. Teachers recognise that the action of these officials promoted educational ends without interfering with order and the interest of teachers on behalf of health of children. Dr. Schmidtman, from whose reports these facts are gleaned, considered the way clear for the combined action and

mutual support of teachers and physicians on behalf of schools and civilisation dependent upon them.

A few years before the Great War, the Prussian Minister accordingly addressed an order to the various Provincial Governments regarding the introduction of regular medical examination and inspection of all educational institutions. It reads in part as follows:

"Medical inspection in the schools of Weisbaden has proved that many infirmities, disease and predisposition to disease are found in children of large cities before their entrance into schools, which on subsequent recognition are erroneously attributed to attendance at schools and which moreover imperil the health of other students. It is of interest to learn the state of health of children in rural districts by means of medical examination of a large number of children who either have been just admitted to school, or have attended for some time, so that it may be judged from the facts deduced whether permanent medical inspection be necessary in rural schools, and to what extent. The provincial school authorities are therefore ordered to select about six schools in each country (REGIERUNGS-BEZIRK) where children about to be admitted, chosen from various grades of population as far as practicable, shall be examined by the health officer, assisted by the local school inspector and teacher, to ascertain whether they may be admitted without danger to other pupils and whether they can attend all or some of the classes (this refers to dispensation from gymnastic classes etc.) without prejudice to the physical development. The inspection of class rooms from a hygienic standpoint is likewise required, and the following points are to be considered: number of children, capacity of rooms, cleanliness natural and artificial light, window-shades, temperature, ventilation and heating, condition of the air, seats and desks and other furniture. The inspection of school-houses includes that of the grounds, in regard to drinking water, drainage and vicinity of factories."

According to the opinions of the educational press in Berlin, the medical inspector is welcome as a physician. School hygiene, however, is not so much a subject of medicine as of pedagogy. Of course teachers, both at Universities and schools require a very adequate preparation in hygiene. If official physicians as such had a seat and vote in the local school boards all reasonable demands would be met and not a single physician should

assume the right of tutelage over schools and teachers.

#### STUDENTS' WELFARE SCHEME

The alarming state of the students' health in Calcutta has just been made public by the report recently issued by the Calcutta University Students' Welfare Scheme. It says that, the results so far obtained are rather disquieting as they have led us to the threshold of unpleasant discoveries which we had but too well guessed before. The great prevalence of eye defects, dental affections, broken down constitution, deafness, enlarged spleen, headache and many other disorders merely indicate that prompt steps should be taken. According to this report, only 33 per cent. of the students are free from defects and about 67 per cent. are defective in some way or other. This means that two thirds of the student population have got some disorders to be attended to. It is high time that some steps are taken by the Government and the public to remedy this disastrous state of affairs.

#### THE UTILITY OF PUBLIC PLAY-GROUNDS

About 1890, public-spirited men and women in Germany, incited by reports of the health officers and the advice of physicians generally, came to the conclusion that city-parks may be utilised in a better way than had been the case, by being, either entirely or partially, given over to the children. Public play-grounds might be established in the parks and other available spaces set apart for the same purpose. They were aware of the desirability of offering school children opportunities to enjoy open air and wholesome surroundings in park-proves in summer vacation and at the same time of protecting them from evil influences of street-life and adding to their store of knowledge by awakening their power of observing natural objects and phenomena. The last, but by no means the least, object in view was to arrange for public games which would facilitate sociability and a brotherly spirit among all classes of city children. The city fathers were petitioned to designate suitable parts of the city-parks for the purpose, particularly parks which were centrally located or not too far from school-houses. These requests were readily granted and the Park Commissioners exhibited laudable zeal in selecting pretty, shady and otherwise desirable places. Societies were formed to procure the necessary funds to buy loads of sands for the little ones, balls, bats, foot-balls, tennis-screens and other things for games of all kinds and



gymnastic apparatus. Teachers were employed to guide the children in their games, suggest new ones, decide disputes, answer questions with regard to things new to the children and make themselves generally useful without becoming oppressive by exercising school authority. These teachers were paid at first by the association, but later, when beneficent results became apparent, the city-school authorities assumed the payment of salaries of teachers thus engaged in vacation and on holidays. Great care was taken in the selection of suitable persons, for not every teacher is able to act as "play-fellow" and guide.

The idea found active support of influential men such as members of Parliament, of Reichstag, of State Legislatures and city councils, provincial, county and city officials, professional men, specially physicians and private donations were willingly made. The press favoured it heartily. The movement spread rapidly and to-day there is scarcely a city in Germany and other countries of Central Europe in which children's public play-grounds are not arranged in prominent and easily accessible parts of the parks. Naturally the proximity of a park to a school or a group of schools brought the children of that locality together and teachers who are specially gifted in managing children—born organisers—were secured to be on the spot for certain hours of the day and do the best their ingenuity suggested. The methodical way of doing things in Germany and the fact that no person there can draw a salary from the public-exchequer unless he have a diploma attesting to the fact that he has had the requisite preparation for the work to be performed, induced the authorities to prepare certain teachers specially for the purpose.

The idea of thus aiding children in the enjoyment of their summer vacation and holidays and adding to their happiness has spread into other countries, notably Austria, Hungary, Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland, where similar efforts are now being made with varying success. In Sweden, Austria and Switzerland, particularly the public play-grounds are becoming very popular. Everywhere in these countries the German manner of promoting the idea has been adopted i. e., utilising public parks and preparing suitable teacher.

In the United States of America, the idea has also found fertile soil, especially in cities having many tenement houses—such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. But here "the movement is a social endeavour to provide, for children

who cannot otherwise obtain them, essential advantages that parents of intelligence and means prefer themselves to control, in vacations, and do not desire from public sources." Accordingly the vacation-schools have supplemented conventional public education by securing a much greater amount of muscular activity; by encouraging a much greater degree, of self expression, self-reliance and initiative; by presenting the more refining possibilities of environment, so attractively as to mould tastes in choosing recreations and occupations. To secure these objects, nature-study, manual and art work, and physical exercise are offered under conditions of the greatest freedom compatible with efficiency and, when possible, carried on in the open air.

When will the Indians learn to utilise the vast natural resources of the country not only for the pecuniary benefit but to give pure and healthy enjoyment to their children by adopting such methods?

## MY NATIVE LAND

By

PRAPHULLA KUMAR DAS GUPTA, M.A.

(A prose translation of D. L. Roy's "Shajahan.")

1. The world is teeming with riches, poison and flowers. In it there is a land, the beautifullest of all. She is made of dreams and hedged in by remembrance. Nowhere wilt thou find her peer—the mistress of the earth. She is my native land, Oh my native land!

2. The sun, the moon, the stars and the planets—where are these so brightest? Where does lightning play so with the dark clouds? We sleep amidst the melody of her birds and wake up with the same sweet strain. Nowhere wilt thou...

3. Birds sing in every bower, they flock on every twig. The humming bees fly from flower to flower whence they drink honey, and then they slumber thereon. Nowhere wilt thou...

4. Where are rivers so gentle, or hills so smoky? Where do the green fields meet the welkin thus? Or where waves the breeze so lovingly over the corns? Where wilt thou...

5. Mothers' care and brothers' love—where are these so sweet? I take thy hallowed feast, Oh mother! o'er my breast. Born in this land, I pray, let me die on this sacred soil. Nowhere wilt thou...

# The Study of the British Commonwealth

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BY MR. R. COUPLAND, M. A.

*Fellow of All Souls College & Beit Professor of Colonial History.*

**B**EFORE a University audience \* it is hardly necessary to state a case for the scientific study of politics. The purpose of this lecture is to suggest the special opportunities for such study which are offered to us as citizens of the British Commonwealth, and to plead that these opportunities should not be neglected at Oxford, especially with regard to the two paramount political problems of our time.

The first of these problems is the problem of nationality—the problem which arises from the fact that a nation (whatever it is) is not, as current usage of the term might seem to imply, the same thing as a state. A whole course of lectures might well be devoted to this fascinating theme. But I must content myself to-day with emphasizing the vastly important part nationality is playing in the modern world. Though it only came to the forefront of European politics in the nineteenth century, its reactions were felt all over Europe and beyond before the century closed. The causes of the War were rooted in it. And to-day nationality, in one shape or another, is the most powerful and the most troublesome element in the whole complex of world politics. The demon of an overweening and perverted nationalism has not been wholly exorcized by the War, although all Europe is suffering from its fruits and the nation which most indulged it is paying the penalty in defeat and humiliation and poverty. Another nation in recovering its body has apparently lost its head. A group of nations are learning that the necessity of disrupting an ill-organized multinational state does not in itself prove the validity of the shallow nineteenth century doctrine that ideally all states should be unnational. And, finally, this doctrine, under its new title of national self-determination, declaring that every nation has a positive right to be a state, has given a new impetus to nationalist movements not in Europe only but all over the world. It is manifest, indeed, that there can be little peace or prosperity on earth until certain truths concerning nationality are understood—that, for example, nations, like men, should strive to

cherish and enrich their individuality, not for themselves alone, but in order to make their contribution to the common treasure of humanity that, in Mazzini's noble phrase, 'a nation is a living task, her life is not her own'; that somehow, in the end, the ideal of national freedom must be harmonized with the ideal of international unity.

For the study of questions such as these there exists no other political community comparable with the British Commonwealth in the quantity or diversity of the materials it contains. It is a great miscellany of nations, big and little, old and young. In some the spirit of nationality is satisfied and at peace. In others it is restless, rebellious, disruptive. At this moment the Commonwealth is alive with nationalist movements of varying character and intensity—right at its centre in Ireland, further afield in India and South Africa, and throughout that Near-Eastern border-country, just within or just without its orbit, in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia. On the happy issue of these movements how much depends! For the Commonwealth, in one of its two most vital aspects, is nothing else than an attempt, on a wider scale than anything that has preceded it, to solve that insistent problem of nationality; an endeavour to keep a motley company of nations living contentedly together both in freedom and in unity; a unique experiment in international relations. If it continues to succeed, as on the whole it has so far succeeded, it may do much to save mankind by its experience and example. If it fails, if the bond of a common tradition and a common purpose is snapped by the weight of narrower interests or less generous ideals, if it splits into a chaos of alien sovereignties, the hope of the world will be dimmed. If the British League of Nations dies, what other League can live?

Because of its general importance, then, in the life of the world to-day, and because of the particular part it has played, and has yet to play, in the destiny of the British Commonwealth, the study of nationality, and especially of our own British dealings with it, should form, I contend, an essential part in the work of every British student of history and politics. And nowhere, surely, could this study be more appropriately pursued than here at Oxford, itself an academic

\* Inaugural address delivered recently before the University of Oxford. The complete text of this lecture can be obtained from the Oxford Press, Bombay and Madras.

miniature of the Commonwealth, where the youth of all its nations meet in the brotherhood of learning. A thorough understanding of nationality, I suggest, should be the hall-mark of every twentieth-century Oxford historian. And while he should not by any means neglect its history in the world at large, he should make his special contribution to the general knowledge of the subject by studying and expounding the experience of the British Commonwealth. He should be familiar, first of all, with the history of nationality in the British Isles—the growth of a national consciousness in the four nations they contain, the inevitable development of the problem of adjusting their mutual relations, the international conflict, its happy issue in Wales and Scotland, its tragic issue in Ireland. He should be acquainted, secondly, with the history of the same problem in Canada—where the juxtaposition of a conquered Celtic Roman Catholic population in the valley of the St. Lawrence and an immigrant Anglo-Saxon Protestant population in its *hinterland* created a situation so closely analogous at the outset to that of Ireland, but so fortunately and so instructively different in its development—and in South Africa, where the national schism, opened so needlessly by the Great Trek (one of the unwritten epics of nationality, by the way), was only closed again when the second and third generation had endured its heritage of strife and waste and death. Thirdly, he should have carefully studied the growth of what may be called Dominion nationality—how the four groups of contiguous colonies in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, divided at first either by nationality like England and Scotland, or by a jealous ‘particularism’ like the thirteen American States, gradually yielded to the forces, economic and political, which made for unity; how sooner, as in the case of New Zealand, or later, as in that of South Africa, the barriers were broken down and each group was welded together in a single constitutional frame, more loosely or more tightly as the case might be; how this political unification stimulated and quickened the process which, despite differences and disputes, had been silently going on all the time—the development of an inward unity, of which political unity was but the outward expression; a sense of common devotion to the land they had made their home; a consciousness of the common customs and common interests which they shared as dwellers in one country, of something which made all who lived in Canada Can—whether they were of

French or British blood, and all who lived in South Africa South Africans, whether they spoke Dutch or English; and, finally, as time went on, the gathering of common memories and the growth of a common purpose, culminating in the knowledge which all alike brought back with them from the common ordeal of war that, to quote from Renan’s famous definition of a nation, they had done great things together and desired to do more of them.

The historian who has mastered this material will be able to throw some light on those difficult questions: What is a nation? and What is nationality? He will be able, too, to make the meaning of our Commonwealth of Nations a little clearer to those of his fellow citizens who are puzzled by the emphasis which Overseas statesmen have recently been laying on the ‘national status’ of the Dominions. He may even temper the not unnatural bewilderment with which foreign observers contemplate so queer a spectacle, for instance, as a brisk dispute between Dominion and United Kingdom delegates in the Assembly of the League of Nations. But that is not all. Nationalism is a new thing in the Dominions. It has yet to run its course. We cannot certainly foretell, however strong our belief may be, what spirit will inform it when it reaches its full power—the spirit of Mazzini or another’s. But this at least is certain. If this great society of nations is to continue—its younger partners, remember, growing in those wide spaces so much faster than the Motherland, that even in our own day their population may easily outstrip our own—there is nothing we can do at Oxford to promote that end more effectively than to foster a better knowledge, of the history of the Dominions in this country, and thereby a better understanding of their character, their circumstances, and their ideals. \* \* \* \*

There is nothing revolutionary in the claim that the problem of nationality in the Dominions should not be overlooked by students of history and politics at Oxford. It is merely an extension of a field already occupied. But I would go further. I would plead that no student of history and politics ought to leave this University without some knowledge of the record and the function of the British Commonwealth in Asia and in other parts of Africa than the Dominion in the South. For the second of the two transcendent political problems of our time is the Colour Problem. Behind the question of international relations looms the more difficult and no less insistent question of inter-racial

relations. The world is one. Asia shared with Europe in the War: and Europe cannot live apart from her in peace. India, China, Japan, are members, indeed, of the League of Nations; but are we not apt to regard the work of the League as primarily an effort to establish harmony between the white peoples of the world? And what if, while we labour at this task, old familiar evils of ignorance and prejudice, of ruthless greed and arrogant ascendancy, are gathering strength beyond our limited horizon till, some far-off day, we wake to find ourselves confronted with another seemingly inevitable conflict, but this time a conflict of colour more terribly primitive in its impulses, more inexorable, more destructive than any of its predecessors, the authentic Armageddon, stamping out in blood and ruin the last hope of civilization? I am not trying, to make any one's flesh creep—there is nothing, indeed, so hateful as thoughtless scaremongering on this theme—but unthinkable as such a conflict may seem, it is idle to suppose it could not happen. It might well happen if the peoples of the West allowed themselves to be convinced by dogmatic biologists that the ultimate relations between the white and coloured races can only be a fight to the death for the survival of the fittest, or by cynics and materialists that a strong or civilized people can have no other genuine object in its dealings with a weak or backward people than to exploit it solely for its selfish gain. And it might well happen if the wisdom of Japan were beguiled by militarist dreams which have lost (let us hope) their charm in Europe and were perverted by those evil counsellors who tell her, in language now so bitterly familiar in the West, that 'to possess the Empire of the Pacific is to be master of the world'. And again it might well happen if Mr. Gandhi or his disciples could persuade the untutored multitudes of India that the East cannot profit by contact with the West, and that all Britain has done for their motherland has been Satan's doing. It is safe, I hope, to prophesy that none of these hypotheses will be fulfilled; but even without them is it not conceivable that the world may drift into a race-schism through mere indifference and neglect? Nature and circumstance have made the races different in more than in colour—different in religion, in philosophy, in experience and tradition and ideals; and these differences cannot be harmonized simply by wishing it so. They must be studied: they must, as far as possible, be understood.

We need not look far afield for the materials of study. The British Commonwealth, it has been well said, is a microcosm of the world. It cuts across the strata of humanity. It includes a part of every continent and a section of all the great families of mankind. As in the question of nationality, therefore, so in the question of colour, but on an even wider and more impressive scale, it presents the essential problems in actual operation; and in this field, as in the other, its long experience has carried it some way, at any rate, towards their solution. Roughly, perhaps, and tentatively as yet, it bridges the gulf between Europe and Asia. Within its bounds more than three hundred million Asiatics are living side by side with Europeans. It may not be the happiest of happy families. Discontents, justifiable or otherwise, may be at work beneath the surface whose outcome cannot be foreseen. But the fact is there. These Asiatics and Europeans are at this hour living side by side, fellow-members of one political society, owning allegiance to a single Crown. And if this fact endures, if, as the years go by, the bridge across the gulf consolidates, if the political association becomes in time a genuine comradeship, yoking Europe and Asia in free service for their common weal, surely the longest and hardest stage will have been accomplished in the long hard march towards the brotherhood of man. Is it anything less, then, than the duty of the rising generation to inform themselves by what process of history and under what conditions this fact has come about? And ought not a British University to help them to fulfil it?

I am sure, at any rate, that my friend, the Reader in Indian History—who will pardon, I know, this momentary intrusion of mine into the field in which he labours with such infectious zeal—will agree with me in wishing that the history of British rule in India were more generally and more fully studied here, and not only or mainly the military and, in its outward form alone, the constitutional history, but rather the development of the ideas which have inspired the British Raj, and especially the growth of a sense of responsibility towards the Indian people, and its effect on public opinion in Britain and on British administration in India.

The origin of this sense of responsibility may be found, I suppose, in that sudden renaissance of idealism with which the British people, on the morrow of the most damaging and humiliating disaster in their history, awoke from the long, lethargy of the eighteenth century. Defeat may be a better moral tonic than victory, and in that

interesting decade between the wars of the American and French Revolutions men like Burke and Wilberforce brought into politics the same new spirit which Wesley and Whitefield had brought into religion. Modern students of Warren Hastings's career may fairly point to exaggeration and injustice in Burke's advocacy of Indian grievances: but let it be remembered that he was rousing his countrymen, by necessarily violent means perhaps, to their first faint perception of the moral issues at stake in the Government of India. Re-read his speeches of 1783 and 1785, and you will increase—if that is possible at Oxford—your reverence for that great political teacher. Note how clearly he recognizes the magnitude of our task in India, the immensity of its population, and the difficulty and delicacy of the situation that arises from the intrusion of Europe into that ancient civilization with its 'venerable priesthood, its nobility of a great antiquity and renown', its merchants and bankers, its manufacturers and mechanics, and its 'millions of diligent tillers of the earth'; the whole body 'infinitely diversified by manners, by religion, by hereditary employment, through all their possible combinations'. Note, too, how wisely he emphasizes the danger of entrusting to the same men the functions of Government and the interests of trade: and how clearly he affirms the cardinal principle that the powers and privileges granted to his countrymen in India ought all to be exercised for the ultimate benefit of the Indian people and are "all in the strictest sense a trust"—the first public enunciation, I take it, of the modern doctrine of trusteeship. And note, finally, his stern reproof of the ignorance and apathy of Parliament. 'Let us do what we please to put India from our thoughts, we can do nothing to separate it from our public interest and our national reputation.'

It would be no less educative, surely, than interesting to watch the influence of this idea of trusteeship, once Burke had forced it on the British conscience, on the subsequent development of public opinion and official conduct—on Parliament attempts to reform the administration of the East India Company, on the expansion of British rule, on the interpretation and the handling of the crisis of 1857 and the question of transferring political control entirely to the Crown, on the policy of a Cobden on the one hand, and a Disraeli on the other, and on the methods and the purpose of the greatest bureaucracy, to judge it not merely by the multitude

of human beings in its charge, that the world has ever known.

Should our student of the Commonwealth stop there, for fear of coming too close abreast of contemporary politics and treading controversial ground? Or should he press on to the inauguration of the new regime in India? I think he will answer that question for himself. I think, if he studies the steady permeation of British rule in India, from Burke's day onwards, by the ideal Burke proclaimed, he will be caught up by the glamour of the story and will not rest, until, be it in work time or in leisure, he has read its chapter and watched, with the anxious interest only his previous study could give him, the initiation of the policy of extending to the people of India the terms of political freedom or, as I would rather put it, of political responsibility, which the people of Britain have fashioned, not without dust and heat, from the lessons of a long experience. He may judge it either way. He may think it an untimely abandonment of our trust or the inception of its last, its hardest, its crowning stage. But anyhow he will be able to contribute some measure of knowledge and thought—academic, it may be, and uninformed by personal experience of India, but better, surely, than blank ignorance and indifference—to the formation of the public opinion of his time on what may prove to be the most decisive issue of this century for the good or ill of mankind as a whole.

The Colour Problem is most urgent and most critical in Asia. It is most difficult and morally most dangerous in Africa; and for present purposes I mean by Africa that great Equatorial belt between the Sahara and the Zambesi—that vast primeval country, the birthplace, seemingly, of our race, yet to the great majority of men a dark, unknown, mysterious land; a land of fabulous wealth from the days when Europe whispered of Ophir and Monomatapa to the days when Europe finds itself dependent on its palm-oil and its rubber and the countless other products of its teeming soil; a land which has always tempted the explorer since, four centuries before our era, Hanno set sail from Carthage, and, passing the Pillars of Hercules and Verde, came at last to the Gulf of Guinea and there beheld those hairy, savage men and women whom his interpreters told him were 'gorillas'; the chosen land of glorious incredible romance, the home of the blameless Ethiopians who feasted with the gods, of those battles in the

• dawn between the pygmies and the cranes, of Presbyter John, of King Solomon's Mines; a land of tropical extremes where Nature nourishes and kills so easily, where white men rise so high and fall so low, where the vileness in *Heart of Darkness* and the nobility in *Multitude and Solitude* can both be true to life; the homeland, first and last, of that swarming, fecund negro race, the most backward among the great races of mankind, ignorant, superstitious, brutal, if you will, but, like children, simple, happy, docile, and not without their special gifts of mind any body . . . Now it happens that wider area of this land and a greater number of its peoples are included in the British Commonwealth than in any other political community. It falls to us, therefore, its European members, by what we do or leave undone, to take the predominant, indeed the decisive, part in settling, one way or another, the African question.\* For there is an African question. The world (I repeat the truism) is one. None of its peoples can live in isolation. And somehow or other, at the risk of disaster to all the world, no less ruinous because it might be primarily a moral disaster, the life of Africa, like that of Asia, must be harmonized with the life of the other continents. Here too, moreover, the course taken in the early years of this new age will probably determine the issue for centuries to come. Is it importunate to ask, then, that the rising generation should find among their busy hours a space in which to study what we have done in Africa and so to fit themselves to decide—for it will rest with them—what we shall do in Africa?

That some such study should be pursued, and preferably in the sober, impartial atmosphere of a University, seems to me imperative if only to counteract the increasing vogue of certain dangerous half truths. There is a type of doctrinaire, who, when confronted with that question, What have we done in Africa? is ready with a short reply. 'Nothing but harm', he will tell you; and if asked to enlarge on this assertion he narrates the story of British intercourse with Africa in two grim chapters. Chapter I is called 'The Slave-Trade'. It is a ghastly picture of seventeenth and eighteenth century brutality—the ruthless man-hunt on the Guinea coast—the horrors of the 'Middle Passage'—the sale of the human cargo in 'parcels' at the West Indian or North American ports, 'choice men' fetching £20 and upwards a head, the sick or feeble or 'much abused' lumped with little children and superfluous women and sold of cheap as 'refuse'—and at

home in comfortable England British merchant-battering on the trade and complacently potestating that for this negroid order of creation, so little higher than the animals, enslavement by a civilized race is positively a moral and a physical gain. And Chapter II is scarcely less appalling. Its title is 'Economic Imperialism'; and it displays the greed of Europe, with Britain to the fore, operating as injuriously in the nineteenth as in the eighteenth century on the welfare of Africa. Now and again its cruelty is naked and unashamed: and if as a rule it is outwardly less brutal and wears the disguise of a peaceful and mutually advantageous trade, its effects on the body and soul of the negro are no less destructive than the Slave trade itself. Lawless adventurers are soon nose down along the path to wealth which the now forbidden slave-traders had trodden. Instead of the chain and the whip, the white man brings the black man now, in exchange for his little store of rubber or ivory or gold, a gun and powder with which to kill his fellows and poisonous 'Trade Spirits' with which to madden and to rot himself.\* And, presently, as the century draws on, the Governments of Europe are seen feverishly competing to include as much as they can of this rich field within their own exclusive control, till at last all Central Africa is 'partitioned' among them, the largest share falling, as in the Slave Trade, to ourselves.

It is a terrible story, and, as far as it goes, it is true. But I would like our hypothetical student not to take it as he finds it in propagandist literature, but to build it up for himself from the materials available. And of these there are plenty, even though the *arcana imperii* of recent years are locked up in the Colonial Office—the earlier official documents in the Record Office, Parliamentary Papers and Debates, Reports of Public Commissions and Private Committees, records of missionary societies, autobiographies, letters, newspapers, and so forth. From these let him peruse that half true story, not skimming too lightly over any of the black spots on its pages. But let him also put together the other half of the truth. Let him study in Africa as in India the growth of the doctrine of trusteeship.

The starting-point will be the same: for, at the same time as Burke was declaring the new purpose of British rule in India, William Wilberforce, that rare example of the saint in politics, was bringing the question of the abolition of the Slave Trade, which had been agitated for some

time past in humanitarian circles and especially in the Society of Friends, to the forefront of the political stage, forcing it by his eloquence, his industry, his almost irresistible sincerity, on the uneasy conscience of the House of Commons, and rallying to its support not only the warm heart of Fox but also the cool head of his intimate friend, the young Prime Minister himself. It was a little more than seven years since Burke had spoken in Parliament of Britain's 'trust' in India when Pitt asserted the same claim for Africa in a speech which such expert critics as Fox and Grey and Windham declared to be 'one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard.' You remember the historic scene? The debate had been long drawn out and the night was far gone when Pitt began his closing speech. As he reached his peroration the first rays of an April dawn shone through the windows of the House. It gave the orator a noble metaphor with which to point his ending. If they listened to the voice of reason and duty, he told the Commons, if, by a prompt and total abolition of the Slave Trade, they made atonement for their long and cruel injustice towards Africa, if they allowed her the opportunity and the hope of attaining to the same blessings which they themselves, under Providence, enjoyed, then they might live to see the dawn of civilization breaking over Africa, one day to illumine and invigorate that immense continent from end to end.

*Nos . . . primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis ;  
illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.*

\* The sun was to rise many times over Westminster before this call was answered: The French Revolution and the European War thrust the question of Abolition into the background of men's minds, and of Pitt's among them. But from May 1, 1807, as far as British subjects throughout the world were concerned, the Slave Trade was 'utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful' by Act of Parliament. Twenty-six years later, as you know, Slavery itself was suppressed in every part of the British Commonwealth.

Our student will discover, then, that the first chapter of the British record in Africa closes, and the second chapter opens, with a moral revolution. British public opinion has acknowledged that it lies not in man's prerogative to pronounce the curse of Canaan. The doctrine that the black race was created to be the 'living implements' of labour for the white is dead. The doctrine that the white race has a duty towards the black has been born. And a tradition has been created of

which not only a handful of humanitarians but the rank and file of the British people are proud. \* \* \*

And so the student will come again to the threshold of our own age: and on the African as on the Asiatic question he will find new ideas awakened by the War, or rather, old ideas re-animated, crystallized, expanded. He will hear men saying that we stand in Africa as we stood in India generations back; that a similar task, though more difficult perhaps and more protracted, awaits us there; that the time is coming when all British Central Africa will be consolidated like the Indian Empire in one great political system, with an African Civil Service ranking in position and prestige and opportunity with the Indian Civil Service and attracting to its ranks that British genius for administrative tutelage which India, as we hope, will cease progressively to need. And may I express a wish, in passing, that Oxford, which takes a notable part in the preliminary training of cadets for the Indian, Egyptian, and Sudanese Civil Services, might also be associated, in some degree, with the Colonial Civil Service? But more important than the formulation of these schemes of political organization is the acceptance by the Great Powers of the world of a new principle by which the Government of backward peoples is henceforth to be controlled—the principle of the Mandate. A new principle, did I say? A principle, surely, as old as the days of Burke and Wilberforce. For the principle of the Mandate is simply the doctrine of trusteeship—the doctrine that implies (1) that a native territory must not be regarded as the private estate of its European rulers; that the economic development of it is undertaken for the benefit of the world at large; and therefore that the subjects of other States shall be as free to share in its development and trade as the subjects of the ruling State—i.e. the principle of the Open Door: (2) that the natives, on their part, must not be regarded as so much labour-power for their rulers' plantations, nor as so much 'cannon-fodder' for their armies, nor as so many clients for their liquor-trade; but in spirit, if not yet in political capacities and duties, their fellow-citizens, as free as they themselves to traffic in their property or labour; and (3) that not only should their moral and material interests be upheld against all other interests that conflict with them, but positive efforts should be made to raise them by wise education and in other ways to a higher and wider life. And since on all these heads, with one or two exceptions, with hesitations and

backslidings here and there, British ministers and British officials have observed the doctrine, Britain can claim to have been a Mandatory State for many years past.

But if the doctrine of trusteeship is no new thing in the British Commonwealth, its solemn affirmation in the Treaty of Versailles and its detailed exposition in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the texts of the Mandates is a new and a great thing—on paper. How much it will mean in practice depends primarily on us. We first upheld the doctrine, we must lead the way in its application, more consciously and resolutely now, at this great turning-point in history, than ever before. That is why, I repeat, it seems to me essential that the rising generation should not entirely neglect to study its development and so to grasp its importance and its difficulty. It is difficult, so difficult indeed, that Mr. Worldlywise-man may be tempted to warn us that it is really not a practical proposition among imperfect men in this workaday world, and that nothing will prevent the strong from pushing the weak against the wall. Well, we have our answer to that. It was no unpractical dreamer, inexperienced in realities, who said that 'the essential points of a sound Imperial policy admit of being embodied in this one statement, that . . . our relations with the various races who are subjects of the

King of England should be founded on the granite rock of the Christian code.' Those words were written by Lord Cromer.

I have gone far afield and brought some strange figures on to our academic stage—*habitués* from the St. Lawrence, Boers from the *veld*, practitioners of dyarchy from India, negroes from the Tropics. And if I ask that Oxford should make itself more familiar with these and others like them and with the problems they represent, it is because they are fellow-members with us in one Commonwealth and because, if for lack of scientific preparation we fail to solve those problems, this Commonwealth will fail to fulfil the great purpose for which it exists. A policy of excluding its outer peoples from our field of education would seem to me to be analogous to the policy, often advocated but never, happily, with success, of withdrawing our political activities within the limits of these islands, of bidding our kinsmen overseas to break away and live alone, of abandoning Asia and Africa to their fate. And I would dismiss the thought of such a policy in the spirit in which Burke dismissed the thought of leaving India: 'There we are; there we are placed by the Sovereign Disposer; and we must do the best we can in our situation. The situation of man is the preceptor of his duty.'

## ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN POLITY

BY

T. R. SESHIA IYENGAR, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R. HIST. S.

IT would be impossible within the limits allowed for this article to attempt even in outline any history of the evolution of political institutions in South India in early times. All that is possible to accomplish here is to pass in rapid review the history of South Indian polity during one most remarkable but none the less forgotten period of its development. The early centuries of the Christian era form an important landmark in the development of political institutions of the peoples of peninsular India. An attempt will be made to deal with the political thought of ancient South India during the early centuries of the Christian era as exhibited in ancient Sangam works, and to present a picture, however dim and shadowy, of the state and its duties during the period under review. It may also be

unhesitatingly affirmed that the political organisation portrayed in these Sangam works was not simply an ideal sought after by the thinkers and writers of the day but also an actual achievement. That there was phenomenal progress achieved in the field of polity, that the Government in that distant age was not an undiluted, unmitigated despotism but was subject to checks and counter-checks, that the ancient monarch carried on the Government in consonance with high ideals and lofty principles, that he invariably sought the advice of a council of elders and certain popular assemblies and that he had a great regard for public opinion which reigned as supreme as the law guarded by himself, these indisputable facts will, it is hoped, be apparent from a perusal of this article.



The reputed works of the third Sangam like Ahananuru, Purananuru, Silappathikaram, Manerulkalai, Kalethokai, the Ten Idylls, Purapurulrenbargalai, and the Kural which are now acknowledged by the generality of scholars to have belonged to the period under review throw much interesting light upon the polity of this time.

#### THE WORD STATE

According to Valluvar, the constituent elements of a State are the minister, people, resources, allies, army, and fortresses. That is a great country which never fails in its need of harvest, which is the abode of sages, which attracts men to itself by the greatness of its wealth and which yields abundantly being free from pests, which is free from famines and plagues, and which is safe from the invasions of enemies. The country which has known no devastation at the hands of its foes and which, even should it suffer any, would not bathe one whit in its yield will be called a jewel among the countries of the world. The waters of the surface, the waters that flow underground, rainwater, well situated mountains, strong fortifications, these are indispensable to every country. The nation, which is not divided into warring sects, which is free from murderous anarchists and which has no traitors within its bosom to run it, is truly great.

#### FORTRESSES

Fortresses are helpful not only to the weak who think only of their defence but also to the strong and powerful. Water courses, deserts, mountains, thick jungles—all these constitute various kinds of defensive barriers. Height, thickness, impregnability, these are the requisites that science demands of fortresses. That is the best fortress which is venerable in very few places, which is spacious and capable of breaking the assaults of those that attempt to take it, which affords facility of defence for the garrison, which is filled with stores of every kind, which is garrisoned by men that will make a brave defence, which cannot be reduced by a regular siege, by storm or even by mining, which has been rendered impregnable by works of various kinds and which enables the defenders to fell down their adversaries. The poet Mulamkirar of Aiyur inferring to the different parts of a fortification says, 'there was first of all a most deep that it reached down to the abodes of demons; this was crowned with turrets from which the archers shot forth their arrows; there was an impervious wood that surrounded small forts at every angle.'

#### THE PRINCE

Regarding the qualifications of the prince, we are told that he must have courage, liberality, wisdom, energy, alertness, learning, and decision. He should not fail in virtue, should not sin against the laws of valour, should know how to develop the resources of his kingdom, how to enrich his treasury, to preserve his wealth, and spend it worthily. He should be accessible to all his subjects and be never harsh of word. He should have the virtue to bear with words that are bitter to the ear. Parsimony, over-confidence, and excessive armour, these are the faults which a prince should avoid. The ideals that a king should place before himself are also described. He should give with grace and rule with love. He must administer impartial justice and consult the men of law. The prince shall devote himself assiduously to works that are commended by the wise. If he neglects them, he will suffer in all his future births. Men look up to the sceptre of the prince for protection. His sceptre is the mainstay of the Brahmans and of righteousness. In the hand of the prince who wields the sceptre—in accordance with the law, seasonal rains and rich harvests have their home. It is not the lance but the sceptre that brings victory to the prince. The prince who is not easy of access, who judges not causes with care will fall from his place and perish even when he has no enemy. In poem 35, Purananuru, the poet says addressing the king, 'Be easy of access at fitting time as though the lord of justice sat to hear and decree right. Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will: Kings get the blame whether rains fail or flow copiously and lack the praise: such is the usage of the world.' The prince that guards his subjects from enemies both within and without may punish them when they go wrong. It is not a blemish but his duty. Punishing the wicked with death is like the removing of weeds from the cornfield. It is pleasing to note that these high ideals were completely realised. When Pandiyan Neduncheleyan was told by pilgrims that some North Indian princes insulted him and other Tamil princes, he is reported to have exclaimed 'I shall defeat those princes and make them carry stones; otherwise let me be known as the king who tyrannised over his subjects.' Thus oppression of the people by a monarch was considered most abominable in those days and unworthy of the ancient Tamil rulers. The prowess of the king in war, his immutable justice and accessibility,

his protecting hand over the poor, his liberality and piety, are all set forth in Puranuru and Purapurulvenbamalai.

#### EVILS OF WEAK MONARCHY.

The author of the Kural is aware of the dangers of incompetence on the part of the monarch. The sovereignty of the prince who does not oversee the administration everyday and remove the irregularities will wear day by day. The evils of tyranny have not escaped the penetrating eye of the immortal author of the Kural. The prince who oppresses his subjects and does iniquity is worse than an assassin. The thoughtless prince whose rule swerves from the ways of justice will lose his kingdom and his substance. We know for instance, from Silappathikaram, the tragic end of Pandiyan Neduncheleyan when he realised that he had unjustly put to death Kovalan. The tears of those groaning under oppression wear away the prosperity of the prince. Unjust rule darkens the glory of the prince. Repression of the rich, forgetfulness by the Brahman of his science, failure of the heavens to send showers in their season, premature and abrupt close of the reign, these are the characteristics of tyranny.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE KING.

The king's position in the early centuries of the Christian era was hereditary. He was the head of society. He was the supreme priest, the first to offer sacrifices when seasons fail and the supreme commander. He was also the supreme judge in civil and criminal cases. We have interesting details as regards the administration of justice in that remote age. A thief arrested with stolen property was beheaded. A man caught in the act of adultery was killed. Justice was administered free of charge to suitors. There were special officers who performed the duties of judges. Crimes were rare since punishments were very severe. Though the king was the repository of the executive and judicial powers, these powers were harmoniously combined in him. He carried out the law which had been formulated by the great men who had gone before him. His function was to administer, not to make the law. The king was not an autocrat but a constitutional ruler.

#### THE MINISTER

As the eyes of a prince are his own ministers, he should use his discretion and choose them wisely. The minister should be a man of affairs, clever, pure-minded, devoted to the prince and skilful in reading the hearts of men. The man

who is able to develop the resources of the kingdom and cure the ills that may befall it should be made to manage the affairs of the state. The man who is endowed with kindness, intelligence, decision, and who is free from greed, should be selected for service. Work should be entrusted to men in consideration of their expert knowledge and capacity for patient exertion, and not of their love towards the person of the prince. The prosperity of the prince who will not take counsel with his councillors will wane.

#### THE COUNCIL OF ELDERS

According to Purapurulvenbamalai, the council of elders which existed in the Tamil country should possess the eight qualities and should always look to success after duly weighing the chances of victory and defeat and after debating justly the questions raised and the objections urged. The eight qualities of the councillors stated to be good birth, learning, good character, truthfulness, purity, ornament of even mindedness without being envious and being covetous. These are ideal characteristics which, if possessed, would bring glory to the land. The power of the king was restricted not merely by the council of elders but also by the five great assemblies.

#### THE FIVE GREAT ASSEMBLIES

These consisted of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers or augurs, and ministers. The council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people, the priests directed religious ceremonies, the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects, astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events. The ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital town for each of these assemblies for their meetings and transaction of business. On important occasions, they attended the king's levee in the throne hall or joined the royal procession. The power of Government was vested in the king and in the five great assemblies. According to Mr. R. G. Majumdar, the so-called five assemblies were really the five committees of a great assembly. The representative character of these bodies and the effective control which they exercised over the administration are clearly established. It is interesting to note also that the ministers formed one of the assemblies. The assemblies taken together may justly be compared with the Privy Council, the assembly of the ministers corres-

ponding with the cabinet composed of a selected few.

#### INFLUENCE OF THE POETS

Besides the constitutional checks explained above, there were additional safeguards to the wayward actions of the king in the class of poets who were the sages and wise men of those days. They were a privileged class and they tendered their good counsel without fear or favour and the King dared not injure them as their person was considered sacred.

#### IRRIGATION

The ancient Tamil kings realised that the great remedy against famine was irrigation. Very extensive irrigation works were carried out by these rulers who had at their disposal large treasures and an immense amount of forced labour. The embankment thrown on the Cauvery by Karikal Chola is an instance in point. Then Tamil kings thoroughly understood the importance of agriculture to this land. The writers of the age were also keenly alive to the need for fostering agriculture. In 85, Purananuru, the poet exhorts the king to lighten the load of the tillers of the soil. An old lyric (No 18, P. N. N.) says:

" . . . therefore O Cheliyan, great in war,  
despise this not  
Increase the reservoirs for water made  
Who bind the water and supply to fields  
Their measured flow, these bind  
The earth to them: the fame of others passes  
swift away."

#### LAND REVENUE

The king collected as state revenue one-sixth of the produce from the people. The Tamil princes were enjoined not to levy arbitrary taxation. There was a young prince called the learned Pandyan Nambi. He was disposed to be tyrannical. He was advised by the poet Piranthayar not to follow evil methods of rule in the following words:—

"If an elephant take mouthfuls of ripe grain on  
it the twentieth part of an acre will yield it food  
for many days  
But if it enter a hundred fertile fields with no  
keeper  
Its foot will trample down much more than its  
mouth receives.  
So if a wise king who knows the path of right  
take just his due  
His land will prosper yielding myriad fold  
But if a king not softened by his knowledge take  
just what he desires  
Nor heed prescriptions, rule, feasting with song  
and dance  
Amid his court and kindred and show no love to  
his subjects  
Like the field that elephant entered  
His kingdom will perish and he himself will lose  
his all."

#### THE ARMY

Public defence was highly organised. Elephants, spears and swords, bows and arrows, cavalry and infantry, chariots, all were utilised in war. The army of a prince should be well-organised and puissant. It should contain veterans who could hold out in desperate situations with grim determination regardless of decimating attacks. It should know no defeat, should be incapable of being corrupted, should have a long tradition of valour behind it and should face valiantly even the god of death if he were to advance against it in all his fury. It should not be inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, should have no implacable jealousies, and should not be left to starve without pay and should be led by capable chiefs. Our ancients knew the different ways of fighting an enemy by siege and in the open battlefield. They employed spies. According to the teachings of the Kural, the power of the prince who has tact to convert enemies into allies will last without end. If he has to contend alone and without allies against two enemies, he must try to gain over one of them to his side. Valluvar says:

"Form a wise plan, consolidate thy resources, provide for thy defences. If you do this, the pride of your enemies will soon be humbled to the dust. They shall not last long who humble not the pride of men who defy them. The prince should take into consideration the output, the wastage, the profit that the undertaking will yield and then put his hand to it. He must weigh justly the difficulty of the enterprise, his own strength, the strength of his enemy and the strength of his allies and then he should enter upon it. To make war without planning every detail of it before hand is only to transplant your enemy on carefully prepared soil. Bend down before your adversaries till the day of their decline, when that day arrives, you may easily throw them down."

Though the ancient Tamils were implacable in their rage, still no one ventured into a war unless forced by sheer necessity and without deeply considering all the horrors of war. The Purapurul venbamalai gives us an idea of the political organisation of the ancient Dravidians. According to it, all their science of public or state affairs was summarised chiefly under the head of war which consisted of various branches. Battle lifting was the beginning of warfare. The raid was followed by the rescue and this by the organised invasion of the enemy's country for which a particular wreath was assumed. This led to the systematic defence and the defenders assumed a different wreath. The siege and protection of forts, each demanded its appropriate garland. Then came war in general and for that

another wreath was borne. Finally the victors who had gained supremacy had another wreath which they wore as the proud token of victory. This work relates to the expeditious in which these eight different chaplets were worn by the combatants according to the character of those undertakings and the feelings of those engaged in them. These garlands were intended to strike awe into the minds of the opposing hosts and to some extent supplied the place of military uniforms.

#### LAWS OF WAR

The rules of warfare may then be briefly touched upon. The capture of the enemy's cattle was carried out with a view to remove the useful and the sacred animals from the scene of war. The invader was equally humane to the aged, the infirm, the childless, the women and the Brah-

mans. 'Touch not the temples where sacrifices were offered; spare the dwellings of the holy ascetics; enter not the houses of the sacred vedic Brahmans; let all the rest be abandoned to our warriors. But the ancients were merciless to the vanquished. The war usually ended with the death of the King and the overthrow of his Kingdom. The inhabitants of the invaded country would flee on every side. The country would be ravaged with fire. 'The beautiful homes with pictured halls are levelled with the dust. Asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears; while worthless plants are sown on the foundations.'

Such was the system of Government followed in the three great kingdoms of the Pandya, Chera, and Chola in the early centuries of the Christian era.

## THE ASSEMBLY IN ACTION

BY "POLITICUS"

THE second Delhi session of the Indian Legislature, now closed, has been in many respects a memorable one, for it has been a session of earnest work and organised effort to press the popular view home upon the Government of which only a beginning was made during the first session. The first meeting of the Assembly took place on the 10th January 1922 and its last meeting on the 28th of March. The session was, therefore, a session of nearly three months' duration and it deterred many members from joining and many more from continuously attending it. As last year, there were frequent breaks of long duration in the meetings of the Assembly and as Delhi is a place which offers no other distractions, members found time hanging heavy on their hands. Those who had come from short distances naturally returned to their homes, but those who had gone from longer distances, such as Madras, the Central Provinces and Burma, had great difficulty in killing time while the Assembly's work was suspended. It is an utter waste of time and money to convene an Assembly for three months to transact business which could be disposed of in a month. Some meetings of the Assembly lasted an hour or two. It is to be hoped that in the ensuing session there will not be undue waste of the members' time and that meetings will be so arranged that no long breaks take the members away from their normal work with no work to do in the Assembly.

At the same time a very large and crowded programme of work was gone through in the last Delhi session. During the first year of the Assembly's life its members were all free-lancers. As soon as the Assembly started work an effort was made to create an organisation, and an Indian Parliamentary Association was set on foot. About 45 members of the Assembly joined that body. It was hoped that it might be the nucleus of a parliamentary party, but it was doomed to failure, because members having divergent views could not be expected to agree upon a common policy which called for the creation of a political party based upon the principles of federate unity of principle and purpose which marks the parliamentary career of the newly formed democratic party. It is the largest party in the House and has done remarkably well in focussing and shaping public opinion and in concentrating its attention upon the main issues of political reforms. The fact that almost all the resolutions on the budget, and the majority of other resolutions were those of the democratic party shows what a large space it filled in the life of the Assembly. A few of the nominated and elected members could not agree with its advanced views and found it necessary to form another party. \* \* \* The constitutional colour of this party is yet obscure, and judging from the voting results, there is not the same loyalty and discipline as has marked the career of the democratic party. \* \* \* \*

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is both the elected and accredited leader of the national party, but the democratic party has at present no leader. Its Home Member is Dr. Gour and Finance Member Mr. Rangachariar, Law Member, Mr. J. Chaudhuri while Mr. Ginwala is its chief whip, and Messrs Subrahmanyam and Shahani assist Dr. Gour and Mr. Rangachariar in their respective portfolios.\* It may then be stated that the democratic party has departmental leaders, but no party leader. This is a great drawback, because at times a decision has to be quickly made and one cannot have an army without a General, nor can a campaign be planned or fought without a leader. But it is to be feared that the party has already evinced signs of internal jealousies which, it is hoped, the intervening recess will tend to subdue. The one outstanding feature of the last Assembly debates was to Indianise all services, to substitute election for nomination, to economise national expenditure, to promote education and to bring the military expenditure under the effective control of the Assembly. This last point was the subject of a resolution moved by Mr. Ginwala, the chief whip of the democratic party, who demanded that the entire budget should be submitted to the vote of the House. The resolution was carried. The Government of India referred the matter to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in his turn referred it to the Law Officers of the Crown, who curiously opined that military expenditure could not be voted, or even discussed in the Assembly without the sanction of the Governor General. Now it is well-known and it was admitted by the Government that the late Imperial Legislative Council could as of right discuss the military expenditure, though it had not the power to vote, and the Law Officers of the Crown have consequently placed the Assembly under a disability from which its predecessor, the late Imperial Council, was free. Dr. Gour pointed this *reductio ad absurdum* out to the members of Government who however could give no reply. He also pointed out that the only section of the Government of India Act which dealt with the powers of the Assembly was unsystematic, ambiguous and badly worded. And this was admitted on all hands. He pressed for the amendment of the entire Government of India Act and suggested its improvement on the following lines:—

(1) That the Assembly should have complete control over the budget.

(2) That its financial control should be subject to no revision by the other House.

(3) That consequently all money Bills should be passed by the Assembly alone, as is the case in the House of Commons and the Colonies.

(4) That ministerial responsibility should be immediately introduced in the Government of India with a view to make the Assembly debates a reality.

(5) That a strong elected popular house controlling and at times dictating the policy of the Executive is both demoralizing to the Executive and humiliating to the Legislature.

(6) That in order to make India self-contained a Supreme Court of Judicature should be immediately established and for that purpose Dr. Gour has, it appears, already drafted and submitted a Bill to the Government of India for introduction. It is believed that this Bill met with the approval of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, who strongly supported the measure. But reactionary forces have since been at work and it is feared that this measure of necessary reform may suffer in consequence.

A very large number of Bills dealing with various subjects were introduced by private members of the Assembly. Of these the Watandar Emoluments Bill has become law, while Mr. Sheshagiri Iyer's Bill to remove the disqualifications from inheritance of persons suffering from bodily infirmity is being circularised to Local Governments and the public for opinion. It is hoped that it will receive a due measure of support and will find its way on the Statute Book in the ensuing Simla session. Dr. Gour has introduced half-a-dozen new measures which are pending final legislation. His Coparcener's Liability Bill is in fact an effort to codify a portion of Hindu Law. His Adoption Registration Bill is being circularised in the country, but is not likely to receive substantial support from the orthodox community who are opposed to all reforms of what they conceive to be their religious tenets. The removal of imprisonment of women in execution of a decree for restitution of conjugal rights and the Law of Champerty and Maintenance are other measures intended to improve Legislation in India. Mr. Kamat's Bill in favour of women's property is another measure in that direction. Mr. Bakhshi Sohan Lal's Age of Consent Bill met with some opposition, but is likely to pass, though one fears it will not receive that unstinted support which the changed conditions and public opinion in this country ought to extend to it. Dr. Gour's resolution on the

suppression of Devdasi and the immorality connected therewith is another measure of social reform which received the support of the House and is likely to stamp out the social evil which disgraces the religious institutions in certain parts of India. His Civil Marriage Bill was, however, thrown out by a narrow majority of one due to an accident of a member having been locked out; otherwise the measure would have gone through to the Select Committee. The general onslaught on the budget which showed a deficit of 32 crores in addition to 90 crores deficit during the last 4 years was as it was expected, necessary and well justified. The democratic party closed up their ranks and made a supreme effort to make their voice heard in the Assembly. They convened a joint meeting of the National party and prepared a campaign which was ably led by their leaders who stormed the Government's position with an ability, determination and force which old Parliamentary hands have spoken of in terms of glowing praise. At one time it was

believed that the Government would not survive this terrific bombardment and that resignations in high quarters would follow. A successful vote of censure on the Civil and Military Departments of Government made this course more likely, but the attitude of the Assembly was modified later on when Mr. Montagu's resignation was announced, which unmistakably had a great depressing effect upon its members. It was considered that Indian reforms had two great pillars in Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading and the removal of the one justified its rallying to the support of the other. This was probably necessary because the British Cabinet is now tottering and the *Die hards* are having their own way in shaping its policy towards India.

The Assembly on the whole has outlived its period of probation. A further measure of political reforms is necessary and all India expects Lord Reading to liberalise the Government without which it cannot last much longer.

## CIVICS AND CULTURAL UNITY

BY MR. R. R. PAWAR, B.A., LL.B.

### DIFFERENT TYPES OF CIVILISATIONS.

**A**MONG the many needs and problems of the present time in the country, the problem of cultural unity is the most important. This is because of the vastness of our country, its teeming population of different races and religions, and the several types of ancient civilisations. \* \* \* Each province has its own peculiar characteristics of soil, climate and physiography, giving a peculiar trend to the mode of life of its inhabitants. These inhabitants are the descendants of many different races with their own inherited modes of thinking and living. They profess different faiths, some of which are antagonistic to others; and some sympathetic. All these varieties of races and religions have given rise to different types of civilisations. These are again not new but ancient, which means that they have a very strong hold upon the mentality of the people.

### WANT OF HOMOGENITY IN THE SOCIETY

Now let us see what this means from a social point of view. It means a division of the populace; and this division is co extensive with the different types of races, religions and civilisations. When people are thus divided and sub-divided, the social stamina is lost and with it the motive power of social progress is gone. This process has been continued from centuries; so that at the present moment the population of the country

is less homogeneous. For the purpose of social progress a certain kind of social homogeneity is necessary. Homogeneity in toto is an evil as much as heterogeneity in toto is. The principle of progress lies between the mean of the two as Herbert Spencer has said.

### SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND CULTURAL UNITY

Such a kind of process is at present going on in the country, and it is a matter for rejoicing. Since the introduction of English education and the establishment of regular schools, colleges, and Universities a new line of thought is given to our old and accustomed ways of thinking. Apart from the many defects in the present system of education, the study of English language and literature has contributed a great deal to our changed vision of life and the new spirit. This study has been levelling down the angularities of the people of different races and religions; and it has been creating in its stead a new and a common mode of thought and life. In other words it has been creating a cultural unity \* \* \* which would mean a social solidarity on which alone depends progress, be that social, civic, economic or political.

### THIS PRINCIPLE ILLUSTRATED

At present we see that the mind of the country is pre-occupied by political thought leaving less scope for social or civic work, which

creates in our mind grave misapprehensions for the future. This is because we believe that in the absence of a certain standard of social unification, all the edifice of political or other construction is likely to tremble, and this social unity can only be attained by a common culture. To illustrate, let us take into consideration the case of the Hindus alone. These people number about 22 crores. They form the bulk of the population. Their religion is professed by many people. But look at their solidarity. They are divided among themselves to the utmost, nay to a man, by the different schools of beliefs and by castes. The castes have little that is essentially common among them. The Hindu religion and civilisation have been confined to a small class. Its principles and practice have not filtered down among the masses so as to make them like-minded. So far they looked like this, but that was owing to their ignorance and poverty. But as soon as some kind of knowledge and means are available to them, they seem to protest against one another and especially against that class with which the key of the Hindu religion and civilization remained. These protests were latent among them; and the grumbling was under the sleeves for fear of what they did not know. But since the great war the fear has disappeared from the minds of the masses of the Hindus; and now they are attempting to form a rank and file against their 'supposed social and religious bureaucrats. There will be many such protests and organisations to protest and safeguard interests, from classes within classes among the masses; and for some time we shall have a social warfare until the differences disappear by a common culture. If this is the condition of the people believing in the same religion, what must be the state of people who are the followers of different and sometimes more antagonistic and positive religions. India is a country peopled by the followers of many religions among which Mahomedanism and Christianity are more assertive. The mentality of a Mohomedan, a Christian and a Hindu or any other person of a different religion is distinct and positively individualistic for itself. Each has its own long and glorious history. Each wants to progress in its own continued line. This means that it makes the problem of social unification a most grave and a difficult one, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in the world.\*\*\* But it is a steady and a long process. That process is possible only by bringing about a common

culture, which is the result of a national system of education, and a constant habit of working together in the city and the State.

#### POLITICS IS LOOKED AFTER AT THE COST OF CIVICS.

At the present moment more attention is given to politics than to civics. But it must be remembered that the incidence of politics is eventually to fall upon the citizens. So it would be in the course of natural order that civics should precede politics, and it should be given a proper attention. However this is not the case at present, and the result is far from satisfactory. If we look at the civic condition of our towns we are horrified at the amount of good work that is neglected. \* \* \* Those who could establish their merit by doing good work in their city or town administration give little or no attention to it and instead try to take part in the politics of the country. As a matter of fact the institutions of Local Self-government are the best field for equipping oneself for higher work in the country's politics. \* \* \*

#### CIVICS MUST BE TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOLS

To improve this state of things it is necessary that the subject of Municipal Government must be made compulsory in the higher primary and secondary schools; so that a common educated man can understand the nature of the organisation and administration of the Government of his native place; and that he may feel interested in discharging his duties and exercising his rights thereto.

In the Western countries these subjects are taught in the public schools, so that the general knowledge and the outlook of even an average man is wide awakened and thereby he becomes a better citizen. In India these subjects are alien to our boys and girls with the result that they know a whole lot of the foreign countries, their history, and their political and civic institutions, but remain quite ignorant of their own environments. The aim of education ought to be first to enlighten a person about his own surroundings and from that to widen the scope of his knowledge. This means the revision of our present system of education. Unless we make the system national it is impossible to get all these happy results. Let us hope that under the regime of the new reforms in British India our popular Ministers will take a lead in improving these conditions and thereby creating a better type of citizen.

# TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

By MR. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, B. A.

"I believe that the purpose of industry is quite as much to advance social well-being as material prosperity.....I believe that every man is entitled to an opportunity to earn a living, to fair wages, to reasonable hours of work and proper working conditions, to a decent home, to the opportunity to play, to learn, to worship and to love as well as to toil and the responsibility rests as heavily upon industry as upon Government or society to see that these conditions and opportunities prevail." *John D. Rockefeller.*

**T**HERE exists in the labour world of late a feeling of widespread unrest and discontent, affecting not unnaturally the interests of the three classes,—the labourers, the employers and the society. The present conditions are the inevitable and concomitant results arising from some of the glaring defects of the modern industrial system. A clear diagnosis of the labour troubles forms in itself the first symptom of its cure.

Strikes have become the order of the day in all sorts of industries, lasting sometimes for months together. Thanks to the Labour Unions, these often end amicably. It goes without saying that the present-day wage-earner betrays a perceptible aversion and hatred towards the job he has undertaken. He does not care a straw how much work is daily being turned out by him. Assuming the role of a machine, he works like a machine. He has no special incentive whatever to goad him on in the discharging of his work to the end. In a word he works in a reluctant spirit, for the wages hardly serve his bare necessities of life. By this he becomes discontented and indicates a certain aptitude of sluggishness and recklessness with the result that the business he undertakes is not executed in the proper spirit.

For any industry to thrive the first essential requisite is that the labourer should be made to love the work. This homely system of loving the work has not yet permeated the labour atmosphere. This is mainly due to that feature of the system, namely the specialisation of labour. A western writer Mr. John Davison in speaking of this system, says :

"To think that the way to prepare a person for excelling in any one pursuit is to better his early studies and cramp the first development of his mind is a notion to be exploded rather than to be received. For the acquisition of professional and practical ability such maxims are death. The main ingredients of that ability are requisite knowledge and cultivated

faculties. A man of well improved faculties has the command of another's knowledge. A man without them has not command of his own."

This system of specialisation is sometimes carried to such extremes with the consequence that one man gets a knowledge only of a part of one and the same industry. A labourer is for instance, taught only glassblowing which forms one of the several items in the glass industry. Again in the weaving industry one will be an expert in ginning or cleaning while he is ignorant of other processes such as pressing, spinning etc. The prevalence of this system connotes that the labourer is looked upon simply as a human machine and nothing else. He finishes the process deputed to him and does not care two farthings whether the whole of that particular trade is completely or neatly executed. This blissful ignorance, due to sheer lack of knowledge of the other processes deprives him, as it were, of any inclination or interest in the business. Engaging his all-round attention to one and the same process, he soon gets tired and becomes averse to work. His eyes are always on the hands of the clock awaiting the time to go home. But what at home! There too he finds not joy or comfort which his soul yearns for keenly but vainly. Always it so happens that these labourers are blessed with a family of children. Unable to support the family with his inadequate wages, the wage-earner spends a rather careworn night and goes back in the next morning towards his place of business. Thus he passes on his life which is suddenly cut short by the hand of death.

This is a pitiable state of affairs that requires immediate solution. Ways and means should be devised by which the labourer can look upon the work with joy and pride. The first thing that requires remedy is the gradual curtailment of the specialised system. True, some proficiency in any special branch may prove useful. But the pros and cons of that job should be taught to him in all details. That would demand his full attention and exhort him to take lively interest in the finishing of the work. Again a comparative study of other industries would not but prove good, for then alone he will use his intelligence and original skill. Last of all, the fixing of initial pay and wages according to market conditions and prices should be done in such a way that he will not feel the pinch of



hunger. Also there should be some opening to advance and better his prospects. If he behaves well in his position and affords supreme satisfaction in his work, he will be given a fair opportunity of promotion. This bait of promotion for evincing purely tests of merit is sure to catch the minds of the labourers to display full ardour and enthusiasm. This would go a long way to allay the discontent on the part of the labourers.

Therefore the modern industrial system of which Bertrand Russell in his "Principles of Social Reconstruction" says, "has made work more wearisome and intense, less capable of affording pleasure and interest by the way to the man who has undertaken it for the sake of money" is the source of conflict between capital and labour. An able writer in the *American Journal of Sociology* suggests that labour must share with capital both the control of production and the ownership of the product. This means there will not be any such invidious distinctions as master and servant in the economic world. Labour will not then be treated as a commodity but as a personality. Labour shares in this wholesome system not only in the ownership of the articles manufactured, but also in the control of production. Labour regards the business more or less its own and feels as a partner and not a hireling. Such whole-hearted participation in the business management makes production the common interest of both the employees and the employers. This kind of healthy and progressive system may be fitly termed as the Industrial Democratic System.

To place this system on a practically working basis is possible by a scientific management of labour. By this we mean first the choice of the place in which wage-earners toil all day. It should satisfy all the sanitary conditions possible. An healthy site denotes an healthy body. And the progress of industry depends upon the health and vigour of the labouring class. Secondly careful selection should be made in entertaining the wage-earners. There should not be indiscriminate recruiting for any work. Such of those who have undergone educational and technical training necessary for the particular field he is chosen for, should be preferred. Besides this qualification, it is the duty of the employers to see that such of the selected men are physically and morally strong. Weak and feeble minded men are unfit for any industry that would tire even the patience and energy of the able bodied.

Thirdly the social and material welfare of the community of labourers should be looked into.

If once the people are entertained, then they should be allowed to continue in the same trade. There is nothing gained by a change of men now and then. The selected men would keep on to the business ungrudgingly until the period of their retirement, when they should be asked to retire honorably, that is, with adequate gratuity for that period. The low standard of life under which they labour, should slowly but surely be raised. Wages should be paid with due consideration to the fluctuating market prices. A campaign against the evil habit of drinking generally prevalent among the working classes, should be vigorously set on foot and this would tend to minimise the evils, physical and mental, flowing from this horrid practice. Again the environments and surroundings of their places of abode should be such as to breathe a pure, healthy and lofty nature. Facilities as to access to a fine library of good and moral inculcating books, and as to some pastime or other in the shape of exercise should be provided for. In the interest of long life and sound health, hours of work should be determined according to the age and sex of the respective labourers. They should be made also to enjoy some holiday or other in the week when friends and relatives would meet together and exchange views on men and things in general.

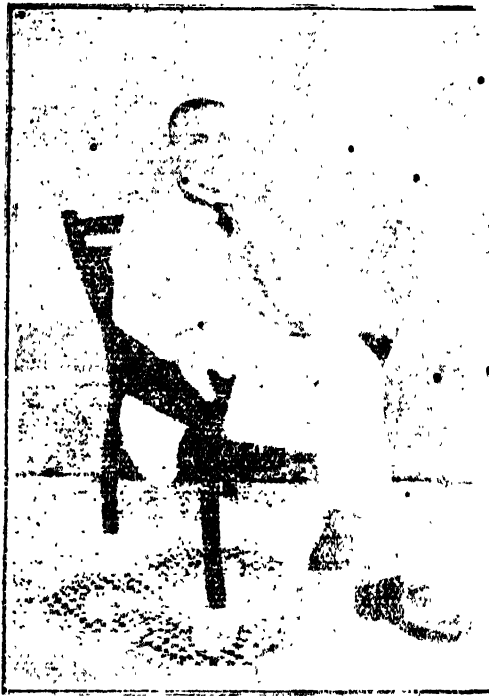
To crown all, no efforts should be spared and no avenue should be left unexplored in the increase of the population which alone forms the real wealth of the country. Labourers are required in every generation to carry on the trade and commerce of the country. For this our women-folk should be well fed and protected so that they can joyously bear the burdens of maternity and bring forth strong and healthy issues. If they are asked to do the hard and patience-tiring work in the mills and factories, the deterioration of the race is sure to set in the long run. So special attention should be given to this question of questions, for on this and this alone depends the future progress of any industry whatsoever. If such things were to be realised, peace will reign supreme in the labour world. The phantom conflict between labour and capital would vanish away like a dream. Surely when labour and capital become comrades in arms, there will be a glorious dawn in the industrial horizon. Then the efficiency of labour will be a fact accomplished and, with it there is no gainsaying that social efficiency is possible.

# DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

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By MR. SURENDRA MOHAN DATTATRAYA, B.A.

**T**HE Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., whose appointment as a member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council in succession to Sir George Lowndes, K.C.S.I., was announced on 12th August, 1920, took up his duties as Law Member on the 21st December\*. His appointment was



DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

hailed both by the Indian and the Anglo-Indian Press, by Moderates and Nationalists alike. Of course, some of the Nationalists were not jubilant over it because they took it as an indication of the Government's intention to taboo their men. The Anglo-Indian *Times of India* in noticing the appointment said: "This is an admirable appointment. Dr. Tej

\* [ This sketch was written shortly after Dr. Sapru's assuming charge of the Law Membership. Nothing has been added to it in view of what he has since said and done, as the time for that is not yet, S.M.D. ]

Bahadur Sapru is a sound lawyer, an experienced publicist and a gentleman of the highest character. The comment of the *Bengalee*, a great Moderate organ, was: "A jurist and scholar, a man of great ability and sterling worth, inspired by the loftiest patriotism and sense of public duty, Dr. Sapru will be the right man in the right place, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council." The *Bombay Chronicle*, one of the most important of the Nationalist organs, commenting on the appointment, said: ".....the selection of Dr. Sapru will be welcomed throughout the country as one of the best that could have been made.....But, fortunately, Dr. Sapru's appointment need not necessarily be regarded as part of the policy of 'rallying the Moderates'. For, his claims to the office of the Law Member are as high and indisputable as those of any other lawyer in India. Not only is he one of the soundest lawyers the country possesses, he is also the soundest of the Moderates."

In referring to the appointment Lord Chelmsford said in his opening speech at the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council: "Dr. Sapru has always had the esteem of this Council. His contributions to our debates have been invariably weighty and conceived in a spirit of sober moderation. As Law Member he is taking a heavy responsibility on his shoulders and I am sure we will offer him our congratulations on the high office to which he has been called."

## EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

Tej Bahadur Sapru belongs to a respectable Kashmiri Paudit family of Delhi. He was born on December 8, 1875. From his very childhood he was brought up under the vigilant eye of his grandfather—Pt. Radha Kishen. The latter was Tahsildar of Bijnor at the time of the Mutiny of 1857. He had gone over to Delhi on some official errand when the great storm broke out. He got involved in it and feared the gallows. Delhi was at that time under Martial Law. With

much difficulty, however, he persuaded some British officers of the place to look into the papers he had brought with him, and was released. At that time Sir Auckland Colvin was Joint Magistrate at Bijnor. He commended the loyal services of the Pandit to the Government, which granted him the village of Dhimarpur and some other villages in *muafi*. Dr. Sapru succeeded to the ownership of these villages, in addition to his hereditary *jagir* situated in Delhi and Gurgaon.

Dr. Sapru was educated at the Zilla School of Mathra, when his grandfather was Deputy Magistrate and Treasury Officer there. He matriculated in 1890. After that he migrated to the Agra College, Agra. There he lived under the guardianship of Pt. Jagan Nath, the younger brother of the famous Pt. Ayo-dhia Nath, Vakil, Allahabad High Court. He graduated in 1894 in the first division with Honours in English, and passed his M.A. Examination in English in the same division in 1895. In the latter year he also got the degree of LL.B. In recognition of his brilliant career at the University he was offered the Government of India Scholarship to prosecute his studies in England. He, however, refused the offer as his grandmother did not allow him to go away. He subsequently won the degree of LL.D. from the Allahabad University in 1902. It may thus be said that he is entirely a product of the Allahabad University.

#### CAREER AT THE BAR.

Dr. Sapru is an advocate and lawyer of high repute. He joined the Allahabad Bar in 1898, after three years' barren practice at Moradabad. He had a singularly successful career at the Allahabad High Court. He was registered as a High Court Vakil in March 1899, and as an Advocate in March, 1906. For years one of the leaders of the Vakil Bar, he became its acknowledged leader on the death of Sir Sunder Lal. Throughout his professional life, he was held in high esteem alike by the Judges and the public for his uncommon ability, high forensic skill and learning, and great integrity. Only a few months before his present appointment he

was offered a High Court Judgeship, which he refused.

#### SOME PUBLIC SERVICES.

Dr. Sapru has for a number of years been a Syndic and Senator of the Allahabad University, and a member of the Faculty of Law of that University. He has served on Legislative Councils. He represented the University of Allahabad in the United Provinces Legislative Council for several years; and in 1916 was elected to the Indian Legislative Council by the non-official members of the former Council. The famous Memorandum of the 19 non-official elected members of the Indian Council was shaped and formulated principally by him, Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Malaviya. He served as a member of the Functions Committee. It is held by some that his work in that capacity paved his way to the present appointment. He was one of the three non-official members of the Imperial Council who were invited by Sir William Vincent to discuss the Rowlatt Bill with a view to coming to a settlement, if possible,—the others being Mr. Bannerjee and Mr. Sastri. He was made a member of the Marris Committee, but did not attend the meetings of the Committee. He was invited to join the Disorders Enquiry Committee, better known as the Hunter Committee. But as he had already been professionally consulted by the legal representatives in London of some of the appellants in the Punjab appeals to the Privy Council, he declined to serve in that capacity. This instance throws a sidelight on his character. As has been truly remarked: "None but a man of the highest political and professional integrity would have allowed such a reason to stand in the way of his rendering unique service to his country." There were some private reasons also which influenced his decision.

#### POLITICIAN AND SOCIAL REFORMER.

Dr. Sapru is a prominent lawyer in the first place, but he is also a politician and a social reformer. He has presided over the U. P. Social and Political Conferences. As an instance of his interest in social reform may be cited the fact that he upheld the inter-

caste marriage between a *Madras Brahman* and a *Kashmiri Pandit girl*, the first alliance of its kind in the Kashmiri Pandit community. It may, however, be observed in this connection that in the case of his own children and close dependent relatives he has not seen fit, for reasons best known to himself, to depart in any essential respect from the established customs of his community.

Dr. Sapru was one of the founders of the U. P. Political Conference and served as its Secretary. The first session of the Indian National Congress that he attended was in 1892. After that he attended no less than 15 Congresses as a delegate. When he seceded from the Congress organisation in 1918 along with some other Moderates, he had been in it for about 22 years. He held the office of President of the U. P. Congress Committee for a number of years. He is now a prominent member of the Liberal Party. He became President of the U. P. Liberal Association on its inception in March, 1919, and about the same time also became one of the general secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India. He was associated with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in founding the *Leader* of Allahabad 11 years ago. For a year and a half he was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Company owning the paper, having succeeded Pandit Malaviya in that position.

#### A TRUE DEMOCRAT.

Dr. Sapru is one of those Moderates who do not claim sincerity of purpose for themselves alone, but give credit for honesty and sincerity to the Nationalists also. But he demands that credit for the same virtues should also be given to the members of his own party. He believes that the Moderates and Nationalists differ not in their aims and ideals, but in their methods. He is a real democrat: he is not afraid of everybody thinking for himself, and is not fond of the uniformity which smacks of artificiality. He is not impatient of criticism and does not believe that any leader or set of leaders can be infallible. In his own words:

Those who dislike criticism have no business to be in politics. A politician should have the hide of a rhinoceros, the wisdom of a serpent, and the prescience of a prophet. I have by this time a tough hide. I have been a dissenter in religion, a dissenter in politics, and I hope to die a dissenter.....At the same time I do not deny that I may be wrong, that Mr. Bannerjee may be perversely wrong, that Mr. Shastri may be absolutely wrong. But what I claim is that I have the right to my own opinion as you have to yours.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Dr. Sapru is a great admirer and follower of the late Mr. Gokhale. His views on the current political problems of India are those common to Moderate politicians. His view about the greatest problem of India—the problem of Self-Government—is that all constitutional efforts should be made to attain to that ideal “within the shortest possible time.” He wants that India should be on the same footing as the Dominions. He has more than once declared that Self-Government should be asked for by Indians not as a gift, but as a birth-right. And with him the thing is a practical issue and not a distant dream. As in the case of others of his party, the root difference between him and Nationalists is about methods, and the pace and measure of advance.

#### REFORMS.

Then about the Reforms, Dr. Sapru holds that the Announcement of August 20th, 1917, is the first document recognizing the Indian claim to Self-Government. Though he realises that it leaves the dictation of policy in British hands, he thinks that Indians should avail themselves of the first instalment of Reforms which has been given in pursuance of it, and believes that when the time becomes ripe for a further instalment, the British Government will not fail to respond to opinion in England and India. He thinks that compromise is sometimes the best way. In his telegraphic message of sympathy to the first Moderate Conference held at Bombay in 1918, he said:—

While the proposed Reforms are none too great for our capacity for Self-Government, we accept them as earnest of greater reforms in the future. They place us in a position of advance and give us appreciable power for further and surer progress towards democracy.

On a subsequent occasion he tersely put the same thing thus :

Suppose the scheme is inadequate, and I am one of those who consider it in some respects as very inadequate, there is nothing to prevent us accepting it, showing in 24 hours that we are capable of discharging the functions assigned to us and in 48 hours of putting forward a claim for the balance of Self-Government.

#### • NON-CO-OPERATION.

Dr. Sapru is avowedly against the present movement of Non-Co-operation. It is because he thinks that it is destructive and not constructive, of a negative and not of a positive character. But it is interesting to recall that he, along with other members of the Indian Defence Force Committee of the United Provinces, voted for the dissolution of the Committee and refused during the war to co-operate with the Government in the matter of recruitment, when the release of Mrs. Annie Besant was being delayed and every corner of Southern India was being made tight for Home Rulers.

In a speech delivered in the Imperial Council in January, 1920, he said :

I believe that the basis of nationalism must be a recognition of the fact that the India of the future is not to be the India of the Hindus, nor the India of the Mahomedans, nor the India of the Christians, but the India of them all taken together. It is in that sense that I can approach the question of co-operation. We may criticise to destroy or to construct. It is not criticism by itself, but the spirit in which we criticise that makes or mars.

#### CREED OF SELF-RELIANCE.

It may be remembered that in 1917 Dr. Subramania Iyer sent a memorandum to President Wilson, calling the latter's attention to some grievances of Indians. Again, in 1919, some educated Indians seriously expected that the Peace Conference would do something in the case of India. Both the cases proved to be of optimism run amok, and nothing tangible came out in either of them. Dr. Sapru's creed is the creed of self-reliance. He believes that "Nations by themselves are made" and has no faith in invoking direct foreign interference in our domestic politics. He thinks that the domestic issues of India should not be made international. For apart from the fact that it is impossible to awaken practical sympathy with the cause of Indian Self-Government in any

foreign country to the extent of inducing it to take any direct action, he thinks that foreign interference would detract from the prestige of the Government of India in the eyes of the world and would injure the prestige of the Indian people correspondingly.

#### FAITH IN INDIAN CAPACITY.

Dr. Sapru has great faith in Indian capacity. In a public speech at Lahore he said on 8th December, 1918 :

As to what I think of Indian capacity, I would say that whenever an Indian has been given an opportunity in 24 hours he has risen equal to it. If Pt. Shambu Nath had not been appointed a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1864, our critics would still have been doubtful if an Indian Judge was fit to occupy the bench of a High Court or Chief Court. Yet Indians of the brilliance of Muthuswami Aiyer, Bhashyam Iyengar, Sir Gurudas Bannerjee and Mr. Shah Din have adorned the bench. In the executive line we have had men of the eminence of Mr. R. C. Dutt, Sir K. G. Gupta and Sir S. P. Sinha, and if they had not been discovered, the discovery would still have been in the process of making.

Some days before taking over charge of his present office, while speaking at the dinner given in his honour by the Vakils' Association of Allahabad, he said :

I stand up, I mean to stand up, for perfect equality of Indians, whether it is in the profession or in any other walk of life.

#### POSITION OF VAKILS.

Being himself a Vakil, Dr. Sapru has great sympathy with members of his class of the profession. While addressing them at the dinner just referred to, he warmly supported the cause of the creation of an independent Indian Bar. It may be hoped that his keen interest in the matter will before long bear practical fruit.

#### ROWLATT BILL.

Dr. Sapru opposed the "Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill," popularly known as the Rowlatt Bill, when it came up for discussion before the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi on February 7, 1919, and supported Mr. Patel's motion for postponement. In the highly cogent and well-reasoned speech which he made on the occasion, he remarked : "I have no hesitation in saying that it (the Bill) is wholly wrong in principle, unsound in conception, dangerous in its operation, and too sweeping and too comprehensive." He urged that the new

legislation was wrong in principle and inopportune; and he rightly predicted, as subsequent events showed to everybody, that it would prejudice the Reforms and throw the country into the vortex of agitation. He expressed the belief that the remedy for anarchical crimes did not lie in repressive measures, but in the removal of standing grievances. He also expressed his doubts about the jurisdiction of the Government of India to pass such a law as tending to deprive a British subject of the rights conferred upon him by the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom.

#### PUNJAB TRAGEDY.

Dr. Sapru went to England in 1919 as a member of the Moderate Deputation. When he was about to proceed to England, a representative of the *Independent* interviewed him and gave him occasion to lay bare his views on the Punjab affair and some other highly important questions of more than momentary interest. Asked about his views on the Punjab tragedy, he said :

I think the Punjab affair cannot be treated as a purely local affair. The methods adopted in meeting the situation there have given rise to grave constitutional issues. They have already created an intense amount of feeling all over the country and while no one objects or can object to law and order being maintained, I think we are entitled to expect that, under no circumstances, should the Executive be allowed to adopt methods wholly repugnant to modern methods of administration.

Asked as to what measures should be taken to prevent a repetition of the Punjab atrocities, Dr. Sapru said in reply :

I am entirely for the repeal of all laws of a repressive character and I believe that once the Reforms are granted and our position in the Councils is strengthened in the manner in which it should be, it would not be possible to have a repetition of the Punjab methods in future.

Replying to a supplementary question about the Punjab affair, he said :

Whatever difference of opinion there may be between one section of politicians and another as to the origin of the trouble in the Punjab, there is none with regard to the methods of suppression or the mode of trial or the sentences passed in the Punjab. I certainly think that all this has got to be brought to the notice of the proper authorities - not merely with a view to getting justice done to the Punjab at the present moment, but also with a view to impressing upon them the absolute necessity of altering the present system of administration and to securing certain safeguards against the repetition of such incidents in the future.

#### SPECIAL TRIBUNALS.

As to the desirability of the present system of appointing special tribunals to try special cases, Dr. Sapru said :

I think it is exceedingly hard. For one thing, I very seriously object to any class of cases being withdrawn from the ordinary jurisdiction of the High Courts. In the next place, it seems to me that this practice cannot be defended always and in every case on the ground of economy of time or money. Lastly, its moral effect upon the people and the Judges is exceedingly demoralising. I think it is essentially necessary that not only justice should be done but that people also should feel that justice is being done. Short cuts to justice are neither always desirable nor satisfactory.

#### EVIDENCE BEFORE THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

In the course of his evidence before the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons on the Government of India Bill, Dr. Sapru dwelt on the various defects of the present system of Indian education, and made out a strong case for the transfer of education to the control of Ministers. He characterised the present system as inefficient. He admitted that it had turned out very good public servants and clerks, but said that it had not developed originality and personality. The European Professors in the Universities exercised no influence over their pupils because of the great gulf between the former and the latter. There was no intellectual atmosphere in the Universities. He pointed out that, in the past, questions of education had frequently been decided from a political standpoint. For instance, he mentioned, during the last few years it had been considered very undesirable to teach English History on the ground that it would be dangerous for Indian students. Authors like Burke and Milton were deemed unsuitable for them. About the history of primary education he said that it might be summed up in the words "pious hopes" and "postponements."

#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION REFORM.

In the course of his answer to the question of the Calcutta University Commission, "Do you consider that the existing system of University education affords to young Indians of ability full opportunities of obtaining the highest training? If not, in what main respects do you consider the existing

system deficient from this point of view?"  
Dr. Sapru said :

I would make the following definite suggestions :—  
(a) The Universities should not prescribe text-books in history, literature, philosophy or economics. Only the syllabus should be prescribed and the authors and books recommended. (b) Professors of a superior quality should be employed. (c) The tutorial system should be introduced and encouraged. (d) There should be more direct personal touch between the professors and their pupils. (e) The number of subjects for the B. A. Examination should be reduced from three to two. On the arts side, until education in our secondary schools is improved, I would insist upon each student taking up English literature and, along with it one other subject, such as philosophy, economics, or history. In course of time when the entire system has been thoroughly overhauled and education in schools has been really improved, I would welcome the reduction of subjects to one. (f) Examinations should be conducted more with a view to testing the capacity and general culture of the student than his memory.

#### AS A SPEAKER.

Dr. Sapru is a man of independence, ability and patriotism. He is learned in law, a profound scholar of literature and an acute thinker. He is not a man of many words, and he does not equivocate. His style of speaking is conversational, direct and straightforward, not marked by any flights of oratory. His language is always guarded and well weighed, and oftener than not, free from passion, conceived in the spirit of legal writings.

#### AS A MAN OF LETTERS:

Dr. Sapru is a man of high literary tastes and has, from time to time, been contributing to the press. He wrote for the *Hindustan Review*, more or less regularly, during the early years of its existence. He used to write to the *Bengalee* at one time. He wrote several articles to the *Indian People*, the Allahabad Indian paper which was afterwards incorporated with the *Leader*. He has also written for the *Louder* off and on. He is the founder of the *Allahabad Law Journal*. Apart from his great taste for English literature, he has a keen sense of appreciation for the rich treasures of Urdu and Persian, old and modern.

#### AS A MAN.

"Dr. Sapru once referred to himself as a "case-hardened lawyer". He is not, how-

ever, that. He has charming manners, an amiable disposition, and a large fund of delicate and mellow humour. He has a strong moral backbone and unblemished character. As to his household life, it may be said that it has been rather dull and gray since his wife's untimely death some years ago.

#### CONCLUSION.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru is a Kashmiri Pandit, a member of the same great community which contributed in the past such eminent men as Pt. Shambu Nath and Pt. Ayodhya Nath, Pt. Bishambar Nath and Pt. Bishen Narain Dar. He is the third Indian to be called to the office of Law Member, and the first Indian to hold that high office who did not eat his terms in the Inns of Court. A few years ago the United Provinces was refused an Executive Council on the ground that it was not sufficiently advanced. In Dr. Sapru's person the same province now gives an Executive Councillor for the whole of India.

It was said about President Wilson that he did not appoint good secretaries when America entered into the Great War. Whatever may be said of some measures of Lord Chelmsford's administration, the criticism which applies to his great contemporary cannot apply to his choice of Indian Councillors. His Lordship's choice of the three Indian S's has been very happy. Both Lord Chelmsford and Dr. Sapru deserve to be congratulated. The latter is also to be complimented for his public spirit in accepting a work considerably less lucrative than his magnificent practice. I make no doubt that the great doctor will shed lustre on the high office to which he has been called; and when the time comes for him to doff his armour, he and his countrymen will be able to look back with satisfaction on his work as the successor of that eminent host of jurists—Macaulay, Mill and Maine, Stephen and Sinha.

"Let all the ends thou aims't at be thy country's,

Thy God's and truth's."

# TRAINING IN APPRECIATION\*

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By MR. P. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., L.T.

Head Master, Hindu High School, Madras.

**W**E needs must love the highest, said Queen Guinevere, but took care immediately to add, 'when we see it.' This statement embodies a universal truth. There is in human nature an instinct of appreciation of what is noble and beautiful in art as well as in life, but unless that instinct is properly nurtured and developed by suitable exercise, it may languish and die. The three school subjects which more than others serve as means of developing the love of the beautiful in children are Art, Literature and Music, and in the volume before us is explained in a detailed way the manner in which the teacher should deal with these subjects—the methods of approach, the points to be emphasised, the kind of work to be got done by the children themselves, and so on. One would perhaps wish that the chapter on Literature were more full and comprehensive.

The chief points to note in regard to this instinct of appreciation which is *emotional* in character are (1) that it is a purely individual and subjective experience, (2) that it is something *not static*, the objects rousing the pleasure and admiration of the individual at one stage of his life ceasing to do so at another, (3) that it is strengthened and deepened with knowledge and growth of intellect. A clear recognition of these points must help the teacher to provide the conditions necessary for the growth of appreciation. For one thing the teacher should understand that since the spirit of appreciation 'bloweth as it listeth,' and refuses to work to order, he should wait for the moments when his boys are in the mood for appreciation and give them full liberty to be absorbed in the subject or object of their emotional interest, not caring for any breach of time-table that may be necessitated thereby. Then there is the danger of the inexperienced teacher mistaking that what interests him must likewise interest his boys. As has been pointed out above, the objects of emotional admiration vary with age, and 'if a child's attitude be not respected, he is forced to a form of artistic expression he dislikes,' which is not at all conducive to the best interests of the child. 'The skilful teacher learns to distinguish between the

child of slow artistic growth, the child who has reached a plateau and the child of no aptitude; the first two children must have special care, the third should be allowed to drop the subject. Dr. White urges that children of eleven who show no interest in music should be allowed to give their time to other work, and other specialists would probably make similar requests. Moreover very few people are equally sensitive to all forms of beauty, and the average child will not have unlimited time to devote to artistic instincts when he leaves school: Probably either handwork or literature throws as strong a light as can be got on a child's *special sense* and it is generally round this special sense that a man's strong æsthetic appreciation centres.

Above all, 'it must always be clearly borne in mind that *true appreciation* can only be created by one who has some perception as to what is beautiful. Moreover, we need to express enthusiasm and spontaneous joy in the thing that is pure and true, an enthusiasm which can only be shared with our pupils, when it is truly part of ourselves. It is to environment—physical, moral and spiritual that our pupils are responsive, and this can only be consciously created to a limited degree. No Method ever invented will make it possible for a teacher to bring inspiration and so appreciation of beauty to his pupils unless he is himself touched by beauty, whether it be found in art or in nature."

## FULFILMENT

BY

MR. C. A. KRISHNA MURTI, B.A.

The dawn awaiteth on the hills  
To broaden into day,  
And Spring, until the year fulfils  
Its promises made last May.  
The flower for hours had patience shown  
Ere it broke its prison, in sooth;  
And the child hath been yearning long to be blown  
Into the Eden of youth.—  
All things towards fulfilment move  
Through the live long day and year;  
Then why not wait a little, my love,  
Until our lips draw near?

\* Edited by Nancy Gatty M.A., Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 3s.



# Mohammed and his Wives: a Reply\*

BY MR. U. B. NAIR.

**I** Like Mohamet for his total freedom from cant' wrote Carlyle in his *Heroes and Hero-worship*. 'He is a rough self-helping son of the wilderness; does not pretend to be what he is not. There is no ostentatious pride in him'. Would that zealous followers of the Prophet (among them your correspondent Mr. M. Quasim) were like him in this respect! There would then be no need at all for this communication.

In my article on 'Democratic Marriages,' I wrote: 'The rich widow Khadija gave her hand to her servant Mohammed, the son of a camel driver' (Italics Mr. Quasim's.) In this Mr. Quasim sees insult to the Great Arabian and a wicked attempt on my part to cry down his 'social status.' And he calls on me in a personal letter to 'withdraw the objectionable word.'

Mr. Quasim's contentions are two:—(1) That Mohammed was *not* the son of a camel driver, (2) That he was *not* the servant of Khadija. Neither of these denials are, to use his words, 'supported by facts of history,' which no amount of special pleading and abuse on his part can alter. I am not an Arabian scholar, so perforce have to rely on English books of reference. The following excerpts will speak for themselves:—

'Most of his (Mohammed's) early life was passed in tending flocks of sheep and herds of camels; he had little or no education, and as a lad could neither write nor read.... His uncle was a poor man, and until twenty-six years of age Mohammed worked hard for his living like any other young Arab.'—*Art. 'Mohammed' in Everyman's Encyclopaedia*

(Note: Mohammed was a posthumous child and lost his mother in his seventh year)

Mohammed was then cared for first by his grandfather, Abdalmottalib, and after his death by his oldest paternal uncle, Abu Talib-bin Abdalmottalib. He was kindly treated, but shared the hardships of a numerous and very poor family; he herded sheep and gathered wild berries in the desert. This is all that we know of his youth, all else is legend, containing at most an occasional fragment of truth.... It was, we are told, in his twenty-fifth year that Mohammed, on the recommendation of his uncle, entered the house and business of a wealthy widow named Khadija. For her he made commercial journey, thus learning to know part of Palestine and Syria, and perhaps receiving impressions which fructified in his soul. By and by he married the widow, who was much his senior.'—*Art. 'Mohammed' in Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

\*[We have omitted certain passages which seemed to us irrelevant. The controversy on the subject will cease with this reply by the author. *Ed. I. R.*]

Mr. Quasim admits that camel driving forms the chief occupation of Bedouins. But has't he heard of Halima, the Bedouin foster mother of the Prophet, who brought him up among her people? His milk kinship with the Banu Sa'd-b-Laith is matter of history.

Let me recommend to Mr. Quasim's notice, a striking article on 'The Wives of Mohammed' by the Rev. J. W. Bate in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1878. In it the writer aptly points out that there is a bewildering diversity of statement in Muslim records as regards the Prophet's domestic relationships. 'The case presents, he writes, 'a very fair sample of the difficulty in which Mohammadan authorities have beclouded all subjects relating to their religion and its founder. It is only regarding the barest outlines of Mohammad's life that there is even the semblance of agreement among them; the moment the student inquires into details he perceives how loose and unsatisfactory the whole fabric is.'

## TO THE WORLDLY MIND

BY

MR. S. ALI, B.A.

Thy common sorrows are a poet's joy,  
The gloom that frightens thee and gives thee pain,  
To him unfolds a thousand spangly glooms,  
Each bringing to his gaze a new domain  
Of thought; the night that troubles thee and  
shows  
The slipping forms of ghosts, and makes thee  
moan,  
To him it shows a train of fairies fair,  
And makes a day; the cold that makes thee  
groan,  
And cry and roar, now cheers him up, and now  
Gives an insight into the mystic pain;  
The cloudy morn and the rainy day inspire  
Him with new thoughts and then he sees a train  
Of a thousand Gnomes and Sylphs with hand in  
hand  
Singing a roundelay in a fairy land  
Of eternal glory; and at last the death  
That frightens thee, he waits with an anxious  
breath.

### The Problem in East Africa

*The Round Table* for the last quarter deplors the race-hatred and intolerance that have obscured the main issues which are really economical and sentimental. The present situation is only of recent growth; and before the war the racial question was not much in evidence. With a few minor exceptions, the Indian community consists mainly of shop-keepers, artisans and clerks with a sprinkling of lawyers, doctors and other professional men. Though Indians from the Malabar coast have traded with Mombasa since the 15th century, they never, so far as is known, penetrated to the hinterland before the opening of the railway; and their trade with it was carried on through slave dealers and other desperadoes. The railway imported into the hinterland a number of coolies, clerks and contractors who were mostly repatriated.

The movement for equalising the status of Indians began during the war, when practically the whole white population was on active service. The idea of Indians having colonies of their own was suggested soon after the armistice, first broached by Sir Theodore Morrison; and then no enthusiasm was shown for the scheme by the public or the press in India. The question of the equality of status for Indians in East Africa is not an isolated one; but Kenya is the Achilles' heel of the whole problem. Lord Milner's Commission published a report in 1920, which was tacitly accepted at the time, and according to which the Europeans were to have a preserve of the Highlands and the Indians were to have two representatives on the Legislative Council; and the principle of segregation was upheld.

The one really strong point that the Indian can put forward is, not the military aid rendered by India in the war, but only his fellow-citizenship. The first demand of the Indians is the right to hold any position, however eminent in the Civil Service and the local military forces; his second demand is for equal political franchise; and the third is to acquire land and property in the white highlands; and in his demand for the abolition of segregation the Indian is chiefly affected in his national pride. And lastly the Indians demand the right to enter the country in unrestricted numbers. The Indian question resolves itself into four main points—(1) absolute equality of each race (2) Segregation demanded by Europeans provided the restriction is not based merely on racial grounds (3) The Indians' right to acquire lands in the white highlands,

and (4) The Indians' right to penetrate the country in unlimited numbers.

Finally there is the stand-point of the Negroes, the original inhabitants of the country; and there is the danger of the tribes becoming inculcated either with Pan-Islamic or with Pan-Negro doctrines. The greatest danger to be avoided is to abstain from any semblance of racial arrogance.

### Prohibition and Diplomacy in America

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, writing in the *Servant of India* about his impressions of the working of prohibition in America, says:—

"The contemptuous view of prohibition which one hears so often in certain circles of Europe is derived from a limited observation of the conditions obtaining in the large towns on the Eastern-sea board. Here the enormous wealth of the population and the facilities for smuggling combine to make drink available to those that ardently seek it in hotels and restaurants. At private parties too people draw on the hoards of wealthy citizens which are supposed to be immense. In the West, however, which are often represented as the real America, these opportunities for the maintenance of the old habit do not exist and prohibition seems to be fairly effective. On a large view of the matter the prospects of the Dry Law even on the East Coast are not gloomy." Speaking of the work of the Washington Conference of which he was an active participant, Mr. Sastri says of the virtues of the new diplomacy that has triumphed over the tortuous old one as follows:—

"People remembered the ways of the old diplomacy its euphemisms and concealments, its periphrasis and indirectness, its mystifications and long-drawn delays, and prognosticated a point-blank refusal from the Powers startled and irritated by the bluntness of a Government which had kept ostentatiously aloof from the courtesies as well as the entanglements of the old world. The atmosphere at Washington, however, was fully charged with the spirit of new diplomacy. The delegations did not take long to realise that the world had become tired of the traditional hypocrisy of European Chancelleries and that the hour had struck for a striking manifestation of the new international morality. The deafening applause that greeted the announcement by Balfour and Kato of the consents of the Governments was only the outward symbol of the earth's peoples. The old diplomacy is dead—Long live the new."

## Pluralism in Indian Politics

Prof. B.K. Sarkar, writing in *The Vedic Magazine*, says that in order to understand the strength and limitations of Hindu politics it is essential to realise that the historic systems of Europe have neither been longlived, nor built up on national politics as defined by Ratzel in his *Politische Geographic*. The classical institutions were notoriously ephemeral and in the Middle Ages dynastic revolutions were plentiful. He says :

"Comparative Sociology must have to declare that the political annals of mediæval India do not offer greater insecurity and worse absence of peace than such as were exhibited by the Welsh, Irish and Scotch wars of England, the Hundred Years' War between France and England, the wars of the Hapsburgs, the wars of the innumerable German baronies, the wars of the Italian kingdoms and cities, the English civil war, the French wars of the Fronde, the meteoric acquisitions of Sweden's Gustavus Adolphus and of the Polish Kingdom, the expansion of Turkey to the gates of Vienna, the courting of Moslem alliance by Christian monarchs against brother-Christians, the annexations of Peter and Frederick, and the steady decline and fall of the Holy Roman Empire. In regard, specifically, to the relations between Mohammedan states and original Hindu states or between Mohammedan empires and their Hindu citizens or between Hindu empires and Mohammedan citizens, Eur-American historians have yet to prove, item by item, that the picture was in any way darker than was the story of the contest between Roman Catholics and Protestants culminating in the horrors of the Thirty Year's War."

But he concludes in a rather pessimistic vein denying the real unity of India.

"While, therefore, for purposes of comparative politics it is necessary to conclude that *pax sarva-bhaumica* or *federation del empire* is at least as conspicuous an achievement of Hindu statesmanship as the *pax Romana* of occidental, it is on the other hand to be admitted on scientific grounds that the political unity of India is, historically speaking, as great a myth as is the political unity of Europe. India furnishes but another illustration of the universal sway of *matsyanyaya*, the Hobbesian "state of nature" which can lead but to pluralism, whether anarchic or well-ordered."

## The Andhra University

A writer in the April number of *The Indian Education* says with reference to the proposals for starting an Andhra University that the language basis of division is by no means the most important consideration for evolving separate universities in the Presidency. He argues :—

"Considering the distances from Madras, Tamil and Telugu districts have about the same situation ; Madura the centre of Tamil culture being just 350 miles to the south, as Rajahmundry is to the north of Madras. If in addition to distance from Madras, self-sufficient numbers are an argument—as they should be—for the location of a separate university, Madura or Trichinopoly should justifiably have a separate university earlier than any place in the Telugu districts. Those who have watched university progress during recent years will remember how the United Provinces have created a University at Lucknow separate from Allahabad, and how Dacca has arisen separate from Calcutta. The Andhras have argued unity of language, civilisation and customs. This will apply of course equally to the country of the Cholas, while it should be noted that neither the Telugus nor the Tamils should overshadow Kanarese and Malayalam as separate entities. As for customs it is only within very narrow geographical limits that unity is forcibly marked. The people of Nellore and Chittoor differ considerably from those of the Northern Circars, as do the natives of the Ceded Districts from all the rest."

He however supports the unitary university scheme on the ground of the support that it gives for the intensification of scholarship, special studies and research on the one hand, and social fellowship on the other.

"In granting affiliating power to new universities considerations of geographical convenience should strictly prevail ; where no such convenience exists the Madras University is best. The claim for special features in new universities can be supported only by the choice of appropriate location. No Telugu university with emphasis on Telugu studies can appropriately stand as it seems to have been suggested, in Madras. It must be in the heart of the Telugu country, decidedly in Rajahmundry with its historic traditions. To Rajahmundry could be united Berhampore, Vizianagram, Parlakimidi, Vizagapatam, Cocanada, Masulipatam and Guntur, almost all lying within a radius of 150 miles."

## The Situation in India

Lord Meston, writing in the last issue of the *Asiatic Review*, deplors the absence in England of real inside information regarding India and the lack of a dispassionate review of the whole position. There is, in the first place, a possibility of outbreaks of mob-violence, and apprehensions on this score are general. Next there is surging a wave of racial animosity which is breaking down the old kindly relations between the English officials and the people. Thirdly the new constitution is already creating and labouring heavily; and lastly India is experiencing the economic aftermath of the war and beginning to face the anxieties of high prices, low exchange, empty treasuries, etc. Lord Meston sees the true remedy for all these ills in a patient and consistent policy which should in the first place prevent disorders and strengthen the local authorities and thus steadily enforce the ordinary law. Then should come the harder task of reconstructing the position which Mr. Gandhi has assaulted by mobilising and strengthening that section of Indian thought which accepts English ideals of civilisation and by training the country in the use of free institutions and obliterating all colour distinctions which lower the self-respect of Indians. True co-operation must give Englishmen and Indians each their allotted share in the work—the keynote of the Act of 1919. Dyarchy preserves the balance of duties during the march towards full Self-government. Lord Meston would urge the Legislative Councils not to interfere with the policy of reserved subjects and he hopes that India would avoid both the sides of reaction—viz., a return to paternal government of the pre-reform days and a return to her own archaic past.

## Language

*The Occult Review* for May says that language or speech is physical in its general construction and is ill adapted for the expression of aught besides the purely physical. The drawbacks of language are not so serious in communication between man and man as they are to man himself. Our thoughts are framed in language and man's evolution is effected more by his own thought than by the speeches of others. In this lie the limitations. The character of that thought, when we think, is conveyed to the brain and when it becomes a definite thing, it becomes a thing of language. Whether it is enlarged or reduced in extent it is done by language; its mutations are also effected by language.

The writer discusses in this article to what extent language represents the reality of being and to what extent it limits and misrepresents the fundamentals of life. He concludes:—

"Of necessity, the denser the grade of matter the less suited becomes its language to express the subtler truths of the Higher Self. The densest grades of matter, however, cannot imprison the mind, but language can fetter it.

"Think, therefore, in things, states or principles, and by so doing lose sight of words. If the word does not fully describe what it stands for, it is a handicap to the thinking part of man, because it conveys to him a restricted meaning. The perfect expression is what he has to seek, and that can be effected in his mind without the use of language."

## Buddhagaya Temple

The *Maha-bodhi and the Buddhist World* in its issue for April exhorts Buddhists all over the world to rescue the Buddhagaya Temple from Non-Buddhist hands:—

Buddhists of China, Japan, Korea, Siam, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Tibet, Arakan, wake up from your long lethargy. You have slept too long, and the time is come when you should be up and doing. The world wants the Dhamma of the Tathagata and the salvation of the world has to be considered. India gave you Buddhism. Her noble sons left the holy land to give you the noble doctrine which has given you consolation and comfort for nearly 2,000 years. But India lost the noble doctrine through neglect and indifference and persecution.

The Indian Muhammadans annually visit Mecca which is nearly 2,000 miles away, by the thousands, they are fighting for the sake of their holy site, and moving heaven and earth to rescue the Kaaba from the hands of the newly appointed Sheriff of Mecca who is himself an Arab and a Muhammadan; hundreds of Muhammadans are going to jail in the hope of getting their grievances redressed, they want Mecca to be in the hands of Sultan of Turkey, not in the hands of a man appointed by the British Government.

Jerusalem is now in the hands of the British. The British Prime Minister asked General Allenby to try and get Jerusalem to make a Christmas present of it to the British, and it was acquired.

It is a duty that we owe to the memory of the Lord Buddha that the holy site at Buddhagaya should be rescued from alien and unsympathetic hands.

### Hindu-Moslem Unity

Mr. K. M. Panikkar, writing in a recent number of *The Hindustan Review*, maintains that the question of Hindu-Moslem unity is not religious nor political, but mainly social and cultural and in this sense the two cultures have been approximating to one another for a long time very closely. He says that in music, art, architecture, and even in literature, the Hindu and Islamic cultures have synthesised completely.

"The national mind after all expresses itself most unmistakeably in music, and in this Hindu-Muslim unity is complete. The love of Krishna-Radha of the Eternal Flute-Player with the cowherdess is daily sung by Mahomedan musicians equally with Hindus. Though the music of Hindustan is essentially a Hindu art, its best exponents have, for a long time, been Muslims. In painting and miniature it is the same. Turn over the pages of Laurence Binyon's *Court Painting of the Great Moghuls* and one is struck by the fact that most of those given there have been painted by Hindus. Rajput painting is the outcome of a fruitful cultural contact which united the soul of the two peoples.

Architecture again tells the same tale. In literature also, until recently, this union was complete. Hindustani in itself was the symbol of such a union. The earlier literature of Hindi is enriched by Hindus and Muslims alike. Malik Mahomed Jains and Abdur Rahman Khan Khanan take their place in the galaxy of Hindi poets. To Hindu motifs the Panjabi poet Waris Shah wrote his poems. Again it was a Mohammedan ruler Nasir Shah, that ordered the Bengali translation of the Mahabharata. Some of the greatest masters of Urdu popularly supposed to be an exclusively Mahomedan language—are even now Hindus.

The Indian attempt at a cultural synthesis was not confined to the realm of art.

In religion itself the genius of India for synthesis asserted itself. Nanak strove to found a religion which combined the best of both Islam and Hinduism. He probably created only a new sect, but it demonstrates this basic fact about Indian culture that it is assimilative and synthetic in its essence. Kabir was a Mussulman weaver on whom the spirit of the Vaishnava revival worked miracles and when he died Hindus and Mahomedans fought for his corpse. In Kabir we have the perfect union of Hinduism with Islam, a man to whom Allah and Rama were

synonymous. Akbar's political experiment was foredoomed to failure, as India attached only a secondary importance to politics; but his Din Ilahi again was an attempt to consciously unify India on the basis of a wider religion. Its failure was ignominious because it was too much a matter of policy and not at all based on a conviction. It is interesting to remember that the father of Sivaji himself was named Shahji in honour of a Muslim saint to whose blessing his birth was supposed to be due."

Mr. Panikkar concludes that Indian history is not wholly a record of Hindu-Muslim rivalry for political sovereignty.

### The Chinese Revolution

An Indian Journalist, writing in the *Modern World* for March, tries to analyse critically the elements that went to make up the Chinese revolutionary movement—the grandest revolution that the present century has seen.

"Dr. Sun Yat Sun and Yuan-Shi-Kai were main instruments who had under them various other instruments. They only headed the huge link which formed the means to achieve the revolution. Hence all the brutalities committed and I hold they were infinitely less than any other occidental revolution during the period of the struggle, all the cruelties perpetrated no more stain their names than the deeds of a lunatic.

There is another side to the Chinese revolution, the side of justice. It is often remarked, with no apparent show of reason by the so-called Western authorities on the Orient, who know no more of the real Asia than a Zulu or Kaffir, that revolutions may either be just or unjust and mention is made of the French Revolution, which is held to be improper, as comparable to the Chinese revolution in the common "injustice."

The writer regards the revolution as a spiritual movement.

"Its causes were as spiritual as itself and its effects would consequently be as much spiritual. When the nightmare of new scenes, and ghastly appearances flee away when the world finds the result the revolution has produced, then it will be realised that the Revolution of China was a great movement bristling with deep spiritual significance. Be that as it may, it will be well for the present generation to know that the greatest revolutions of our day is not a mere creation of a few individuals, not a mere doll-play of a few, but a great spiritual movement."

## Migration within the Empire

Lieut.-Col. L. S. Amery, M. P., writing in *The United Empire* for April, says that the migration of workers from the Home country to the Dominions and Colonies will not merely reduce immediate unemployment, but also create new markets overseas and that the more settlers Britain sends out to the Dominions, the larger in the long run will be the population of Britain itself.

He also controverts the individualistic view in the following paragraph :

"There is another school of thought which, while believing in the advantages of a better distribution of the population of the Empire, is alarmed at the idea of any Government action in the matter. Those who hold this view appear to be under the impression—that the Empire has grown simply by the individual movement of our people to new and fertile lands, and that nothing more is wanted than to let the natural impulse for migration assert itself unhampered by State control. I am afraid this theory is directly contrary to the actual facts of history. Every British Colony and Dominion has sprung from an organised scheme of settlement. That is true of the original British Colonies which now form the United States. It is even more true of the Dominions, every one of which owes its existence as a British nation to-day to a State organised scheme of settlement. British Canada was built on the foundation of the forty thousand United Empire Loyalists whom the British Government planted in Ontario and Nova Scotia after the American Revolution. The nucleus of English-speaking South Africa was the 1820 settlement of veterans of the Napoleonic War on the Kaffir border. Australia and New Zealand owe their first development to the deliberate policy of State-aided organised migration and settlement, which was forced upon the Government here by the terrible economic reaction after 1815, and which was sustained for a generation. It was pursued for an immediate object, which, in the language of the time, (as true in substance to day as then,) was to secure that 'the redundant labour and the curse of the Mother Country might become the active labour and the blessing of the Colonies.' But it was also pursued by the statesmen and the philanthropists of the time, like Wakefield, with a deep-rooted faith in the future Imperial destiny of these infant settlements—a faith which our own day has so gloriously vindicated."

In a Conference in February, Britain and the Dominions agreed to a comprehensive scheme of migration and settlement and it was concluded that the direct settlement of men on the land as primary producers was the key to the whole problem. The migration of women is a scarcely less important problem and the Overseas Settlement Committee should have the co-operation of voluntary, unofficial organisations.

## Missions to Moslems

Dr. Zwemer, editor of *The Moslem World*, writing in the April issue, deplors that Islam has defeated Christianity in the very lands where it took its rise and says that the Word of God was the only weapon that saved the Oriental churches from complete extinction by Islam.

"Where that Word existed in the common tongue—in Armenian, Syriac, in Ethiopic, in Coptic—a Christian remnant persisted and still survives. "But where, as, in Arabia and the Barbary States of North Africa, they did not possess the New Testament in the language of the common people, the Church was extinguished."

Dr. Zwemer then goes on to emphasize the tremendous difficulties which assail every modern convert from Islam to Christianity. He asks :

"Dare we ask how many living Moslem converts there are to-day? We venture the statement. In Malaysia among Pagan-Moslems over 40,000 are counted, in India and China perhaps 10,000 more. This is encouraging. But in the old Moslem lands of North Africa and Western Asia the number of those who have dared to break away are pitifully small. In all North Africa, including Egypt, there are perhaps less than 300 living converts; in Arabia less than fifty; in Persia less than 200; In Syria, Turkey and Palestine even smaller numbers." Facts and figures like these, published by so high an authority, will strike many readers with a painful shock of surprise. But Dr. Zwemer remains heroically undismayed. He concludes: "Is then the Cross defeated? Must we admit that the Gospel is *not* the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes among Moslems? Victory will come by advancing on our knees, with dauntless faith, and in a hope that refuses to be baffled. . . . The Gibaltars and Verduns of the non-Christian world challenge our valour when circumstances are most discouraging. Man's extremity is God's opportunity. An army may appear vanquished on the very eve of being victorious."

### The Brahmo Samaj

The Rev. E. F. Brown, writing in *The East and the West* for April, about the Brahmo Samaj says that Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder of the new Brahmo Samaj of India (the first Schism) made Brahmoism, instead of a negative protest against the worst features of Hinduism, a war religion with devotional practices and high moral aspirations and aiming, among other things, at the emancipation of women. But a rift soon arose, and a second Schism resulted in the formation of the Sadharan or Universal Brahmo Samaj into which the main strength of the movement passed.

Keshub Chunder, in spite of language which often seemed to be verging on Christian faith never really advanced beyond the Unitarian position; but he did more than any other Hindu leader to turn men's thoughts towards Christ. He saw that bare Theism was not enough to constitute a religion—it must have rites and ceremonies and a theology as well as a programme of moral and social reform; and he made a strange and pathetic effort to provide these. There were revivals of Hindu observances almost trenching on idolatry; and there were travesties of Christian sacraments equally offensive to his Christian and his Hindu friends.

Since the death of Keshub Chunder, the Sadharana Samaj has held on its way with little of change for better or for worse. It has had no leaders of outstanding ability and it forms a place of refuge for those whose consciences revolt against the corruptions of Hinduism, but who are not prepared to take the bold step of becoming Christians. Brahmoism, however, has not gathered impetus as it went forward; the number of its followers remains insignificant and it is scarcely felt outside the confines of Bengal.

### South Africa 1795-1921

Captain H. B. Reynardson, writing in the *Army Quarterly*, traces the actions of the British Army in South Africa, where the British policy during the 19th century may be said to afford unlimited material for argument, but less for self-congratulation. Since 1795 there have been 7 Kaffir wars, 2 Basuto wars, a Zulu war and 2 Matabele wars, besides innumerable smaller skirmishes and minor expeditions and wars between the two white races. The wars with the natives have been frequent and involved in their nature; and the campaigns increased in importance as the series progressed until the 7th Kaffir war of 1846, the Basuto War which followed and the formidable Zulu War of 1879.

"In turning from the native wars to those in which the English and Dutch of South Africa have opposed each other, many problems immediately present themselves. History suddenly becomes more recent, if not in years, at least in sentiment; and no Englishman can forget the true value of generosity, when it is shown by a people whose very homes have been involved in the disaster of war."

The operations of 1795 and 1806, which resulted in the two occupations of the Cape, call for no special notice; their success was due more to the chances of politics and internal confusion than to the prowess of British arms. They were incidents of the times, destined to be far-reaching in effect, but not in themselves of sort which sows the seeds of memories and enmities.

Although from the standpoint of a very much limited military history it may be possible to treat separately the story of the native wars, these are politically inseparable from the history of the English and Dutch. They were the outcome of our policy in native affairs, and this policy, whatever may be thought of its principle and variations, had a profound influence on the relations between the two dominant European in the South Africa."

The two peoples have now finally joined in the Union, and all the stories of 1,900 are forgotten.

### Conditions of Religious Unity

Mr. T. S. Lascelles, writing in *The Positivist Review* for April, says that the path of true progress according to Positivists lies towards union, unity and common agreement in all subjects from mathematics to morals; and this is one of the fundamental principles of Positivism; and this holds most good in the case of religion, which, according to Positivism, embraces the whole field of human activity. He concludes:—

"Spiritual liberty, unhampered by any question of privilege or material interest, is the only way to secure the triumph of true and the elimination of erroneous doctrine. It is all the more important to insist on this now, because in modern times material resources are so enormous and the temptation to employ them to further one's own pet schemes is well-nigh irresistible. By leaving the field open for perfectly free discussion and investigation the ascendancy naturally due to sound abstract principles will inevitably come about with far more satisfactory results than any artificial support could possibly produce for them. It is not surprising, therefore, to see in

the Positivist Catechism the earnestness with which Comte dwells upon the safeguards required to ensure that the priesthood, the great teaching body to which he looked forward, should not degenerate into a spiritual monopoly. It was to make no attempt to prevent anyone else teaching, on any subject whatever, even on those it was to be particularly engaged in expounding. The two conceptions of first, the necessity for the establishment of principles as a prelude to activities, and secondly, for full liberty in the task of arriving at them, are therefore complementary.

But this legal freedom does not imply that everyone is competent to use it. While it is a necessary safeguard of truth that everyone should be free in law to work out his own religious belief, as my correspondent wished to do, no one is really competent, to execute such a task. That can only be done by the aid of the accumulations of countless generations, the ever-developing power of Humanity."

### The Treaty of Severs

A writer in *The English Review* for February regards the recently published book of Keynes as a timely appendix for saving a situation that would otherwise be economically disastrous. Mr. Keynes proves the outrageous exaggeration of French demands for damage until the total demand averages three times any fair estimable figure. The same applies to the Belgian demand. The truth is that politicians aimed at crippling Germany for good and did not at all think as economists. In the delirium of greed politicians forgot the exchange with the result that Germany has to sell out her currency to pay anything.

Now if France, thirsting for revenge, like Shylock, demands her full pound of flesh, we and America must ask for ours; this, however, implies continuous chaos. But if we step in and lead, renounce our claims, write off the Allied debts, France would and could receive in payment every year a sum equal to half the total amount of gold now held in France, and in thirty years receive ten times the amount paid by her to Germany after 1871. That is practical politics, the other is fairy finance. Every banker in Britain knows it. Every merchant of standing knows it. The country at large, weary and suspicious, at least understands the pinch of poverty consequent on reparation demands which cannot be applied, which cripple trade, which promote unemployment, which threaten to destroy the foundations of Western civilisation,

### The Spirit of India

Watchman, writing in the *Young Men of India*, says that the *Khaddar* movement symbolises: (a) the simplicity of life, (b) the absence of class-pride based on property, (c) the independence from foreigners for necessities of life, (d) the poverty of the spirit which encounters evils by love in all human relationships and (e) the paving down of all non-essentials in the pursuit of a sacred cause.

He puts forward the following propositions as characteristic of the present situation of the country:

1. The spirit of India declares that *Swarajya* is the intrinsic right of India as of any people. It resents the India Act as it denies this right, and is worked out on such a denial.

2. The spirit of India demands Hindu-Moslem unity as indispensable for the very existence of an Indian State. It holds that the Indian State is bound to put before the world, and before whom such may concern, the views of its Moslem population, will all the strength in its power, short of actual violence.

3. The spirit of India rises in horror against the principle of rule which made Jallianwala possible.

4. The spirit of India cannot tolerate the present rush towards the blinding materialising of life, where the soul is killed, the poor are ground down, and incidentally the country is become more and more the prey of the exploiting traders of all lands.

5. The spirit of India maintains that while the parliamentary system of Britain may be suited to the British people as having grown up with them for eight centuries, it is built on an assumption of the freedom of individuals, which is foreign to the genius of India, and is found to be injurious even in the West. Such a system is by no means the last word in Democracy. A new order has to be created in India, suited to her own genius, traditions, conditions, human and spiritual. In the evolving of such a new order the essential condition is complete *Swarajya*.

6. The spirit of India very deliberately votes for the British connexion, deeply grateful for what it has meant and highly appreciative of what it can yet be. But there is the clear conviction that the time has come when foreign intervention should cease.



### Sources of Sikh History

Mr. Sita Ram Kohli, writing on the Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in the February number of the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the Allahabad University, dwells briefly on the sources of Sikh history. In the course of his article he says :—

"It is now exactly seventy-two years since the Sikhs ceased to rule over the Punjab. The history of the rise, expansion, and, to some extent, the fall of the Sikh power was narrated at the time by several writers, e.g., Prinsep, Cunningham, McGregor and others. The only other sources, which have been largely drawn upon by later students and writers on the subject, are the accounts of the journeys published by European travellers and visitors at the Court of Ranjit Singh, the Great Maharaja of the Sikhs. The Persian works, especially of the two contemporary Indian historians, Munshi Sohan Lal and Dewan Amar Nath, are widely read, chiefly because of their inaccessibility."

Some of the above-mentioned works are indeed very valuable, so far as the political history of the Sikhs is concerned, but almost all of them are silent about the system of Government.

Thanks to the Punjab Government, the entire original records of the Sikh Government (1812—1849 A.D.) that had been lying unnoticed in the archives of the Punjab Secretariat, have lately been brought to light. The future student of the history of this period will find in these records a rich mine of trustworthy information especially in the direction just pointed out. The records consist of official papers dealing with the ministerial details of the several departments of the Sikh Government and, as such, they are capable of affording much useful information regarding the system of administration as it existed under the Khalsa Government immediately before the advent of the British."

### International Leagues in History

The policy of partial naval disarmament proposed by President Harding and Mr. Hughes in the Washington Conference reminds us of institutions which attempted on a smaller scale the same beneficent work of giving peace to a distracted world. Mr. Evans, writing of such leagues in the April number of the *Journal of Education and the School World*, says :—

The greatest, and for a long time the most successful, of such attempts, was the Roman Empire; throughout its territory by land and sea there was profound peace, wars were waged only on its distant frontiers, and the Apostle Paul did not have to count among his

perils those of pirates or of armies. But at last the Pax Romana broke down and the "barbarian" invasions of the fourth and following centuries brought in the "Dark Ages" of turmoil from which Karl the Great ("Charlemagne") for a time delivered Western Europe. His coronation as Roman Emperor in 800 was, as it were, the beginning of that idea which, under the name of the Holy Roman Empire, possessed the minds of men as the rule of God upon earth for many years.

What the Holy Roman Empire might have effected was attempted by clergy striving to introduce a Pax Dei, or, failing that, a Treuga Dei, a truce which would stop the petty wars of nobles, at least during weekends; Henry V of England is represented by Shakespeare as dreaming of a united crusade to defend Constantinople from the Turk, and Charles V of Germany (Charles I. of Spain) had a large dominion which might have kept the peace but for his long quarrel with France and the troubles which arose out of the Reformation. But then came the sixteenth and seventeenth century wars of religion and the eighteenth century wars of dynasties, and Grotius of Holland and his followers planning an international law, and the Mystics and their disciples, the Society of Friends ("Quakers"), with their objection to the use of force, where the only advocates of peace. Napoleon once said he had a scheme for a league of peace of which, we may presume he would have been the president, but after his time the only followers of the Quakers were American and other peace societies. When in 1851 Queen Victoria's consort, Prince Albert, planned the great exhibition which was to inaugurate an era of peaceful commerce, it proved instead to be an epitaph, not a prophecy, and when, in 1901, the Crystal Palace celebrated its jubilee, it was with a naval and military exhibition. And so Europe descended into the inferno of 1914-19, and it was not until she had so fallen that the greater minds of our own time have worked for a raise toward salvation; it is, perhaps, but the dawn, but the hopes of the world are with the League and the Conferences.

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

- THE PRINCE IN INDIA. By Everard Cotes. [The Asiatic Review, April 1922].
- STATUS OF INDIANS ABROAD. By C. F. Andrews. [The Modern Review, May 1922].
- INDIAN FISCAL COMMISSION AND THE PROBLEM BEFORE IT. By Vox Populi. [The Hindustan Review, April 1922].
- INDIAN EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY. By Dr. Gilbert Slater, M.A., D.Sc. [The Wealth of India, March 1922].
- A PLEA FOR BANKING LEGISLATION IN INDIA. By B. Rameshchandra Rao, M.A. [The Calcutta Review, May 1922].
- POSTSSES OF THE TAMIL LAND. By Mrs. T. Tirunavukarasu. [Everymans Review, May '22]

## Bombay Liberal Conference

The following resolutions were passed by the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference held at Bombay on the 6th instant under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri :—

1. (a) That it is essential that effective measures should be taken on behalf of the Liberal Party to organise and educate the electorate.

(b) That with a view to carrying out the work as early as possible in an efficient and practical manner this Conference hereby appoints a Standing Working Committee.

2. This Conference earnestly urges upon the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament the necessity of accelerating the pace for the attainment of complete Self-government and towards that end the taking of steps for the immediate introduction of

(i) full responsible Government in the Provinces and (ii) responsibility in the Central Government in all departments except the military, political and foreign.

3. This Conference declares its staunch adherence to the policy of attaining Self-government by constitutional means and is of opinion that towards that end it is essential that law and order and security of life and property should be maintained in the country by all legitimate means.

4. This Conference wishes to record its strong protest against the unfair treatment meted out to the Presidency of Bombay in the financial arrangement made under the Reforms with special reference to taking over as Imperial Revenues practically the whole of the growing income-tax revenue.

This Conference is of opinion that it is necessary for a fair financial settlement that the Presidency of Bombay should have a substantial share of the growing income-tax revenue.

5. This Conference strongly urges that it is essential on the grounds both of progress and of economy, that the pace of Indianisation of the services should be accelerated.

6. This Conference urges that the Government of Bombay will continue to make strenuous efforts to economise expenditure in the administration so that a financial equilibrium may be reached as early as possible and larger sums made available for nation-building department.

7. This Conference accords full support to the Resolutions adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly in February last with regard to the

equal status of Indians in South and East Africa and emphatically disapproves of the unfair policy foreshadowed by the Colonial Secretary. \* \* \*

8. This Conference puts on record its deep appreciation of the great services rendered by Mr. Montagu to this country during the period of his official connection with it as Secretary of State, and regards his resignation as a misfortune to India. The Conference further expresses its conviction that any departure from his policy towards India will have dangerous political consequences.

## UNTOUCHABILITY

9. This Conference trusts that all possible efforts will be made to remove the stigma of untouchability which at present attaches to the so-called Depressed Classes and urges on the Government to make strong efforts for providing special facilities for education and equal chances of employment both to them and the backward classes.

10. This Conference places on record its considered opinion that it is imperative to bring down the military expenditure to the level of the pre-war period.

11. This Conference strongly supports the demands of the Indian Mussulmans in regard to the revision of the Peace Treaty with Turkey and urges upon Parliament the necessity of meeting the religious requirements of the Indian Moslem Community.

12. This Conference urges on the attention of Government as also the public the great need for accelerating the process of nation-building and in particular emphasizes the need for adequate financial provision for the following :—

(a) The spread of primary education on a steadily widening basis so as to meet the requirements of all sections of the people specially the communities still backward in education and the depressed or untouchable classes, accompanied by facilities of hostels, scholarships and free studentships; (b) Spread of industrial and technical instruction among the artisan classes; (c) Systematic improvement of agriculture in this presidency by expediting the construction of the larger irrigation works now proceeding, and by undertaking similar work; (d) Encouragement and stimulation of cottage industries on co-operative lines which would supplement small agricultural incomes; (e) The development of forests and the exploitation of their products for industrial and commercial purposes.

# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Mr. Sastri on the Indo-British Commonwealth

In connection with the article on the Indo-British Commonwealth published in the February number of this *Review* the following excerpts from the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's speech at the official banquet given by H. E. the Viceroy at Simla on the 12th instant may be read with interest:—

Too many of my friends, too many of my countrymen seem to think that the steps that we have taken in acquiring Dominion status, whether at London or at Geneva or at Washington and now in Geneva are but so many pebbles thrown at us by a designing bureaucracy by which our political ineptitude is constantly tripped and betrayed. They seem to think that some of us, who belong to what is called the Liberal Party and who are trying as far as possible to improve negotiations with Government, are victims of a great self-deception that what is equal partnership in the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations, usually classed by Mr. Lloyd George, "The Free Commonwealth of Free Nations", that our equal partnership in that object is but a delusion and a snare. Ladies and gentlemen, this Britannic Commonwealth of Nations is not always best understood by the Englishmen themselves. Perhaps, it is necessary not to be an Englishman so as to feel the great influence of this Commonwealth and to feel also its benevolence in full. Somehow or other, I have an unquenchable faith in the future of this Commonwealth. I have been criticised every now and then for referring in an excess of enthusiasm to the ideals of the British Empire, but still I remain imperturbable. I belong to the Servants of India Society, of which the basic article is the belief that the connection of India with England is somehow, on high intended to fulfil some high purposes for the benefit of the world. Belonging to that Society, I have never wavered in the faith that I shall presently endeavour to put before you. This British Commonwealth of Nations has done many things in the past. It has great exploits to its credit, doubtless credit. It has great achievements in the moral sphere to its credit. Doubtless, like all human institutions, its history is disfigured by many things, which the Britishers themselves would be the first to wish could be forgotten. Doubtless, there are many things, which may be pronounced to be serious imperfections and flaws either in the way in which the Commonwealth has been built up or the way in which

it is now held together, but we are studying a great political institution. We are studying a mass of events connected inextricably with human affairs all over the world and it were a pity to apply to it our petty measures or our small things. I take it that this great political organisation stands unique amongst the political institutions of the world for one thing above all others. I wish it were generally recognised. It stands for one thing more than any other and that is the reconciliation of the East and West, the bringing together in happy harmony the people of varied races and varied complexions, the blending together under one law, under one sovereign, under one Imperial Parliament, people of adverse nationalities, various cultures hitherto felt in many other political organisations to be irreconcilable and never under one flag. There are, as some of you may have seen, people who sit down and think deeply in these busy times. There are great writers, great thinkers, seers of the future, who would, in their moments of hesitation as to the future of our civilisation, to the future of our humanity, tell us in solemn tones, that, perhaps, the world to-day is moving forward at no long period, to a great clash between the East and West, between the white and the colored population and that clash will be marked by the shedding of more blood, by the destruction of more human happiness than any clash in the history of our country. Whether that be so or not, it is too much for one connected with the practical affairs of the moment to say, but it does not look impossible. There are many things which seem to point to the hush of smaller and pettier difficulties and it is not unlikely that we should hear, in no long time, the rumble of a mighty earthquake whereby this planet can be rudely shaken, but ladies and gentlemen, if only the British Commonwealth were wisely guided in its time, if only British statesmanship, which has always proved equal to the greatest emergencies, proved equal to the greatest of all emergencies, if only the British Commonwealth kept its even temper in spite of ups and downs in its upward progress, there is no serious risk of this great earthquake submerging this planet. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, where in any Empire, in any political union, there are people of so many varied races and complexions and cultures as within the British Empire. I ask you to reflect solely to see the march of events from a safe distance, of say two or three hundred years,

## Cochin Administration

Commenting on the Cochin Administration Report, the *Indian Social Reformer* concludes thus:—

The Diwan concludes the report by stating that "during the year the State has passed through anxious and trying times." There is not a word mentioned about the Trichur Riots which attracted a certain amount of attention from outside the State. It was reported that a Committee was appointed to enquire into the causes of the disturbances. When have they been doing for the last one year? Have they submitted any report? If not, when are they expected to finish their enquiries and deliberations? It is nearly one year since the Committee was appointed and the disappointment in finding no mention at all of the incident in the Report was expressed by some journals in reviewing the Administration Report. We trust that an early publication of the findings of the Committee will be made at least in the interests of the Government some of whose officials were alleged to have been responsible to a large extent for the deplorable communal fight.

## The Late Maharaja of Kolhapur

H. H. Maharaja Sir Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharaja of Kolhapur, died at Bombay in the first week of this month.

His Highness was born on 26th June, 1874, and succeeded to the *gaddi*, as a minor, on 17th March, 1884, on which date, he adopted from the Kagal Chief's family, being the son of Jayasingrao Ghatge Sarjarrao Vazarat Maah. He received his education privately at first under the guardianship of Mr. Stuart Mitford Fraser, C.I.E., I.C.S., and afterwards at the Rajkot Rajkumar College. He was installed, and assumed full control of his State on 2nd April, 1894. He received the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1900. He was accorded the decoration of G.C.S.I., on 1st January 1895, and the G.C.V.O., on 15th May, 1903, these distinctions being conferred by the Crown of "good government, loyalty, and the dignity of the House." He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Cambridge University on the occasion of his visit to England. His Highness was accorded the honour of a personal salute of twenty-one guns, the usual salute of the Kolhapur Chiefs being nineteen guns.

The late Maharaja took an active part in the campaign against political agitators in the Deccan and was the recognised head of the non-Brahmin movement. His last appearance in public, says the *Bombay Chronicle*, was on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Shivaji Memorial at Poona by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

## Dewan of Mysore

The following notification in the "Mysore Gazette Extraordinary" dated 1st May has been issued:—

"Whereas the Office of the Dewan has fallen vacant by the retirement of Rajasevadhurina Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. We, placing trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of Mr. Albion Rajkumar Bannerji, C.S.I. C.I.E., do hereby appoint the said Albion Rajkumar Bannerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., to be the Dewan of Mysore and we do further appoint the said Albion Rajkumar Bannerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., to be "Ex-officio" President of the Council.

## Primary Education in Hyderabad

Commenting on the *firman* of His Exalted Highness the Nizam making Primary Education free in the State, the *Tribune* writes:—

The step marks a distinct advance in the educational history of the Premier State of India and we shall be glad to hear at an early date that compulsion has also been introduced with the necessary safeguard having regard to local conditions. We are not aware of what the Punjab States are doing in the matter, although it is well known that in Patiala, education (primary, secondary and collegiate) is comparatively cheap owing to the low rate of fees. In the State of Sirmor (Nahan) also primary education is free, although we are informed that fees in the secondary classes are a bit too heavy for the poor and middle classes, people who compose the vast bulk of the population. The measure of political and social advance is directly dependent on educational progress of the masses and the sooner the rulers of Indian States realise that education is the lever whereby to lift people, the better for all concerned.

## The Future of Pudukottah

It seems as though now settled says the *Hindu* of Madras, that His Highness the Rajah of Pudukottah has finally decided to abdicate and that negotiations are already afoot, if not indeed concluded, regarding the terms of abdication. This decision on the part of the Rajah may be regretted in the State, though to many far-seeing men who have been studying the trend of the Rajah's inclinations no other alternative, it must be said, seemed possible. It now remains for the people to consider two points, first, the terms of abdication, and secondly the future Government of the State,

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## Lord Peel on Sastri's Mission

Lord Peel, the Secretary of State for India, sent the following message to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the eve of his departure to the Dominions. It was read by His Excellency the Viceroy at the official banquet at Simla :—

"Before you depart for Australia, New Zealand and Canada, at the invitations of the Governments of those Dominions, as a representative of the Government of India, I wish to take the opportunity of expressing my sense of high importance of your mission for India and the Empire. The eloquence and the cogency of your appeals were largely instrumental in the success achieved by the representatives of India at the Premier's Conference last year, which places on record a resolution recognising the rights of citizenship of Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire. The ready acceptance of that resolution by the Empire Ministers of the Great Dominions which you will visit is a signal proof of the new status of equal partnership won by India through her efforts and sacrifices during the war in the Councils of the British Commonwealth of the nations. It will now be your task to extend and quicken the spirit of harmony and goodwill, to consult with leaders of the political thought in the Dominions and their constituent states and provinces as to the best means and methods of giving effect to the objects of the resolution, and to bring home to their peoples the evidence of India's worthiness of her new status and her consciousness of common ideals and higher interests, which she shares with them as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of nations. No one better qualified than you could have been chosen to undertake this difficult and important mission, in which I am confident you will achieve the greatest possible measure of success. You carry with you my most cordial good wishes."

## The Genesis of Mr. Sastri's Mission

At the same banquet Lord Reading referred to the genesis of the present mission and said :—

During the discussions in the Imperial Conference he (Mr. Sastri) presented the views of my Government and the aspirations of the people of India on the subject of the disabilities of Indians in the Self-governing Dominions. With the concurrence of Mr. Montagu, his colleagues and of my Government, Mr. Sastri suggested that misapprehensions might be removed and a closer understanding and sympathy established if a deputation from India visited the Dominions and

discussed the situation with their leading men. He expressed hopes that the Conference might lead to legislation to effect the desired changes. Who could doubt the wisdom of this idea? And I am glad to say that it was warmly welcomed by the Dominion Premiers, whom he is about to visit.

I am glad to inform you that the Commonwealth of Australia, his first destination, has sent through me to our honoured representative a most cordial message of welcome and an offer of hospitality as an honoured guest of the Dominion



THE RT. HON. MR. V. S. S. SASTRI.

during his visit. He goes forth on India's mission to other parts of the Empire. India is no longer outside the door when the Councils of Empire meet, but India is present at the Conference taking her seat as a partner in the Empire. \* \* \* We see in rapid review India taking her place with the Home Government and the Dominions, at the Imperial Conference, at the Imperial War Cabinet, at the great Peace Conference, at the League of Nations, at the Washington Conference and with them affixing her signature to the great world treaties.

## Cheap Electric Power.

At a meeting of the Indian Association held on the 12th May, the following resolutions were passed :—

Resolved that the Indian Association is of the opinion that the Government of Bengal should take up the question of supply of cheap electric power for the development of industries either from coal or from water power as early as possible.

The Indian Association strongly protests against the conversion of the Railway Finance Committee into a Central Railway Advisory Council against the recommendation of the Acworth Committee, with which the Government of India had agreed. The Association considers that the Railway Advisory Council should have been constituted as recommended by the Acworth Committee, namely half non official members of such a Council to be nominated by the leading commercial and industrial associations both European and Indian and that the other half to be representative of rural interest and of the Indian travelling public appointed by the Legislative Council of each of the Provinces.

## India's Imports of Sugar

According to the published account relating to the Sea-Borne Trade and Navigation of British India for March 1922, the total imports of sugar into India during the twelve months, 1st April 1921 to 31st March 1922, amounted to 717,612 tons against 236,808 tons in 1922-21 and 408,723 tons in the year 1919-20. Out of these 32,621 tons were re-exported in 1921-22 as against 72,577 tons in 1920-21 and 68,212 tons in the preceding year. Thus India's net imports were—

YEAR.	TONS.	VALUE.
1921-22 ..	684,991	25,07,44,032
1920-21 ..	164,331	10,81,86,330
1919-20 ..	340,511	18,28,72,006

Of the exporting countries Java stands first as she supplied India with no less than 627,965 tons during the year just ended, the next order of importance was Mauritius with 61,611 tons and the third, though at a respectable distance, was Belgium with 12,798 tons.

The effect of a comparatively low price is clearly visible in the greatly increased imports during the year 1921-22 when sugar was cheaper as compared with the previous year.

## New Joint-Stock Companies

According to the returns received in the Department of Statistics 72 companies were registered during the month of March, 1922, with an aggregate authorised capital of Rs. 1,489 lakhs, to which Bengal contributed Rs. 1,337 lakhs, or about 90 per cent., and Bombay Rs. 83 lakhs or 6 per cent. of the total. In the corresponding month of the preceding year, i.e. in March 1921, 51 companies were registered with an authorised capital of Rs. 268 lakhs. The largest flotation is Estate Loan and Industries (India) with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 crores in Bengal. For the twelve months, April 1921 to March 1922 the number of companies registered was 719 with an authorised capital of Rs. 80 crores, as against 1,022 companies, with over Rs. 147 crores of authorised capital in the preceding years.

## Accidents in Factories in Japan

According to an investigation made by the Osaka Prefectural Government with regard to the number of accidents which occurred in factories during the year 1920, there were in 655 factories employing together 100,000 workers (each with more than 50 workers) 47 cases of death (male 672, female 46) and 5,821 cases of slight injury (male 5,061, female 760), totalling 6,586, involving death or injury to every 7 persons out of 100 in the course of their work.

These figures are taken only in respect of factories where the Factory Law was applied. The situation in smaller factories not under the Factory Law is considered to be worse, so that the real figures of deaths and injuries among the 250,000 factory workers in that prefecture on an average amount to 10 persons in 100. Accidents occurred most frequently in textile and machine and tool works.—*Labour Gazette*.

## Canada's Trade with India

The Canadian Government has now established a Canadian Government Trade Commissioner's Office for India and Ceylon in Calcutta. Major H. A. Ohisholm arrived in India last month in Calcutta. The opening of an office of this kind in Calcutta is in pursuance of the policy of the Canadian Government to provide for direct commercial representation in the leading markets of the world. There are now 23 Canadian Government Trade Commissioners established throughout the world.

# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## Land Revenue Assessment

The Governor in Council, U.P., has appointed a committee with the Hon'ble Mr. M. Keane as President to enquire into the whole question of assessment of land revenue in the United Provinces, particularly with regard to the term of future settlements and limitation of assessment both as regards share of assets and enhancement.

## Co-operative Irrigation Bank

A Co-operative Irrigation Bank has been established in Bankura with the object of financing the many co-operative irrigation societies which are now being organised throughout the district under the auspices of the District Agricultural Association. The first meeting of the Bank was held recently under the Presidency of the Collector Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. The share capital of the bank will be five lakhs of rupees.

## Empire Sugar

Canada, Australia, South Africa and India were represented on the powerful deputation of Empire sugar producers which waited on the Under Secretary Mr. Wood in order to emphasise the necessity of increasing Imperial preference on sugar. Mr. Wood said he recognised the strength of the deputation's arguments and gave details of the Chancellor's present difficulties and pointed out that by not reducing the gross duty the Government had already granted a valuable concession to the Colonial Governments.

## Gassing the Crops

"Hugh" writes in the *Times of India* :—

"The idea of increasing the nutritivity of the soil is far from new, but the method of using gas for it is both original and interesting, while the results of gas experiments have been so good that it is predicted that a big future has been opened up for factories with carbon dioxide wastage."

Bornemann, one of the experimentalists, says that crop weights depend very largely upon the production of carbon dioxide into the soil. In the case of market garden produce the gas is assimilated from the soil and not from the air, and he has undertaken methods of increasing this soil supply by artificial means.

He took a fine clay-loam soil, divided it into twelve plots, which he covered with a close-meshed wire frame to keep off the birds. Gas was distributed by a special system of metal tubing, perforated, and placed in the ground in the middle of the plots. The ground was kept moist and free from weeds.

Wheat, peas, beans, barley, white mustard and oats were gassed for ten hours a day for three months with good results. But that is not the end of the investigations.

One scientist in Germany declares that gassing with industrial carbon dioxide will increase the crops up to 100 per cent, and the suggestion is made that the blast furnace industry could be utilised.

In the neighbourhood of foundries there is, also, the technical and economic possibility of passing thousands of hectares at a cost to the farmer of only the main pipe, the distributing pipes, and the cost of establishment.

## Sewerage Farm

The Chairman of the Mysore City Improvement Trust Board with the approval of the Government has started a Municipal Sewerage Farm as Experimental measure, and we are told that considerable success has already been achieved in planting productive trees, growing vegetables and permanent crops. There is said to be a good demand for the produce, and with care and skill the Farm has a profitable and useful future before it.

## Tiruppur Cattle Show.

"The Thirteenth Cattle and Pony Show together with Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition" will be held in the Tiruppur (Coimbatore District) Market on the 10th, 11th and 12th June 1922.

The Show and Exhibition are open not only for Coimbatore, but also for other districts of the Presidency.

Intending Exhibitors are requested to send the Exhibits to the Local Secretary, Cattle Show Sub-Committee, Tiruppur, so as to reach the Show-yard before the 8th June 1922.

## Curator of Botanical Gardens

After over 31 years' service in India, Mr. G. T. Lane, Curator of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, proceeded Home on leave preparatory to retirement.

Mr. Lane, who is a Dorsetshire man, told a representative of the *Statesman* that he first came to India as assistant curator of the Gardens, being appointed Curator five years later. With the exception of a year in Allahabad, he has spent all his service in Calcutta. "I landed in India," he said, "at the old P. and O. jetty opposite the house in which I have lived for 25 years."

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

**Poems, New and Old.** Henry Newbolt, John Murray. 7s. 6d.

Most readers of Modern English verse who claim acquaintance with Sir Henry Newbolt's work would, if challenged, name the poems 'He fell among thieves', 'Clifton Chapel', 'Vitai Lampada', and perhaps 'The Ballad of John Nicholson' and 'Drake's Drum'. The reason for so brief a list is that compilers of anthologies always select from the poems named—and generally choose the first two—to represent this writer. The curious, especially those who take pleasure in discovering the oversights of anthologists—have now their opportunity in this complete edition of Sir Henry Newbolt's verse. They will find that his range is much wider than is generally supposed, but will probably agree, in the end, that the themes with which they are already familiar represent the poet at his best. Sir Henry Newbolt's verse is always skilfully contrived and touched with gracious dignity, but the preciseness of his thought and the directness of his expression sometimes make his work unsatisfactory poetically. He excels when he is telling a tale in verse, a tale illustrating the traditions of one of those great English institutions that he loves, the Public Schools, the Army, the Navy; or the story of some noble men animated by unflinching devotion to duty. Then his clear vision and simple phrases are the exact means required, and his verse echoes clearly the enthusiasm that inspires him.

**Revolution in Education.** By Dr. Harish Chandra, Vaidik Jiwan Ashram, Debra Dun.

In this excellent book Dr. Harish Chandra has put forward his scheme of ideal education. The present age is one of extensive and intensive educational work. Dr. Chandra has given us his own scheme of preliminary and higher education. We may not agree with all that he says but his methods of treatment and of presentation of the subject are often thought-compelling and original and deserve careful consideration. Education must draw out the inner powers, and enhance originality in the case of the individual and must make also for a higher socialisation of life and greater national efficiency. This book consists of a number of booklets on educational topics bound together. They deal with the application of chemistry to art and industries, the ways and means of imparting an ideal education to boys and girls, the baby's home-training and the scheme of ideal education.

**The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire.** Edited by W. H. Dawson, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London.

The first year-book of the Universities of the Empire was published in 1914. Two further editions came out during the war, while the present work is brought up-to-date. Mr. Dawson has, in this edition, made an attempt to present a conspectus of the calendars of all universities in the Empire, *i.e.*, both in the British Isles and overseas. The record is more or less exhaustive and we are glad to note that it includes even such recently constituted universities as those of Aligarh, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Rangoon.

**Hindu Law.** By J. R. Gharpure, B. A., L. L. B., High Court Vakil, Bombay. (The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.)

We welcome the third edition of the above publication. It needs no introduction to the law student and lawyer; the name of the author, who is the editor of the "Collections of Hindu Law Texts" is sufficient guarantee for thoroughness and precision. Ostensibly the author intends the book for the law student, but we find that the subject has been treated so fully that it promises to be of great help to the practitioner as well. One remarkable feature of this publication is its method of treatment of the subject, which we consider to be of immense value. The author always gives the original texts and develops the current law therefrom, carefully marking the several stages of the evolution. In these days when the subject is overridden with an indifferent mass of case law oftentimes twisting the original Sanskrit law out of shape and recognition, the reference to the original texts of which one will be reminded at every step, is sure to act as a powerful brake wherever one is liable to be led astray. For the same reason the historic and scientific method of study of Hindu Law is giving place in favour of a mere memorisation of the conclusions reached in decided cases without any attempt to study the law as a matter of jurisprudence at the present day, therefore, this publication ought to have a special value and we would recommend it to all those who seek a knowledge of Hindu Jurisprudence and the Hindu Law by which we are governed to-day, with the assurance that they will have all that they require in as narrow a compass as possible. We consider it pre-eminently fit to be adopted as a text-book on Hindu Law in Colleges and the equipment that the student will get from its study is sure to be thorough as well as efficient.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH.

April 24. The terms and personnel of the North-West Frontier Province Enquiry Committee is published.

April 25. Lala Shanti Narayan, editor of the *Bande Mataram*, was sentenced to one year simple imprisonment.

April 26. A meeting occurred among the prisoners in the Presidency Jail, Alipore.

April 27. Fight in Mullingar, Ireland, between Republican and Free State soldiers.

April 28. A suit has been filed by the Secretary of State against the Ahmedabad Municipality for recovering Rs. 1,60,000.

April 29. The Punjab Provincial Conference met at Batala, Mr. K. Santanam presiding.

April 30. Pandit Malaviya, in a speech at Batala, made a vow of silence for four days.

May 1. The Indian Merchants Chamber urges the Government of Bombay to give Mr. Gandhi the most considerate treatment.

May 2. The Madras Liberal League gave an entertainment at the Gokhale Hall in honour of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri on the eve of their departure from India. Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer presided. Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Secretary, read letters expressing sympathy with the object of the Meeting.

May 3. In the case against Hazrat Mohani which was tried by the Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad, the jury gave a verdict of "not guilty."

May 4. Moulana Hazrat Mohani was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for each of the three speeches under Section 124-A, the sentences to run concurrently.

May 5. An informal meeting of Congress workers and members of the old Municipal Board held at Ahmedabad resolved to organise a committee to advise on non payment of taxes.

May 6. The first Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference was held at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall with the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the chair.

May 7. The C. P. Provincial Congress Committee has adopted a modified programme with a view to capture all public bodies including the councils.

May 8. The King and Queen were given a hearty send-off when they left London, this morning, for their first state visit to the King and Queen of the Belgians.

May 9. The German reading of the situation regarding reparations was presented at Hamburg by the Minister of Defence.

May 10. The Empire Press Union under the presidency of Lord Burnham gave a luncheon to Lord Northcliffe to-day on the completion of his world tour.

May 11. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested this afternoon at Lucknow District Gaol under Sections 124-A and 506.

May 12. Mr. Devadas Gandhi was arrested at Allahabad under Section 17 of the Cr. Law Amendment Act read with Section 117 I P. C. —The Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri was given a hearty send-off at the official Banquet at Simla, at H. E. the Viceroy's residence.

May 13. Rai Baikuntanath Sen Bahadur died this evening at Berhampore, Bengal.

May 14. Sir Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature at Oxford, died of typhoid,



Rt. Hon. Sastri, (centre), Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer (left) and Mr. G. A. Natesan (right).

# Literary

## Literature

Sir Arthur Spurgeon of Cassell & Co. says that the outlook for literature is particularly cheerful. "Everyone of the 45,000,000 people in this country is a potential book-reader, and if with the spread of education there is a great desire for books which did not rank in the highest class, my experience as a publisher also justifies the statement that there never was such a demand in this country as to day for books of an informative and educational character. There is no 'ring' in publishing; there is keen competition, and because of that fact the public are going to get their books at the lowest possible price. I believe that in the course of time the price of books will approximate to pre-war figures."

## The Animals' Reading Club

Geoffrey Durrmer contributes the following amusing lines to the *New Statesman*:—

Up in a tree on a spray of japonica  
A peahen croaked over *Ann Veronica*  
Beside her a not very bright baboon  
Sat deeply engrossed in *Lorna Doone*.  
Between the branches a solemn giraffe  
Wondered with Bergson why we laugh.  
A spotted hyaena (and rather a roue)  
Suggested himself a course of Coue.  
A persecuted and gambling grouse  
Welcomed the message of *Heartbreak House*.  
A puritanical porcupine  
Wrote tracts with his quills on women and wine.  
A laughing (still laughing) jackass was seen  
Extracting the gist of the Gloomy Dean  
An agile gibbon said: "I'm not at home  
With my namesake's work on the fall of Rome."  
A pair of reactionary crocodiles  
Fought for a volume of Eustace Miles.  
A Barbary ape as he ate a banana  
Wept salt tears over Santayana.  
A bevy of otters abandoned their games  
To continue a course of William James.  
Cows forgot the mud and the midges  
As they chewed the cud over Robert Bridges;  
And far below in the highest hopes  
A solitary rabbit read Marie Stopes;  
Till an ostrich came by, and just to protest,  
Swallowed the book, which he failed to digest.

## Birrell's Recollections

There will be joy in social, political, and literary circles at the news that Mr. Augustine Birrell is engaged upon his memoirs, writes the *Sunday Times*. It must be now nearly forty years since his first book, *Obiter Dicta* appeared, and many a tidy volume of essays and biography have been struck at the same mint since. He is also a brilliant conversationalist. In fact, "to Birrell" is an accepted English phrase which will doubtless find a place in the next edition of Murray's Dictionary. Mr. Balfour once declared that the best speeches he had listened to in the House were Birrell's, and both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George have openly admitted that they preferred an hour of Birrell's company to that of anyone else. How rich a harvest, then, may not Mr. Birrell garner in his autobiography!

## Teetotalism and Literature

Mr. George Bernard Shaw, writing in response to a request from the editor of the *Westminster Gazette* regarding Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's recent statement, that a total abstainer, and more particularly a life-long abstainer, is, in the nature of things, imperfectly equipped for high literature, and his challenge to the Wesleyan President to enumerate a list of half a dozen great poets and another list of half a dozen critics who have been total abstainers, says: "'Q' forgets Shelley and me. But his proposition that alcohol effects an extension of manhood is flatly contrary to obvious facts. Six drops of any alcoholic liquid will depreciate a man's critical acumen by ten per cent. That is what people take alcohol for. It dulls their self-criticism and also their criticism of their surroundings, making them happy and silly. If it had the opposite effect the world would go dry at once. The world does not appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk when it wants a sound judgment (which it seldom does). Shakespeare, who knew what he was talking about said that the effect of drink on a man was to steal away his brains. If 'Q' said that it added another inch of grey matter, then I want to know how much 'Q' had when he said it."

## BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STUDENTS' ATLAS OF INDIAN HISTORY. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Madras.  
REPORT ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE & FISHERIES, TRAVANCORE. [The Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum.]  
RACIAL INTERMARRIAGES: THEIR SCIENTIFIC ASPECT. The Times Press, Bombay.

## Educational

### Sir Michael Sadler on Teachers

The *Young Men of India* for April publishes a remarkable lecture delivered by Sir M. Sadler in London on "Should Teachers be Civil Servants." The lecturer is on the whole against teachers being Civil Servants and we give below some of his arguments:—

On the other hand I am bound to say that I feel that in so far as education is an art, in so far as it really depends on the personality and the heart of the individual teacher, you do unwisely if you impose upon that personality any unnecessary shackles of Government service. The heart of education lies in disciplined freedom and the necessary conditions of public employment in the civil service would—I do not say in all cases, but certainly I think in some cases—a little impair the happy and fruitful freedom of the teachers' mind and acts and words. In the second place, though of course education is a great national service, its main advance is by the daily industry and conscientiousness of scores of thousands of men and women, nevertheless, at critical moments in the world's history, the course of this great educational system is really directed by the foresight and genius of great individuals. At all times there are the prophets some of whom fail to get their words listened to, but at all the great advancing points in the history of education you get the man or group of men, or the woman or group of women, who have instinctively felt how education should advance, and have successfully deflected its course into other channels. I think, in this connection, of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, not to speak of later prophets. I do not think Rousseau would have made a very good civil servant, and though Pestalozzi was at the most fruitful period of his life actually in the employment of Government, he was working independently rather as the head of a school like a concentration camp than as a member of a civil service.

### University Training Corps

Under Section 12 of the Indian Territorial Force Act, 1920, His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to constitute the following Advisory Committee for the University Training Corps of the Indian Territorial Force:—Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachariyar, Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi and Lieutenant Colonel H. E. Macfarlane. The Committee will sit at Madras and Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachariyar will be the President.

## The Aim of Education

Here is the aim of education from twenty-one different points of view as enunciated by the *Millgate Monthly*:—

What is the Aim of Education?  
 The Student says Book.  
 The Scholar says Knowledge.  
 The Preacher says Character.  
 The Minister says Service.  
 The Philosopher says Truth.  
 The Artist says Beauty.  
 The Epicurean says Happiness.  
 The Stoic says Self-Control.  
 The Christian says Self-denial.  
 The Democrat says Self-government.  
 The Statesman says Co-operation.  
 The Ruler says Loyalty.  
 The Patriot says Patriotism.  
 The Judge says Justice.  
 The Aged Man says Wisdom.  
 The Youth says Achievement.  
 The Soldier says Courage.  
 The Editor says Success.  
 The Manufacturer says Efficiency.  
 The Banker says Wealth.  
 The Dreamer says Vision.  
 The Child says Play.  
 The Maiden says Love.  
 The Man says Work.  
 The Friend says Friendship.  
 The Pedagogue says Personality.  
 The Physician says Health.  
 The Biologist says Growth.  
 The Psychologist says Unfoldment.  
 The Sociologist says Adjustment.

But the true Educator says all of these and more must be the aim of Education.

### International Co-operation

The Council of the League of Nations has appointed a committee of ten to study the question of international co-operation. The Committee includes Prof. Gilbert Murray, (England), M. Bergson (Norway), Madame Curie (France), Prof. Einstein (Germany), and Mr. Banerjee, Professor of Political Economy at Calcutta.

### Madras Convocation Address

Rev'd W. Weston has accepted the invitation of His Excellency the Chancellor to give an address at the Convocation of the Madras University to be held in August next.

## Legal

### Indian High Courts Bill

In the House of Lords on May 9 the Indian High Courts Bill was read a second time without a division. Viscount Peel explained that the Bill provided that Pleaders in Chief Courts, for which High Courts had been substituted, should be able to count the years in which they had been Pleaders in the Chief Courts towards the ten years' pleadership in the High Court, which was one qualification for appointment as a High Court Judge. The Bill made this clear in regard to the past and future, thereby removing the doubts in connection with the recent appointment to the temporary Judgeship of the High Court in the Punjab.

As we go to press a Reuter message says that the Bill has passed the third reading in the House of Lords.

### Hazrat Mohani's Statement

Soon after the Sessions Court at Ahmadabad resumed hearing of the case of Moulana Hazrat Mohani on May 3 the accused read to the Court a long statement covering 12 typed pages. This statement, he said, was made much against his friends in order to make clear his political convictions. He had reviewed in the Sabarmati Jail his political activities and utterances in the light of sections 121 and 124 A and had come to the conclusion that not one word of these sections was applicable to his case. He said :—

"I am as before a member of the Congress. I believe in its creed and want to attain Swaraj only by legitimate and peaceful means. Of course, I believe in responsive 'non violence' in case of unjustified tyranny and oppression, but even then all that will be done in self defence.

It is not permissible in my opinion to use or initiate violence for the attainment of Swaraj. In any case I feel confident that, if the presiding Judge does not follow the lower court, I will not be found even morally responsible for waging or abetting to wage war. I gaily my case under no circumstances comes under section 12."

Mr. Hazrat Mohani it will be remembered was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment against the verdict of the jury who pronounced him not guilty.

### Devadas Gandhi's Statement

The following is the full text of the statement made by Mr. Devadas Gandhi during the course of his trial on Friday, the 12th May ;—

The first thing I want to say is that I really rejoice that you have given me an opportunity of my speech being read almost intelligibly. I consider it a happy consummation of my services to my motherland that I should now be sent to prison for it. We Indians do not joke when we say that the jail is the only abode which a self-respecting man can choose for himself at this time. Under the present system of the British Government to achieve our object for us Indians is to go to prison. I am conscious of combating with the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Our great and beloved leaders like my father Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali are all undergoing either a long or short term of imprisonment as humble supporters of their claim. There can be no path for a young man like myself but to find his way as early as possible to a prison and help in the regaining of their freedom. I believe that he is a true member of the Congress who is an humble supporter of the claim and is ready to go to a prison. The greater the number of humble supporters of the claim the easier would be to effect the release of our great and beloved leaders. We have to combat with the Criminal Law Amendment Act and I do not think that India has ever been crowned with so much success in her efforts as in the case of combating with the Criminal Law Amendment Act. I consider that it is too late that I am convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, for it is like beating a dead horse. I have nothing further to say, for what I did I did really in full sense of my responsibility. I did really ask the intelligent public to enlist themselves as volunteers and I crave now for the highest penalty to be imposed on me under the law.

### Gandhi Cap Penalised

Three persons who during an enquiry under Section 15, Police Act refused the order of the District Magistrate, Guntur, to remove their Gandhi caps when ordered to do so were punished by Mr. H. A. B. Vernon, I. O. S., District Magistrate of Guntur to Rs 15 fine each or in default, 10 days simple imprisonment. Their disobedience was construed into contempt of Court and the sentence was passed off the ground that the wearing of Gandhi caps meant disaffection to Government!!

## Medical

### The Hard Case of the Deaf

Sir Squire Sprigg, Editor of the *Lancet* speaking at the annual meeting of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf, said it was generally held by the public that the majority of deaf children were mentally deficient. As a matter of fact 90 per cent. of the deaf children had normally developed brains. No operation was necessary between the medical profession and teachers of the deaf. He suggested that the College should establish clinics in the big towns, where medical men could take post-graduate courses, and where there could be an interchange of knowledge between specialists and teachers.

Mr. Frank Barnes said it was regrettable that the medical and teaching professions should have come into conflict in the past on the subject of the deaf child. Though the teacher had the child under observation year after year, it rested solely with the doctor to determine whether the child was mentally deficient—which was unfair. Children came to the schools for the deaf so long after the infirmity had set in that sometimes they were almost dumb too. He advocated compulsory test for hearing in elementary schools.

### Glands and Character

The glandular organs of the body are of two kinds, writes the *Times* medical correspondent. Some manufacture a definite substance, which is supplied to the organism through a special duct of tube. The study of such secretions is relatively simple; but there are many other glands which have no such duct, and their secretions are passed directly into the blood. To isolate and examine these secretions is, of course, much more difficult, and it is now recognised that even those glands which are provided with ducts are not limited to the manufacture of the particular substance which is thus supplied to the body. They also have what the older physiologists called their "internal secretion." These internal secretions are known to have the most profound influence not only on the growth and nutrition of the body and its maintenance in health but even on the emotional and temperamental habit of the individual. Probably the most familiar to the public of the "doubtless glands" is the thyroid gland in the neck, which, when enlarged, becomes a goitre. Increased activity of this gland is always associated with an accelerated pulse, excitability,

and "nervousness." But there are many other such structures, the names of which have not been heard by the majority of people, and the working out of their influence on all the vital processes of mankind has been the most important contribution of the modern physiologists to our knowledge. Thus there is one small and apparently insignificant body closely attached to the brain which appears to control the mysterious phenomena of growth, and disturbances of its function may result in the development of giants or pygmies, or an unsightly condition which causes enlargement of the bones of the face and extremities; and on the upper end of each kidney there is a little structure whose secretion, among other functions, helps in controlling hemorrhage. Anger and excitement cause it to pour out this secretion, and so help to save the life of many a fighting man or other animal!

### The Care of Tonsil and Adenoid Cases

The Council of the Laryngological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine has made the following suggestions with reference to operations for tonsils and adenoids:—

- (1) That all clinics, whether at hospitals or schools, should be in the charge of surgeons with special experience of diseases of the nose, throat and ear, so that, *inter alia*, a wise selection may be made of cases requiring operation, and others not requiring operation may be appropriately treated;
- (2) That all patients requiring operations for tonsils and adenoids should have in-patient institutional treatment, and that a stay of at least 48 hours should be insisted on, and a further stay it thought advisable by the medical officer in charge;
- (3) That parents should be given printed instructions as regards the preparation of the patient for operation and of the room to which the patient will return;
- (4) That before the patient is admitted for operation inquiries should be made by a responsible authority as to the home conditions and circumstances, especially with reference to the presence of infectious disease;
- (5) That when the patient leaves the hospital printed instructions with regard to after-treatment should be given;
- (6) That anaesthetics should be given by anaesthetists with special experience of these operations;
- (7) That after the patient leaves the hospital with the printed instructions for after-treatment, arrangements should be made for the supervision of a qualified visiting-nurse.

## Science

### Radium

Lecturing on radio-activity before the Royal Institution, Sir Ernest Rutherford gave much interesting information in answer to the question, "Why is radium the most expensive substance in the world?" He stated that the most important source of radium is a mineral named carnotite, which occurs in America in Colorado and Utah. On an average, 5,000 tons of rock have to be dealt with to obtain 500 tons of carnotite, and these 500 tons of selected ore only contain about 50 to 100 pounds of material containing radium, which then has to be carefully treated to get the precious grains of radium out of it.

The other important source of radium is pitch-blende, but in order to represent the actual amount of radium in a ton of it, one would have to represent one ton of pitch-blende by a line on a diagram stretching from London to Edinburgh, and on this scale the radium would then be represented by a line only four inches long.

The lecturer went on to mention that the output of the radium was very small owing to the vast masses of rock that had to be dealt with in order to secure a few grains of this precious substance. In fact, the output up-to-date of radium in Europe and America was only 40 and 130 grammes respectively giving a total world output up to the present of about 170 grammes, or approximately  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ounces. This would not be over weight if posted in an envelope with four penny stamps on it. The total value of this  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of radium is from £3,250,000 to £4,750,000, or, roughly, £1,000,000 per ounce.

Sir Ernest stated that about two ounces of the world's radium was in use in American hospitals, and that the research laboratories of the world have only about one fifth of an ounce between them. He mentioned amidst applause, that half the radium used in his own researches was supplied to him before the War by the Vienna Academy of Sciences, showing how international was their point of view.

### Wireless Service

In the House of Commons, Earl Winterton stated on May 2 that a British and also an Indian firm had offered to construct and work direct wireless service between India and Great Britain under licence in accordance with the British Post Office requirements.

### Pocket 'Phones'

To ensure that report of crimes may be transmitted instantly over the whole city, the chief of Chicago police has decided to equip every policeman on duty with a miniature wireless telephone receiving set.

The apparatus is similar in principle to that adopted by "The Daily Mail" in the recent experiments by which a reporter, while walking across Hampstead Heath, was summoned to duty by a wireless telephone call from the office. It will be carried in the policeman's pocket.

The constable's attention will be attracted by a buzzer, which forms part of the instrument.

As a further aid to combating motor bandits light cars carrying a dozen armed policemen have also been ordered. These carry more powerful wireless telephones, which can both send and receive.

### Cleaning Unglazed Tiles

Unglazed floor tiles often show a white scum on the surface. This is caused by the evaporation of the lime and cement used in the foundations. This scum often appears for months if the foundations are new. It is easily washed off and in time will disappear altogether.

Dissolve some soft soap in tepid water and scrub the tiles with this solution, using an ordinary scrubbing brush. Wipe off with clean water, then rub up with a dry rubber.

To brighten the tiles dip a rag in a little paraffin and rub the tiles over with it about once a month.

### Motor-Cars and Houses of Cotton

Motor Cars made of Cotton! Such is the latest invention of Mr. Henry Ford, the American millionaire.

This new material consists mainly of highly-pressed cotton, which when complete will replace the steel at present used in the building of car bodies.

Mr. Ford calls his new invention "cottonoid," and believes that before very long it will be used for other purposes than building motor cars. Its extremely light and durable nature makes it very suitable for many uses, and its inventor thinks that it will prove a boon for house building to replace bricks and stone. Trains, he believes could be built of the same substance, thus doing away with a good deal of unnecessary weight.

For some time the stalk of the cotton plant has been successfully utilized in the manufacture of paper.

## Personal

### Mr. Montagu and India

In a special interview recorded to the *Statesman* on March 13, Mr. Montagu said he felt it was a matter for regret that he was no longer officially associated with India's destiny. He felt certain, however, that there would be no reversal in the policy which was gained by a genuine desire to promote India's well-being.

"Recent events," he proceeded "have caused me the greatest personal grief, as I was heart and soul in the movement to promote India's advancement to the status of a Self-governing Dominion."

Mr. Montagu said that he intended taking a short holiday, and, on his return to the House of Commons, he would devote the whole of his time to promoting India's welfare and the attainment of what he considered to be her legitimate aspirations.

When I asked him about Lord Reading's position, Mr. Montagu said he preferred not to express an opinion. "He added that loyalty to Great Britain and a complete disavowal of the Non-Co-operation and other unconstitutional movements was never so greatly needed as at the present day."

"India," he concluded, "will always have my best support."

### Thomas Burt, Pit Boy and M. P.

"Mr. Thomas Burt, the first Labour M.P., and at one time 'Father' of the House of Commons, died at his home in Newcastle, aged 84," says the *Chronicle*.

"At the age of ten Mr. Burt became a pit-boy in the Northumberland coal mines. At this work underground he continued for 18 years, but carried out a consistent course of self-education, reading Gibbon and John Milton in the fields by 4 o'clock on Sunday morning."

He sat in the Commons from 1874 to 1918.

"The best summary of his character was given by Viscount Grey some years ago:—

"The finest gentleman I ever knew was a working miner in England, whose gentleness, absolute fairness, instinctive horror of anything underhand or mean, gave him a character which enabled him to rise to the position of Privy Coun-  
ciller."

### Gandhi

The following poem was written by Mary Siegrit after hearing the Sermon of Rev. Holmes on "The World Significance of Mahatma Gandhi" before a New York congregation.

Who is it walks across the world to-day?  
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—  
This man of peace through whom all India  
Draws breathlessly near to the eternal will?  
Hush, what if on our earth is born again  
A leader who shall conquer by the sign  
Of one who went strange ways in Nazareth?

Who is it sits within his prison cell  
The while his spirit goes astride the world?  
This age-fulfilling one through whom speak out  
The Vedas and Upanishads—who went  
Naked and hungry forth to find the place  
Where human woe is deepest and to feel  
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land?  
Whose is this peace that challenges a world,  
That calls divine resistance to a will  
No man upholds? Whose is this voice  
Through whom the Orient comes articulate?  
Whose love is this that is an unsheathed sword  
To pierce the body of hypocrisy?  
Whose silence this that calls across the world?

In this strange leader are all races met;  
In his heart East and West are one immortally  
Through him love sounds her clarion endlessly  
To millions prostrate who have lain agelong  
Beneath the oppressor's heel-unwearied saints  
Who gives them back the ancient memory  
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance.

In his deep prison there in India  
Somehow abreast with sun and sky he waits.  
What if again a Christ is crucified  
By some reluctant Pilate—if again  
The blind enact their old Gethsemane?

Tread softly, world, perhaps a Christ leads on  
To-day in India.

### Dicey and His Books

"Professor Dicey's death removes quite the most considerable figure in English jurisprudence since Maitland. Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, like Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Bagehot's famous essay, made important history," says the *Nation*, "and his *Conflict of Laws* was evidence that a man may write a legal textbook without ceasing to write agreeable English."

"In the end, his *Law and Public Opinion* may well have a longer life than any of his other writings. It has not only great learning and insight; it started anew (and valuable) tradition in English historiography. But Dicey himself was greater than any of his books. He was a stimulating teacher, in a high degree generous to his pupils."

# Political

## Political Intolerance

Touching the intolerance of the extreme non-co-operators in regard to any attempts at the modification of the Congress programme, the *Mahratta* writes:—

Matters are indeed coming to a serious pass if responsible men in high Congress circles become very touchy and stand in dread of even a breath that would sound like differing from them in Congress matters. It is taken for granted, falsifying lessons of history, that the political emancipation of India can be achieved only by moving in a settled orbit and even a thought, of a change here or there amounts to blasphemy and sacrilege. It seems new vested interests are being created in the political thought world. Political strategy and political tactics are words which have no place in their dictionary and strict loyalty to the settled programme is gradually assuming a strange meaning. Loyalty to the ideal is giving place to the loyalty to the *obiter dictus* of great men and if one dares to suggest extension or modification only with a view to accelerate the movement he is put down as a traitor to the great leaders and workers! Of all the cries raised to drown the small voice of conscience within, this cry of treachery to the cause is the most unscrupulous and foolish. If the Anglo Indians desire to silence a Nationalist, they raise a howl of sedition and hound him down in jail. Are the Congressmen also going to imitate them all the while professing to follow Mahatma's devotion to stern truth? The spirit of intolerance that is daily growing is simply an indication of empty headedness and lack of boldness to say the truth. The amendment regarding the appointment of a Committee to examine the programme or the attempt by the Nagpur Congress Committee to put forward their own views are magnified into treachery to the cause and vials of vitriolic abuse and wrath are being poured over the devoted heads of the movers of the amendments or the persons forming the Nagpur Committee. Abuse is a game which can be played by both sides and we have only to say that abuse of the type that is being used can never lead to victory. It is not a good policy too to foul one's nest and the present stupid policy can lead them but to ridicule!

## Elective Chairmen of District Boards

The following is from the report of the administration of local bodies, published by the Government of Behar and Orissa:—

The most important event of the year was the introduction of a new system of Government with an elected member of the Legislative Council as Minister in charge of Local Self-government. The reform of the Legislative Council has preceded the reform of local self-governing bodies and it is now recognised that the time has come when direct official control should be withdrawn and that the responsibility for Local Self-government should be transferred to non official hands. In pursuance of this policy the privilege of electing non-official Chairmen was offered to all the District Boards of the Province except those of the backward tract of Chota-Nagpur. As a result there are now nine District Boards with non-official Chairmen viz, Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Monghyr, Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. The District Boards of the Tirhut Division have declined the privilege for the present. The further development of Local Self-government must await the amendment of the Act which is under consideration and as a preliminary step Government have held a Conference of representatives of District Boards whose advice will be most valuable.

## The Indian High Commissioner

With effect from to day Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India, takes over further branches of the "agency" work hitherto carried on by the Secretary of State in Council, says the "Times," writing on the 1st April. They thus pass to the direct control of the Government of India, instead of that of a member of his Majesty's Government in Whitehall.

When in conformity with the principles of the Reform scheme, the office of High Commissioner was constituted on October 20, 1920, there was transferred to Sir William Meyer the work of the Stores Department and the Indian Students Department together with the supervision of the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner in the City.

A year ago to day the payment of civil leave allowances and pensions was transferred to the High Commissioner. To-day the High Commissioner takes over from the India Office a good deal of miscellaneous agency work.



## General

### The Madras Liberal League

The Madras Liberal League gave an entertainment at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Tuesday the 3rd instant in honour of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer on the eve of their departure, the former to the Dominions and the latter to Europe. There was a large gathering of Europeans and Indians in response to the League's invitation. The guests were received with musical honours and conducted to the hall by the Secretaries. After some time was spent in conversation and refreshments were served, Mr. G. A. Natesan, one of the Secretaries read letters and telegrams from several gentlemen regretting their inability to attend the function and wishing a happy voyage to the distinguished guests.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, who presided over the function then spoke a few words bidding goodspeed to the two gentlemen and assuring them that the best wishes of the country would accompany them in their travels.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in reply said that there was no political significance attached to his tour and there was no motive behind his trip to England. The object of the trip he said was only, "to improve his own outlook on the world, to widen his experience and to satisfy his somewhat strong, if not irrepressible, love of travel."

The Rt. Hon. Sastri in thanking the members made a lengthy speech replying to the critics of his proposed mission to Australia. He pleaded for a closer union and understanding between the Dominions and India and justified the mission, not only on grounds of imperial necessity but as a patriotic duty. He said in conclusion:

By going to the Dominions he was not shirking his duty to India. He did not think that he was doing less important work than those who worked in India itself. They should try to attain their goal, namely, full Dominion status at the earliest possible date. They had to secure it by following different courses.

1. by continual struggle and agitation in India and
2. by helping India to become respected in other parts of the Commonwealth, and the latter work must in justice be regarded as a helpmate to the former. He fully believed that he was doing his duty to his country by undertaking this tour.

### Law Lords and Political Speeches

Speaking in the House of Lords Lord Carson said he differed from Lord Birkenhead's ruling that the Law Lords were not entitled to make public political speeches, and he challenged Lord Birkenhead's qualification to lay down the law. Lord Carson declared that Lord Birkenhead dissuaded him from resigning when he notified his intention of speaking in the House of Lords regarding Ulster. He now repeated his offer to resign, as he preferred honour to office.

Lord Birkenhead, replying said that he firmly upheld his previous views, but emphasised the fact that he made no reflection on Lord Carson's honour. Lord Birkenhead defended the right of the Lord Chancellor to participate in politics. The subject was then dropped.

### The Aga Khan on Muslim Policy

The *Daily Express* gives prominence to an interview by a Paris correspondent with H. H. the Aga Khan, who is reported to have declared that, unless Great Britain revised her Muhammadan policy, a revolution in India was inevitable. He suggested that peace could be restored by relieving India of the burden of taxation for the upkeep of the army and adopting the Reading-Montagu proposals. He was of opinion that the Turco Greek situation could only be settled by giving the Turks Adrianople.

### Earl Balfour

Mr Balfour has been made a peer and will no more sit in the Commons. He will be a distinct acquisition to the Upper House.

"There is a certain tinge of wistfulness in the congratulations," says the *Daily Sketch*. "For Arthur Balfour belonged by right to that rank of undecorated eminent Englishmen which includes the names of Mr Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Mr. Gladstone."

### Non-Co-operation Leader of Assam

Srijut Tarunram Phukan non co-operation leader of Assam who was transferred from Gauhati to the Silchar jail a few months ago has been granted six weeks leave on account of his health. He is to return to jail at the end of that period.

### The Court Fees Amendment Act

The assent of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General having been received, the Court Fees Amendment Act, 1922, was published in the *Fort Saint George Gazette* of the 18th April 1922 and has become law with effect from that date.

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## INDIA OLD AND NEW

BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I.

OF the many outside observers who have written upon India and her problems not many have taken their task so earnestly as Sir Valentine Chirol. His anxiety to inform himself of the true condition of things and reach correct conclusions is borne out by his 17 visits



SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I.

to India during a period of nearly 40 years. Time was when he was looked upon by Indian public opinion as an unfriendly and unsympathetic critic who had looked into the problems of

India through official spectacles. The book which he published 12 years ago under the title of "Indian Unrest" contributed not a little to create this impression. The years that have gone by have enriched his experience and mellowed his judgment. His new book on "India Old and New"\* is informed by a wider outlook and a deeper sympathy and touch with a fine imagination. No one who reads his latest book can fail to be struck with a spirit of fairness that pervades it. Interesting as the whole book is the latter portion which deals with the period subsequent to the "Mutiny" is much more so. While the earlier portion deals with a period in respect of which the author had to depend upon historical materials the latter portion deals with events and persons and policies with regard to which information can be derived from living sources of knowledge. Many are the lines of thought opened up by this suggestive volume. One of the most interesting is the effect of the clash of two civilizations, of the impact of the civilization of the West upon the comparatively static civilizations of the East. That there are differences in the angles of vision between the ancient and the modern civilization admits of no doubt. Whether the difference can be regarded as one of diametrical opposition and irreconcilable in character remains to be seen. Some are disposed to believe that the chasm between the two can never be bridged and that the only solution

\* *India Old and New*: By Sir Valentine Chirol. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

is the victory and survival of one and the defeat and extinction of the other. While it is only natural that the author should believe in the intrinsic superiority of the civilization of the West he is not one of those who believe in the impossibility of a meeting between the East and the West. The very fact that Hinduism has been able to subsist in spite of assaults made upon it by rival creeds and civilizations for so many centuries is proof of its vitality and of its containing element of permanent value to society. Though the influence of modern education and modern scientific conceptions has been operating persons believe that this assumption and belief more steadily and corrosively than the attacks which used to be made upon the citadel by force Hindu civilization still remains and is bound to remain offering its own contribution towards the progress of humanity. A fusion of the culture of the West and the East may be expected to yield a more beneficent solution of the problems that confront humanity.

The effect of the Mutiny upon the mentality of administration of British India is admirably described. It began to be assumed that the trusteeship of Britain for the welfare of India was to last for ever and it came to be held that those who were actually employed in discharging the trusteeship were alone competent to judge of

the methods by which it was discharged. Many have not yet passed from the minds of British administrators and that on the other hand it has received Parliamentary sanction in the preamble to the great Reform measure of 1919. The causes of the several waves of unrest, the defects of the Morley-Minto Reforms, the causes of the alienation of the young Muhammadans and the influence of the war upon the demand for constitutional reforms are all described with admirable clearness and insight. Not the least interesting portions of the book are those chapters which deal with the now historical events of 1919 and the emergence of Mr. Gandhi as the uncrowned king of India. In his reforms upon the economic factors and the shoals and rocks ahead Sir Valentine's remarks must meet with approval. It is much to be wished that those who are ultimately responsible for the policy of the administration of British India should realise the larger aspects and reactions of Indian issues upon the problems of the world at large. Let us hope that British statesmen will have the clearness of vision to see these looming dangers and adhere to a policy of righteousness and of sympathy and co operation and of a partnership in fact as well as in name between the constituent members of the British Commonwealth.

## HAS A BEGINNING BEEN MADE ?

By

MR. HENRY S. L. POLAK.

IT is now nearly a year since the Imperial Conference of 1921 separated, after having, with the exception of the Union of South Africa in respect of a considerable part of its area, passed a resolution urging the desirability of conferring equal citizenship upon His Majesty's Indian subjects domiciled in the overseas territories of the British Empire. No one acquainted with conditions in the Self-governing Dominions

and the powerful prejudices and racial superstitions prevalent therein, would, five years ago, have supposed that even the nominal recognition of this equality of citizenship for Indians could have taken place for decades to come. It was believed that racial privilege was too powerfully entrenched and that, if the recognition of the principle were to come at all, it would be first of all in those parts of the Empire which did not

enjoy responsible government but were administered from Downing Street. Indeed, there were some who even doubted whether His Majesty's Government needed at all to be brought into the matter, in view of the sympathetic attitude adopted by the British Cabinet towards the question of Indian grievances and disabilities in the Self-governing Dominions, British Ministers



MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

assuring the Indian complainants of the righteousness of their cause and expressing regret that they themselves could do no more than expostulate mildly and academically with the Dominion Governments. These, however, resented anything savouring of interference by outsiders in matters which, though affecting the welfare of unrepresented nationals of another part of the Commonwealth and, therefore, properly coming within the sphere of the foreign relations of the offending Dominions, they, nevertheless, chose to regard as matters of domestic concern.

Curiously enough, though the statute-books of many of the Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates, as, for example, in Ceylon, the Malay States, Kenya, Fiji, Mauritius, British Guiana, and Trinidad, are replete with ordinances and regulations having the force of law denying to Indians rights of equal citizenship with white British subjects, it was not until the case of Kenya became acute, when Lord Milner presided at the Colonial Office, that it was generally realised in India that the worst offender on the score of racial differentiation was Great Britain herself in the overseas territories in which she exercised direct jurisdiction and in respect of which her Cabinet was responsible to the British Parliament. The general mental obscurity on this subject in India was illuminated as in a flash when Lord Milner announced his determinations, apparently in the name of the British Cabinet, to maintain the policy of racial segregation in Kenya, to extend it, if possible, to neighbouring areas, including mandated territory, and to refuse the franchise even to Indians whose qualifications to exercise it could not properly be disputed. In other words, in the name of His Majesty's Government, he proclaimed the doctrine that the tropical Empire was to be administered by a privileged race, with rights of domination over all other peoples of the Empire who did not belong to that race.

Inevitably, India, who had, with increasing success, been claiming to replace the doctrine of racial supremacy by that of racial equality, took up the challenge, and the fierceness of the subsequent controversy on the subject of Kenya bears testimony to the anxiety of India, lest what she gained in one field she lost in another. Then came the Imperial Conference of last year, and it is now notorious that the Conference was at one time almost wrecked and India disastrously isolated by the combined opposition of General Smuts and Mr. Churchill.

The former, on general principles, was opposed to recognition of the doctrine of equal citizenship for the non-white peoples of the Empire. Moreover, whatever his personal views might have been, he could not, without express authority from the Union Parliament,—which he would be unable to obtain save at the risk of splitting the Union from end to end—commit his Dominion to the new doctrine, since the constitutional law of two Provinces of the Union was based upon the positive and explicit denial of the doctrine. The Transvaal Grondwet, or fundamental law, expressly declares that “there shall be no equality between white and coloured either in Church or in State.” Mr. Churchill supported General Smuts, not so much “because he thought South Africa right, as because, if the new doctrine came to be adopted, it would, if honestly enforced, put an end to the career of the Colonial Office as the central bureau, at the heart of the Empire, for the exploitation of the tropical lands of the Empire in the interests of British manufacturers, capitalists, and other privileged classes. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was the first to appreciate the value to the British people of schemes for the “development” of the tropical British colonies and dependencies, and the close association, under his successors, between the Colonial Office and the British exploiter, under the nauseating pretext of the “advancement” of the native populations and their protection from alien forms of civilization such as the Indian, is notorious. It is, perhaps, the truest “business” department of the State, and such statesmen as Col. Amery and Mr. Churchill are among the foremost exponents of the new Imperialism. Fortunately, however, both General Smuts and Mr. Churchill were outgeneralled and defeated by the Indian delegation, consisting of Mr. Montagu, the Maharao of Kutch, and Mr. Sastri, backed by the overwhelming eloquence and prestige of the Prime Minister. General Smuts refused to be bound by the

resolution so far as considerable parts of the Union were concerned, but Mr. Churchill could not take up a similar attitude in respect of Kenya, as he would have liked, and, indeed, attempted to do, for it would at once have been made to appear that His Majesty's Government regarded the doctrine of equality of citizenship as unsuited to certain parts of the Empire where Great Britain exercised direct jurisdiction, when, undoubtedly, India would have been forced to take up the challenge and a controversy would have been precipitated that might at the end have rent the Empire asunder.

What, however, Mr. Churchill had not been able to effect in principle, he sought to achieve in substance, first, by sending out with the Governor of Kenya a series of proposals which totally ignored and even denied the doctrine of equality of citizenship, and which he endeavoured to foist upon the Indian community who would thereby have consented to contract themselves out of the scope of the Imperial Conference resolution; and, secondly, when this sordid move failed, by endeavouring (thanks to Mr. Montagu, unsuccessfully) to commit the British Government to a policy that would, in effect, have evacuated the resolution of all its virtue, both in the spirit and in the letter. It will thus be seen that the Colonial Office, at any rate under Mr. Churchill, is not to be trusted, unaided, to put into effect the underlying policy of the resolution.

We have seen what it was sought to do in the case of Kenya. The Colonial Office has recently declared its provisional adhesion to the doctrine of race segregation in Uganda, where it had not previously existed. It is becoming known that, under the influence of powerful groups and corporations of white British subjects, the Governments of Fiji and British Guiana are stiffening in their objection to the grant of equal citizenship to the local Indians. But these Governments are merely local branches of the Colonial

Office, which is already in the grip of similar vested interests with headquarters in London. What has the Government of India done, apart from sending Mr. Sastri on his historic and highly important mission to three of the Dominions, to ensure that effect is given to the Imperial Conference resolution? Has it yet asked for categorical information regarding the steps taken by the Colonial Office to procure the removal of disabling legislation and differential administrative methods in the territories for whose good government the British Cabinet is responsible to Parliament? Will it not be a significant thing to find, in fact, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and India on one side, and South Africa and Great Britain on the other? It will be a new and quite unexpected ranging of forces: but unless Great Britain hastens to restore the equilibrium, by implementing with

all possible speed the agreement into which she entered with India before the whole world last year, she will only have herself to thank if vested power, privilege, and interest weigh down the balance against India and bring about, not a new Imperial integration known as the British Commonwealth of equal and free peoples, but the dissolution of an Empire of greed and exploitation that has outlived its usefulness and that denies the new spirit of human brotherhood. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India must, if India is to survive as an equal partner in the Commonwealth and preserve her self-respect as a world nation, wage a remorseless war with the Colonial Office until the principle embodied in the Imperial Conference resolution is applied fully in the spirit as well as the letter.

## Mr. Gandhi and the British Constitution\*

BY

MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

I HAVE heard him (Mr. Gandhi) say, again and again, to those who were in highest authority. "If I did not believe that racial equality was to be obtained within the British Empire, I should be a rebel."

At the close of the great and noble passive resistance struggle in South Africa, he explained his own standpoint in Johannesburg, in his farewell words, as follows:—

"It is my knowledge, right or wrong, of the British constitution, which has bound me to the British Empire. Tear that constitution to shreds, and my loyalty will also be torn to shreds. On the other hand, keep it intact, and you hold me

bound unreservedly in its service." The choice has lain before us, who are Indians in South Africa, either to sunder ourselves from the British Empire, or to struggle by means of passive resistance in order that the ideals of the British Constitution may be preserved,—but only *those* ideals. The theory of racial equality in the eyes of the Law, once recognised, can never be departed from; and its principle must at all costs be maintained,—the principle, that is to say, that in all the legal codes, which bind the Empire together, there shall be no racial taint, no racial distinction, no colour disability."

I have summarised, in the above statement, the speech which Mahatma Gandhi delivered on a very memorable occasion at Johannesburg, before a European audience, and I do not think that he has ever departed from the convictions

\* This statement with regard to Mr. Gandhi's intellectual position on the subject of the "British Constitution" and the "British Empire" is from Mr. Andrews' Introduction to the new Edition of Gandhi's Speeches and Writings just brought out by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3. To subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Rs. 2-8.

which he then uttered in public. What has impressed me most of all, has been his unlimited patience. Even now, when he has again been imprisoned by the present rulers of the British Empire, who have charge of Indian affairs, he



MR. C. F. ANDREWS

has not despaired of the British Empire itself. According to his own opinion, it is these rulers themselves who have been untrue to the underlying principle of that Empire.

A short time before Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, when I was with him in Ahmedabad, he blamed me very severely indeed for my lack of faith in the British connexion and for my publicly putting forward a demand for complete independence. He said to me openly that I had done a great deal of mischief by such advocacy of independence. If I interpret him rightly his own posi-

tion at that time was this. He had lost faith in the British Administration in India,—it was a Satanic Government. But he had not lost faith in the British Constitution itself. He still believed that India could remain within the British Empire on the basis of racial equality, and that the principle of racial equality would come out triumphantly vindicated after the present struggle in India was over. Indeed, he held himself to be the champion of that theory, and the upholder of the British Constitution.

Whether that belief, which he has held so persistently and patiently all these years, will be justified at last, time alone can show. I remember how impressed I was at the time by the fact that he, who had been treated so disgracefully time after time in South Africa, should still retain his faith in the British character. I said to him, "It would almost seem as if you had more faith in my own countrymen than I have myself." He said to me, "That may be true,"—and I felt deeply his implied rebuke.

I have gone through carefully the words he employed later at the time of his trial, and in spite of all that he said with such terrible severity concerning the evil effect of British Rule in India, I do not think that he has actually departed from the position which runs through all the speeches in this book from beginning to end. He still trusts that the temper and character of the British people will change for the better, and that the principle of racial equality will finally be acknowledged in actual deed, not merely in word. If that trust is realised, then he is prepared to remain within the British Empire. But if that trust is ultimately shattered, then he will feel that at last the time has come to sever once and for all the British connexion.

*The Indian Problem.* By C. F. Andrews. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," 12 ss.

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# THE EXCHANGE QUESTION

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BY PROF. B. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.,  
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**E**XCHANGE—a puzzling phenomenon in the commercial life of a nation—has puzzled India and the rest of the world with a systematic inconsistency. The German mark, the English pound, the French Centime, and the Italian Centesimi have depreciated remarkably, the first being the worst sufferer in this respect. But while the European currencies have followed an one-sided movement of depreciation the sterling price of the Indian rupee has oscillated in a remarkable manner. After the declaration of the war exchange fell from 1s. 4d. and Reserve Councils had to be offered to bring Exchange back to its old level. Exchange remained steady for some time but an upward movement began from January 1917 when Council Bills were sold at 1s. 4½d. to Banks and firms on the “approved list”. In August exchange rose to 1s. 5d. and the movement continued during the War and long after the armistice of November 1918, till it reached 2s. 4d. in December 1919. But it did not stop here. The Currency Committee's Report was published with suggestions intended to pour oil over the troubled waters of exchange. Exchange jumped from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d. soon after the publication of the Report and the decision of the Government to adhere to the policy laid down by the Committee and Reserve Councils were sold at 2s. 10d. and more. But the unruly horse had spent all its force and calmed down very soon. Exchange began to come down and on the first of May it stood at 2s. 3½d. The rate declined till in February this year it reached 1s. 3½d. a figure which has been repeated after the lapse of a very long period. The rate fluctuated a good deal but moved round 1s. 3d. An upward movement began again for the second time since 1914 in September last. Exchange went up to 1s. 5d. and for some time it almost reached 1s. 6d. But the story is not yet

complete for now towards the close of October exchange has come down again and seems to near 1s. 4d. And if the City Editor of the “Times” is to be believed there are enough grounds of pessimism now and for some time to come. He declares that speculators have miscalculated in counting on a large exportable surplus by India, without considering the extent of the present poverty of Europe which must limit next season's demand for India's goods and he warns them against undue optimism with regard to the future of exchange.

But what is more to be feared is the call that is being made again on the Government of India to steady exchange. People seem to have very short memories now-a-days and the huge losses that India suffered from the reckless disregard of Indian public opinion in February 1920 when Government began to sell Reserve Councils seems to have been forgotten. The Councils were sold, the Government said to render the exchange policy effective and provide the trade with the remittance it required. Remittance was provided but what was remitted to England? Not so much any payment for imports, and genuine cancellation of foreign indebtedness as the huge profits that merchants had made during the war, and speculative investments invited by and based on the difference between the Government rate and the market rate of exchange. The Bombay merchants cried halt. The sheer waste of selling Councils when exports was brought repeatedly to the notice of the Government but the authorities clung to this policy with a tenacity which deserved better use and played ducks and drakes with the resources of the country in a way which is intelligible only to the reckless business man and the crazy fellow that steps suddenly into the shoes of a multi-millionaire and knows not what to do with his



riches. But the sales were discontinued in September last year and the Government declared like a disappointed divine unsuccessful in his attempts to reclaim a criminal: "We tried our best, the forces against us are stupendous; we can only resign ourselves to fate." Mr. Hailey pointed out that the factors which were responsible for the position which he was in were such that no Government whatever its resources could possibly control and Government withdrew from a speculative adventure which cost the count ycerans of Rupees.

But is not this bitter experience without any lesson to us? It shows on the one hand, the absence of a strong public opinion which is highly deplorable. We talk glibly of politics and get up in arms whenever the claims of an Indian public servant are passed over in favour of an European public servant but all India except Bombay and feeble voices here and there watched silently this huge waste of Indian money in wild adventure. Indeed, ignorance of currency matters is one of the greatest drawbacks of our public life. As a matter of fact many Indian merchants asked for a resumption of the sale of Councils even in face of the losses that India had to pay for. But what is more to our point, the loss justified the old Indian cry regarding the evils of a managed currency. The Chamberlain Commission pookpooed this idea but here is a chapter from the latest currency history of the country which throws a flood light on amateur efforts to dabble in currency matters.

We cannot call back the past but we can at least profit by the lessons that the past teaches us. The lesson in the words of the Finance Member himself is that the problems before us are of the kind for which no Committee however expert, could be likely to propound an immediate or radical solution. Once at least the Government has realised the necessity of standing clear of currency matters and the folly of amateur interven-

tion in those public affairs which require technical assistance has been forced on them. This is why we deprecate the attempts that are being made to bring the Government back to the arena of exchange and currency. The Government has, for example, been asked to fall back on the old 1s. 4d. rate. The mistake in this policy will be apparent when we remember that for days together exchange rose and remained recently in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d. The rate of exchange depends among others on the two primary influences of the price of silver and the balance of trade. But these are uncertain factors. The guess can however be hazarded that silver cannot settle at its old price and any consideration of the price of the rupee must be based on a thorough realisation of this probability. The revival of exports is again a very uncertain factor as it depends on the large number of far reaching influence summarised in the phrase 'the resurrection of Europe'. One of the reasons of the decline of the rupee from the rate of 2s. 10d. is the economic collapse of the countries of Europe. They are like a starving man, as Mr. Lloyd George depicts them, in rage looking through a shop window at commodities which he badly needs but which he has not the money to pay for. These are uncertain factors and attempts to base any currency policy on them will surely be a leap into the dark. We should repeat the warning of the city Editor of the "Times" that the future is in an unpierceable darkness and judgement should be suspended till sufficient light is thrown on it. The Government is engaged in an attempt to reduce the currency that assumed inordinate proportions when India sent out large quantities of gunney bags, jute, munitions of war and articles of food and the demand for the medium of exchange rose to a great extent. The step is certainly one which will command universal approval but the object must be achieved slowly and cautiously.

# THE TURKS AND EUROPE

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By

MR. E. W. GREEN.

**R**ESPONSIBILITY for the terms imposed upon Turkey by the Allied Powers rests in the opinion of many upon England. However flattering to English power and influence that view may be, it is not one that squares with the facts. In the Conferences which led up to the formulation of the final terms with Turkey, England, France and Italy acted in unison, and, however much their views may have diverged since, the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were the unanimous expression of the policy of the three powers. There was however a strong body of public opinion in each country opposed to the policy of their Governments; in particular it resented the participation of Greece in the final settlement. She had not been at war with Turkey and the attitude of her Government for the greater part of the war had been unfriendly to the Allies. In his book "*The Turks and Europe*"\* recently translated from the French, M. Gaston Gaillard ascribes this support of Greek claims and the general attitude of England towards Turkey to the influence of the Greek statesman M. Venizelos and to the wealth of a rich compatriot domiciled in England, Sir Basil Zaharoff "who subsidises several organs of the British Press and has a great influence over Mr. Lloyd George owing to services rendered to him in election time." This imputation is unsupported by any evidence and is unworthy of a book which pretends to throw light on one of the most intricate problems that has confronted the Allies. But the book was evidently written for French propagandist purposes and contains several unfounded statements and baseless insinuations. For instance, "England while pretending to do justice and to settle accounts merely meant to

take hold of the Straits"; again "England had already laid hands on Arabia and Mesopotamia, but could not openly lay claim to Constantinople"; and "they (the Turks) cannot entertain the least consideration or regard for a spurious religious movement, essentially Protestant, behind which Anglo Saxon covetousness is working and the real aim of which is to start huge commercial undertakings." The writer gives no authority for his statements that England meant to hold the Dardanelles or Constantinople and he omits all mention of the fact that action taken in regard to the Straits or Constantinople has been taken jointly by the Allies at the instance of the Supreme Council. The insinuation made in the last extract will be dealt with in a later paragraph. It is only necessary to state here that many passages in the book emphasise the fact that it is fear for the safeguarding of her financial and commercial interests in Asia Minor that has brought France into antagonism with England in her Eastern policy. English foreign policy is influenced by financial and commercial considerations no more and no less than is the foreign policy of any other power. In her relations with Turkey she has of course been actuated by regard for her interests, but self-interest will not explain all her relations with Turkey. Other considerations have influenced her policy no less in the conclusion of the Treaty of Sevres than on former occasions in the history of the two countries.

English policy in the Near East from the eighteenth century has been determined by the attitude of the party in power towards Russia and Turkey. A Conservative Government has generally supported Turkey against Russia and the Liberal Party has generally been antagonistic to Turkey, though it has rarely pushed anta-

\* *The Turks and Europe*: By Gaston Gaillard. (Thomas Murly & Co., London.)

gonism to the point of formal alliance with Russia. Support of Turkey has been one of the principles of the Conservative Party from the time of William Pitt. Albert Sorel, the French historical authority on the Eastern question, has called this principle of policy "the grand diplomatic charter of England in the nineteenth century." In later years Disraeli and Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople in the middle of the nineteenth century, were its great exponents. Pitt's antagonist, Charles James Fox, may be considered the founder of the opposite school. He favoured Russia, regarding her as "the political heir to Constantinople and the predestined liberator of the peoples who had been conquered by the Turks. For religious and humanitarian reasons the Liberal Party, the political descendants of Fox, has adopted these principles. Canning, Cobden and Gladstone, and modern Liberals, Asquith, Grey and Lloyd George, have all opposed the maintenance of Turkish power. In this policy the Liberal Party is now supported by the Labour Party and abroad by the United States of America.

The characterisation of this policy as a spurious religious movement is a distortion of the motives actuating the Liberal and Labour parties and speaks a complete ignorance of public opinion in England at the present moment. The public conscience was horrified by the accounts of the Turkish treatment of the Armenian subjects, particularly of their Armenian women and children, during the war. The motive behind the Government's policy was neither revenge for Turkey's entry into the war nor the desire for instituting vast commercial undertakings, as M. Gaillard insinuates, but a sincere desire to establish such conditions in the Turkish Empire as would prevent the recurrence of such inhuman treatment of Armenians or any other Christian group. M. Gaillard has thus entirely omitted the import-

ant factor of public opinion from his enumeration of the forces influencing Mr. Lloyd George in his attitude towards Turkey in the Supreme Council. The omission is all the more astonishing since he admits at its full face value the religious feelings evinced by Muhammadans in India. But mistaken as the author is in his imputation of motives to England, he is right in his conclusion that the Allied policy towards Turkey was in many respects politically unsound.

For a proper understanding, then, of the Turkish problem it is necessary to emphasise the strength of a powerful section of public opinion in England, for that must be one of the determining factors in the ultimate settlement. This attitude is due partly to the unprovoked entry of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany. M. Gaillard ascribes her action to fear of Russian aggression and says in one of his scattered references to this subject, "the policy that the Allies pursued at that time (August 1914) and that they have not wholly repudiated obviously proved that they would give a free hand to Russia to carry out her ambitious schemes in Constantinople and Turkey-in-Asia as a reward for her energetic share in the war." This statement of Allied policy is characteristic of the author. No authority is quoted in support of it. The word "obviously" takes the place of fact and argument. To explain Turkey's entry into the war he has to insinuate that the Allies had agreedable to respect her neutrality at a moment when they were denouncing German violation of British neutrality. The statement is too ludicrous to need contradiction. The fact is that Turkey signed an alliance with Germany on August 2, 1914, with the intention of attacking Russia and cutting her off from her Allies by closing the Dardanelles. The real reasons for Turkey's entry into the war were that she was in the grip of Germany and Germany had determined that the Straits should be closed, and, secondly, that

seemed to the more powerful section of the Turkish Cabinet too good an opportunity to be missed for attacking Russia, the hereditary foe. The American ambassador in Constantinople at the outbreak of war quotes Talaat Bey as saying "Russia is our greatest enemy and we are afraid of her. If now, while Germany is attacking Russia, we can give her a good strong kick and so make her powerless to injure us for some time, it is Turkey's interest to administer that kick." But a more influential factor in determining the attitude of the Allies and in particular of England was the Armenian massacres and deportations. The shadow of Armenia has darkened the English conception not only of the individual Turk but of the Turkish State. Mr. Mahommed Ali is quoted as having said in his official interview with Mr. Lloyd George in March 1920, "I have no brief for them; I have no brief for the Turks, I have only a brief for Islam and the Indian Muslims. What we say is this, as I said to Mr. Fisher, let there be a thorough enquiry and if this thorough enquiry is carried out and if it establishes to the satisfaction of the world that the Turks really have been guilty of unprovoked murders and have been guilty of these atrocities and horrible crimes, then we will wash our hands of the Turks. To us it is much more important that not a single stain should remain on the fair name of Islam . . . . . no doubt there have been several outrages about them; some evidence has been produced; but there has been no thorough international inquiry which would satisfy the entire world, Muslim as well as Christian." The evidence of the occurrence of the atrocities is taken from four sources; the reports of survivors; the reports of American consuls; reports of German missionaries; reports of conversations between the American Ambassador and Turkish ministers, in which a policy of extermination was admitted. The evidence is so overwhelming that in the absence of any official Turkish proof to the contrary the charges must

be held as proved. Mr. Mahommed Ali hints and M. Gaillard details at some length that Turkish action can be explained, if not condoned, by the provocation given by Armenian intrigues with Russia. For the last fifty years there has been a party in Armenia which has agitated and schemed for separation from Turkey; but, while such conduct would justify Turkey in taking drastic action against the leaders of sedition and rebellion, it would no more justify her in indiscriminate and wholesale massacre and deportation than the similar movement in Ireland would have justified the British Government in resorting to a policy of extermination of the Irish. After what has happened it is not unnatural that the Allies should have misgivings as to the future relations between Turkey and her Christian subjects or that they should consider themselves under a moral obligation to impose such conditions on Turkey as will give a reasonable guarantee that her Christian subjects will not be exposed again to similar treatment.

No solution of the problem has yet been found and M. Gaillard thinks none ever will be. The Treaty of Sevres by which a section of the Armenians were formed into an independent republic and a section of the Greeks incorporated with Greece provides no solution. It is a clumsy and futile attempt to reconcile two contradictory principles and pledges the recognition of the national aspirations of minorities and the maintenance of Turkish political sovereignty in Asia Minor. Politically the most important factor in the situation is the existence of a long established and powerful race of 8,000,000 Turks in Anatolia, holding the bridge connecting Europe and Asia. It is highly desirable that that important link in the chain of world communications should be in possession of a power capable of resisting external aggression. During the war, therefore, and at the armistice the Allied leaders frequently declared that they had no intention or desire to impair

Turkish sovereignty in Asia Minor. This point of policy was put most clearly by M. Millerand in a debate in March 1920. "First of all" he said "the Supreme Council deems it necessary to organise a Turkey that can live and for this purpose it has seemed fit to maintain a Sultan in Constantinople. This is the only resolution that was made public and the only one that the British Government disclosed in the House of Commons for this purpose. The same principle implies that Turkey will include, together with the countries inhabited mainly by Moslems, the economic outlets without which she could not thrive." But the Treaty destroyed her economic independence and curtailed her resources by detaching the outlets of two most important branches of her commerce, Trebizond, the outlet for the Black Sea trade, and Smyrna, the outlet for the Levant trade. At the same time an independent Armenia weakens Turkey for defence against Russian aggression by taking from her the command of her North-Eastern approaches and the annexation of Smyrna establishes Greece in her Western gateway. If it was the object of Supreme Council to destroy Turkish sovereignty it could not have done it more effectively than by putting two of the most important strategic points of Anatolia into the hands of her enemies, for an independent but weak Armenia is bound to incline towards Russia and not towards Turkey.

Nor is the arrangement a satisfactory application of the principle of self-determination. Many groups of Armenians, all the Armenians in Cilicia, for instance, and the Greeks beyond the Vilayet of Smyrna will remain Turkish subjects, and, vice versa, Turkish elements will come under Greek and Armenian rule, although there are very few localities in which Greek and Armenians outnumber the Turk. The "unredeemed" groups will be centres of political agitation and unrest and Turkey will be as embittered by loss of territory and many of her subjects and co-religionists

as France was by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. British approval of the policy adopted by the Supreme Council was obviously due to the predominant influence of the Liberal Party. In fact any attempt to solve the problem by racial or religious considerations is doomed to failure, for the issue is political, requiring the maintenance of Anatolia as an independent political and economic unit. In other words as the Turk is in possession with a population of eight millions the administration must be left to him. But such a decision would not debar the Allied Powers from exacting guarantees for the protection of minorities for which the League of Nations or an international commission would be responsible.

Another important part of the Turkish question is the relations between the Arabs and the Turks. For a long time before the war there was antagonism between these two sections of Muhammadans. The war however brought their rivalry to a head and gave the Arab the opportunity to establish his independence under the Sherif of Mecca. The Arabian nationalist movement was supported by the Allies, mainly by Great Britain, who pledged herself to support the formation of an Arab State in the Island of Arabia—the Jazirat-ul-Arab. In addition to the Peninsula of Arabia "the Island" includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. In Syria and Mesopotamia, the outlying portions of Arabia, Arab kingdoms have been set up under Emir Feisal, the son of Emir Hussain, formerly Sherif of Mecca and now, in addition, King of Arabia. To this policy M. Gaillard is frankly antagonistic. "We disapprove," he says, "of his (the Emir Feisal's) policy and blame his attitude because we believe Arabian aspirations cannot be lawfully fulfilled at the Turks' expense". If that argument is accepted the principle of nationality and all claims to self-determination must be rejected. The reasons for the author's opposition to the Arabian policy of the Allies is that it is antagonistic to

French ambitions in Syria where France has important financial and commercial interests, and in which from the middle of the last century she had exercised a sort of Protectorate. Her influence has been especially powerful in Lebanon, where there is a numerous Christian population. She has in fact been regarded as the protector of Roman Catholic interests in the Near East, a claim which brought her into antagonism with Russia and which figured as one of the causes of the Crimean War. As a result of the recent war France hoped to strengthen her position in Syria and in the Treaty of Sevres she was given a mandate under the League of Nations over the country. The Arabs, however, resented the position occupied by the French in Syria and as the Emir Feisal refused to recognise the French mandate he was deposed. M. Gaillard, of course, places the responsibility for hostilities on England. "Though the bulk of public opinion in France was averse to any military action in the East, either in Syria or in Turkey, yet France was driven to fight, as it were, by England": and yet in a preceding page he had made several quotations from a debate in the English Parliament in which the French were criticised for sending an ultimatum to the Emir Feisal as King of Syria without consultation with England. The reason for the antagonism here displayed is French opposition to Arabian independence, in particular to their establishment in Damascus which dominates Syria. As an uncompromising supporter of the restoration of the Turkish Empire M. Gaillard is naturally antagonistic to Arab claims to independence and therefore to the English policy of supporting those claims to their full extent. But if the principles of nationality and self-determination are not to be rejected, it would be difficult to find a people to whom they could be more appropriately applied than to the Arabs. In this part of their policy the Allies have not been seriously attacked by the

Turkish Nationalists or by the Indian Khilafat delegation. Mr. Mohammad Ali in his statement of its claims explicitly stated that Arab independence was not incompatible with Islamic obligations, provided the claims of the Khalifa are recognised and he saw no difficulty in reconciling those claims as Arabs and Turks are both Moslems. Further, when it is considered that all that is greatest in Islamic civilisation comes from the Arab, and that the Turk, in spite of M. Gaillard's eulogies, has contributed very little in art, letters or science, and has neglected the material development of her Empire, especially in Syria and Mesopotamia, there is additional reason for taking these countries out of Turkish hands and leaving them under the control of a race as virile as and more intellectual than the Turks and more closely associated with the founder of their religion. Whether the Arabs after centuries of subjection and misrule will be found adequate to the task of constructing and maintaining a confederation of Arab States has yet to be proved, but it seems that considerable advantage will accrue to them by association for a time with an experienced power responsible to the League of Nations. The connection should strengthen rather than detract from the reality of Arab independence.

The Arabian movement too has been complicated by the presence of minorities with claims for autonomy. Just as Anatolia has its Greek and Armenian problems, so Arabia has been confronted with similar problems in connection with Lebanon and Palestine. In Lebanon the majority of the population is Catholic Christian who from 1860, until their constitution was suppressed by the Turks during the war, possessed an autonomous administration under European guarantee and the special protection of France. Not unnaturally the inhabitants of Lebanon demand the restoration of their autonomy with the collaboration of France. And just as in Armenia the claims of its inhabitants extend

beyond Armenia Proper to a Greater Armenia which includes the Armenians of Cilicia, so the problem of Lebanon is made more intricate by the existence of a Greater Lebanon which includes the sanjaks of Tripolis, Latakia, Hama and Homs, the possession of which is necessary for the economic independence of Syria. There are therefore two conflicting interests in Syria, the Arabian demand for the unity of Syria and Lebanon's claim for autonomy. In the support of her separatist demands Lebanon has relied upon her traditional connection with France, and thus France has come into collision with the Arabs of Syria who view the relations of France and Lebanon as something similar to the attitude of Russia towards Armenia. It is obvious, then, that an independent Lebanon would be an obstacle to Syrian independence, especially owing to its contact with the harbour of Beirut which stands in the same relation to Syria as Smyrna to Anatolia. Thus the strength of French interests in Syria and her traditional connection with Lebanon account for the antagonism of a section of the French public represented by M. Gaillard to the movement for Arabian unity, and, as England has throughout supported Arab national claims it is not unnatural that the author, as a propagandist, has exaggerated the occasional lack of harmony there has been between French and English policy in the Near East, and has even insinuated that England desired to bring Syria under her own suzerainty. The Arabian movement has also come into conflict with another small group with different religious ideals and diverging national aims. For a long time the Jews have been clamouring for restoration to their ancient and national home in Palestine and have been supported by a strong Zionist organisation of world-wide influence. This movement was encouraged by England during the war when the British Government pledged itself to support Jewish claims in Palestine. The Treaty

of Sevres, therefore, gave England a mandate in that country, but as the majority of the population are Arabs, the Syrian Government disapproves of the arrangement for fear that the political aims of the Zionists will be thereby fostered. It is necessary, therefore, that British policy should be limited to the settlement of Jews in such a way as to prevent conflict with the domiciled Arab population and established interests and should in no way countenance Jewish political ambitions. British policy has fostered the movement towards Arabian independence and unity and it should do nothing that will in any way impair Arabian sovereignty. It cannot therefore justifiably countenance the establishment of semi-political enclaves in Syria or Palestine, but it is all to the interest of the Arabs that the agricultural and industrial prosperity of their provinces should be restored with the initial assistance of foreign capital.

Three other points in the Turkish policy of the Allies have to be noticed—the questions of Thrace, Constantinople and the Straits. In his often quoted summary of English war aims Mr. Lloyd George declared that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominately Turkish in race nor did they challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital in Constantinople, but the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea would be internationalised and neutralised, while Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine were entitled to recognition of their separate national ambitions. It has been frequently stated that the Treaty of Sevres violated the pledges given by the Allies, but it must be admitted that the Treaty does not diverge very far from the policy outlined by Mr. Lloyd George and, though exception may be taken to it on political grounds, with the exception of the

establishment of the Greeks in Smyrna and possibly in Thrace, it cannot be attacked on the score of the violation of pledges nor was Mr. Lloyd George's statement objected to at the time by any considerable section of public opinion in England, India or elsewhere. The establishment of the Greeks in Smyrna was undoubtedly a political blunder, but the problem of Thrace is much more complicated. Geographically Thrace is part of the basin of the Maritza which is the natural outlet for the commerce of the country that occupies the upper waters; on that ground it should be held by Bulgaria. On the other hand the power occupying Constantinople must regard Thrace with its clearly marked geographical features as its natural bulwark of defence against attack from the West. Hence the long-standing antagonism of Turkey and Bulgaria, an antagonism that was temporarily suspended during the war by Turkey's cession to Bulgaria of 700 square miles of Thrace and half Adrianople. The situation has been further complicated by the expansion of Greece into Macedonia after the last Balkan war and her advance to the Maritza after the overthrow of Bulgaria in the recent war. As a reward for her support of the Allies in the latter part of the war she has claimed Thrace and based her claims on the fact that Greeks form a majority of the population of the province. But there has been no reliable census of the population for many years. In his reply to the Indian Muslim delegation Mr. Lloyd George gave 1894 as the date of the last reliable census when the Greeks numbered 304,000 and Mussalmans 265,000 (and there would be many Mussalmans who were not Turks) while Bulgarians numbered only 75,000. Since 1894 there have been considerable movements of population resulting from the wars in which Turkey has been engaged and in which large numbers of Greeks have fled or been expelled from Thrace, and so if a decision is sought on racial grounds it would be only fair to take into consideration the number of

Greek refugees and deportees since 1894. For 1919 Mr. Lloyd George gave the figures as 313,000 Greeks and 225,000 Turks; M. Gaillard's figures are 360,000 Turks against 224,000 Greeks. In any case numbers are so evenly balanced that a settlement of the question on racial grounds would not provide a satisfactory solution; and as Turkey will be left in possession of Constantinople she should retain Eastern Thrace, which includes the vilayet of Adrianople leaving Greece with Western Thrace which Bulgaria has had to surrender.

An impartial view of the Turkish problem cannot but make it clear that the Allies have on no occasion been actuated by Anti-Muslim feeling. No Muhammadan has been molested in the practices of his religion; the Holy Places have been left untouched; there has been no interference with the spiritual allegiance of Islam; the Allies have no quarrel with Muhammadans, and indeed had none with Turkey till Turkey forced one upon them. Religious sentiment, however, has been evoked in many quarters; on the one hand it is contended that the treaty with Turkey must be in harmony with Islamic principles and on the other that certain groups should not be left under Moslem domination. The problem has been immensely complicated by these considerations and the political issues have been practically eclipsed.

They have been further obscured by an extreme application of the doctrine of self-determination. However sound a political principle that may be, it cannot be applied to fragments of races scattered in incohesive units over a country in which a different race has long predominated. It may legitimately be applied to Arabia, but not to Armenians and Greeks in Asia Minor and Jews in Palestine.

But whether the problem is considered from the religious, racial or political point of view, it will be generally admitted that the Turk himself has caused the trouble. The Revolution of 1908



set up a constitutional Government under the Committee of Union and Progress. When the Young Turk party overthrew and imprisoned the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, in 1908, and set up under the Committee of Union and Progress a constitutional form of Government, it was hoped that a new era had dawned for Turkey, in which every section of the Empire, regardless of race or creed, would participate. But the early promise of the new Government was never realised. The leaders of the revolution, Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, made themselves as autocratic as the Sultan they had deposed, adopted similar methods of government and instead of redressing the grievances of the various groups and nationalities within their Empire attempted to denationalise them by a policy of forcible Turkification; bringing ruin, not regeneration to their country. Thus the Turkish Government has roused religious sentiment by its

treatment of its Christian subjects; accentuated national and separatist aspirations from Albania in the North-West to Arabia in the South-East; and imperilled the integrity of their Empire by their unprovoked attack on Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Allies should effect a reduction of Turkish political power after the war, as they have reduced the political power of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. To presume that Turkey may use her political power for conquest and aggression but may not lose territory herself for religious reasons is an untenable position. At the same time the terms imposed upon her must be just. In this case justice demands a scrupulous adherence to the implied promise given in Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of war aims and in so far as the Treaty of Sevres has departed from that declaration, it requires revision.

## THE SPRING HAS COME

By

MR. B. N. SALETORE.

The Spring has come, O Violet Flower,  
Why do you dream apart?

The buds have blossomed in my garden,  
And a pigeon moans in my heart.

The birds in glittering air are flying,  
But my pigeon flutters only;

The creepers dance within the forest,  
But your sandal-tree is lonely.

The bees have come, O Violet Flower,  
From out your fragrant heart,

To drink bright honey in my garden...  
Why do you dream apart?

With joy the creepers in the forest,  
Are dancing like plumes in the wind:

But the dew is under my languorous eyelids,  
And longing is in my mind.

O take the blossoms in my garden,  
And still the pigeon in my heart:

For the Spring has come, O Violet Flower,  
And how can I live, apart?

# DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND'

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By

MR. P. P. N. SIRCAR, M.A., F.R.E.S., (LOND).

**L**ECKY thus begins his book called "Democracy and Liberty":

"The most remarkable political characteristic of the latter part of the nineteenth century has unquestionably been the complete displacement of the centre of power in free governments, and the accompanying changes in the prevailing theories about the principles on which representative government should be based. It has extended over a great part of the civilised world, and, although it has had all the effects of a profound and far reaching revolution, it has in some of the most conspicuous instances, been effected without any act of violence or any changes in the external frame work of government."

The universal idea in the 18th century was that the right of voting was not a natural right, but a right given by legislation on grounds of expediency, or, in other words for the benefit of the state. The House of Commons being the most powerful element of the constitution since the Revolution of 1688, nothing in the constitution was deemed more important than the efficiency of the machine, and measures of parliamentary reforms were held good or bad exactly in proportion as they conduced to this end. The objects to be attained were very various and they were best attained by a great variety and diversity of representation. It was necessary to bring together a body of men of sufficient intelligence and knowledge to exercise wisely their great power in the state. It was necessary to represent in their due proportion the various forms and tendencies of political opinion existing in the nation. It was necessary to represent with the same completeness and proportion the various and often conflicting class interests, so that the wants of each class might be attended to and the grievances of each class might be heard and redressed. It was also in the highest degree necessary that the property of the country should be specially and strongly represented. Parliament was essentially a machine for taxing, and it was therefore

right that those who paid taxes should have a decisive voice, and that those who chiefly paid should chiefly control. The indissoluble connection between taxation and representation was the very mainspring of English conceptions of freedom. That no man should be taxed except by his own consent was the principle which was at the root of the American Revolution. It was the chief source of all extensions of representative government, and it was also the true defence of the property qualification and voting privileges which concentrated the chief power in the hands of the classes who were the largest tax payers.

Thus we see a growing tendency towards democracy and the idea of "for the benefit of the state" gradually change into "for the benefit of the people". Let us now survey how the idea of democracy developed in practice in England.

The first 22 years of George III's reign displayed the augmented force and activity of popular movements. That monarch in his endeavour to revive the personal influence of the sovereign in the government of the state aroused a spirit of opposition, which suddenly revealed the power of public opinion, and developed new agencies for giving expression to it. The storm of ridicule and abuse by which Lord Bute was driven from Royal favour: the bold agitation of John Wilkies: the increasing boldness of the press: the triumphant persistence of the printers in publishing parliamentary proceedings, the turbulent spirit of the people, the influence exerted by public meetings and political associations and the increasing freedom of speech in Parliament, are symptoms of a democratic force long unknown in the land of the Britons.

The contest between the two leading parties in England in relation to the insurgent colonists.

\* A paper read at a meeting of the Calcutta Presidency College Politics Seminar.

brought out, in bold relief, the democratic principles of 1642 and 1688, namely, the unlawfulness of taxation without the consent of tax-payers, and the right of the people to resist oppression by force. This controversy resulted in the formation of a small democratic party in England while the ultimate success of the rebellion, and the triumph of the English party which had espoused the cause of the colonies further advanced the principles of democracy.

But the failure of these organisations in securing any definite end, was due to the fact that they embraced no persons of position or influence, and they were sternly repressed by the authority of Parliament. The principles of the French revolutionary leaders and their wild blood-thirstiness outraging humanity, recoiled the higher and middle classes of English society from any contact with democracy.

The revolutionary wars into which the French Revolution had degenerated, cast a deepening shadow over the minds of the great body of English people and they had begun to look to the Revolution, with sentiments of fear and repugnance. But there was still a small, but noisy and turbulent, party, favouring the Revolutionary principles, and showing sympathy with the Jacobins of Paris. Their views were published in hand-bills, newspapers and other democratic tracts.

Several societies, which had been formed for other objects, now avowed their sympathy and fellowship with the revolutionary party in France, correspondent with political clubs and public men in Paris; and imitated the sentiment, the language, and the cant then in vogue across the Channel. Of these the most conspicuous were the "Revolution Society", the "Society for Constitutional Information," and the "London Corresponding Society."

These societies animated by a common sentiment published sundry resolutions and addresses

of a democratic character sometimes amounting to sedition. Their wild and visionary schemes, captivating to a lower class of politicians, served only to discredit and endanger liberty. They were repudiated by the "Society of Friends of the People", and by all the earnest and temperate reformers of the time as Maine puts it, "they shocked the sober, alarmed the timid, and provoked, if they did not justify, the severities of government."

But democracy, in England, though effectually repressed as an outward danger to the state, became, from that time a political force, which was destined to acquire increasing power and development. For thirty years the repressive policy of Government was maintained; prosecutions of the press abounded; and the popular discontents of the last years of the regency, brought down upon the press, and upon public meetings, restrictions of increased severity.

The six acts of Lord Sidmouth may be taken as the turning point in the fortunes of English liberties. Under the dark shadows of the French Revolution, Society had supported the repressive measures of the government; but in 1819, when the fires of that revolution had burned out, and democracy was no longer a danger, restraints upon public liberty were received with far less favour. They were opposed by many political leaders the time, by the Whig party in Parliament, who alleged that it was calculated to excite groundless jealousies and alarms, and to weaken the popular sentiment; and this feeling continued throughout the reign of George IV.

During this long period of repression, society had undergone remarkable changes. It had advanced in power, in knowledge, and in political sentiment. The middle class had attained far higher influence and consideration; and new generations were claiming a fuller recognition in society and in politics. The exclusive territoria

basis, upon which the social privileges and political power had long been founded, could not much longer be maintained. An advancing society and growing interests demanded a wider polity.

The facility of commerce and navigation, and the growth of towns, which received an impetus since the accession of George III, and the revolution in the field of industry, had transformed the society. The constant accumulation of capital had created a considerable body of gentry, and a new middle class, whose claims to a share of political power could not be ignored.

While the relations of the land to the trading classes were undergoing these notable changes, the Church was also losing much of her exclusive authority, as the representative of the national faith.

The Church and the land had been firm allies, the power of both was alike impaired. They had successfully maintained religious disabilities, a narrow and corrupt electoral system, the manifold abuses of close corporations, a criminal code of reckless severity, unequal and oppressive taxes, and injurious restrictions upon trade and upon the food and labour of the people. The conservative powers of society had now to encounter the restless and aggressive forces of democracy. The country was opposed to the towns; and the Church to Catholics and Non-Conformists. And in the approaching struggle, society was now armed with new weapons for coping with its powerful rulers in church and state.

The political education of the country had kept pace with the material and social progress. The freedom of the press was completely established. Henceforth a freedom of opinion unknown in any other age or country, and unexemplified agencies for its expression, brought every class of society within the extended thought and deliberation. The democracy of small states had raised its voice in streets and market-places: the democracy of the great English monarchy made itself heard through its multitudinous press.

Another agency for the expression of public opinion was found in the increasing development of political associations and public meetings. By these instruments of agitation the popular cause of Wilkie had been supported; the movement in favour of economical and parliamentary reform advanced: the abolition of the slave trade achieved.

In the meantime democracy had received a strong impulse from the recent revolution in France in 1830; and the circumstance of the time encouraged its activity. A popular ministry was at length engaged in passing a measure for the enfranchisement of the people.

The gradual extensions, from 1832 down to-day, of the principle and scope of representative government, culminating in the vast extension of the franchise given by the Reform Act of 1918 are commonly said to mark, in the aggregate, the slow but certain triumph of democracy.

Soon after, an organisation was formed called the Chartist movement which demanded five things, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of property qualification. It consisted mainly of working people. It received no sympathy from the higher and middle classes of men. The movement was unsuccessful at any practical issue, because of mutual distrust among leaders and followers; the conflicts between moral force were more damaging to the cause than all the repressive measures of government. They argued a mental unfitness to manage the affairs of the party, still more, therefore, the affairs of the nation. Their judgment was correct. It is ignorance which isolates men, keeping each individual entrenched in his own notions and prejudices, and therefore unable or unwilling to merge his will in the collective will. Ignorance, accordingly, though the best ally of despotism is the deadliest foe of democracy.

People became conceited by shallow knowledge. Their mind, awakened by newspaper articles

or heated club rhetorics clung to its shred of truth, as if it were the whole truth. Such was the perilous position of British Democracy in the Chartist times. The imitation by the Chartist of Continental revolutionary methods was, therefore, futile, arraying against them here that force of public opinion, which at Rome, Milan, Paris, Berlin and Vienna had enthusiastically greeted the dawn of democracy.

The exclusion of poor men from the House of Commons had been one of the grievances against which the Chartist had vigorously protested. Mr. Gladstone's *Reform Bill* of 1866 was one of the old type-postponing for the present the question of redistribution of seats. He dealt only with electoral franchise.

The *Reform Bill* of 1867 inaugurated a period of unrest and political instability. The fundamental cause of the revulsion in popular feeling, perhaps, resided in the unpreparedness of the new electorate for duties. It was not certainly educated up to the level of Mr. Gladstone's reforming zeal.

#### RECENT PROGRESS

The South-African war, which began in the autumn of 1899, completely overshadowed British domestic policies for a time. The Liberal Party experienced a great revival after the close of the South African war in 1902. More notable even than complete revival of the Liberals was the advent of the general Election of 1906, and the existence of this party has greatly influenced the social policy of liberalism.

Concurrently with this great extension of state action in social and industrial relations has been renewed activity in the sphere of more distinctively political reforms. The conflicts between Lords and Commons again became acute after the Liberal triumph at the General Election of 1906 and reached a climax in the rejection by the Lords of the Radical view by the Parliament Act of 1911 a measure which marks an important stage in British constitutional development.

During this period of rapid extensive social and political reforms the almost complete importance of democracy in the sphere of foreign policy has been more strongly evident than ever before. Vast and fundamental changes in British international relations have been carried out without reference to Parliament. The separation between the public relations of European states and what appears to be the true attitude of the people towards each other is becoming wider and wider and present some of the grandest and most difficult problems that democratic government has still to solve.

The Independent Labour Party was formed in 1893. In 1900 a Labour Representation Committee was constituted to promote the direct representation of the working classes in the House of Commons. In the general Election of 1906 they returned two members.

The hopes cherished by large sections of the working classes by the advent of a Labour Party in British Politics have been fulfilled only in part. The rise of prices, which is a world phenomenon in recent years, has been accompanied by a corresponding rise in money wages; and therefore real wages have been steadily falling in a time of greatly expanding wealth and prosperity. The apparent failure of political action to remedy this state of affairs has led to the formation of the anti-political policy known as Syndicalism.

The sympathetic strikes have become familiar in Britain, and movements to paralyse national industry have been attempted. Thus we see society is passing through stages viz., Trade Unionism, Socialism and then Syndicalism degenerating into anarchy.

The struggle that had been slowly maturing since 1864 between the two Houses of Parliament ended in favour of the Commons. The Lords were deprived of their last vestige of power in regard to Money Bills and on other legislations, their veto was limited to a power of delay of two years.

One notable feature of the era of great legislative activity that began with the general election of 1906, is the revival of movements for electoral reform. The Acts of 1885 are no longer accepted as final by democrats and the demand for manhood suffrage has been increasing in strength.

But by far the most controversial aspect of franchise question is that of women's suffrage. The movement for women's suffrage for which John Stuart Mill did so much, was dormant for many years but underwent a great revival after the General Election of 1906.

Acts passed in 1907 enabled them to be elected members of Town and County Councils and even to become Mayors and Provosts of the towns. At present, however, all restrictions have been removed and at the last General Election, a woman member was practically returned by the Sinn Féiners in Ireland.

The movement for proportional representation has made steady progress under the able leadership of Lord Courtney and Lord Avebury, and has a large measure of support in all political parties.

Payment of members introduced in 1911, at the motion of Mr. Lloyd George, has opened the

doors of the House of Commons to poorer men than have usually been able to seek suffrages.

*Laissez faire* is no longer a living force in British Social politics, and all parties would seem to accept the state as one of the main agencies for improving the conditions of life and labour for the mass of the people.

The mid-victorian controversy regarding Free Trade and Protection has been in a large measure revived, and its echoes mingle with those of the social issues that have more recently come to the front.

The new concentration of Liberal policy, as displayed in the anti-destitution and insurance proposals of the government which in some form are already embodied in Old Age Pensions and such other policies are steps towards further development of the spirit.

The vast extension of the franchise given by the Reform Act of 1918, marks an undoubted triumph of democracy in England.

Thus after so many years of hard struggle and repression, democracy in England has gained a foothold from which it can no longer be easily set back, and which is playing a prominent part in the British polity.

## CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO BURMA

BY

MISS BERYL THOMPSON

IN recent years Burmese public opinion has been emphatic against Indian immigration, and cries of indignation at its existence have been heard from the village council to that of the Legislative. No doubt sound reasons support these protests; but yet another form of immigration, Chinese immigration, whose danger to national life has been clearly recognised by far more energetic and enterprising races than the

Burmese, quietly goes on, except for an occasional and unsupported weak voice in dissent and moreover will continue, as it now does, almost surreptitiously unless Burma is awakened from her present stupor on this point to a deeper sense of her responsibility.

The primary reasons why this threatening shadow overhangs the country are common to those which have, no legislation against such

immigration. The most important is, as everybody knows, the congested state of China, in the footsteps of which follow keen and strenuous competition for the very necessities of life, and scarcity of money; which all give birth to a natural desire to emigrate. This desire to emigrate to a foreign country is increased by a lack of colonies; insufficiently developed natural resources, and industries, to relatively cope with the demands of the population.

When the Celestial, in his native land, has made up his mind to emigrate, the influence of his neighbours and relatives is a determining factor in the choice of the land of his future domicile. He hears of the facilities afforded in Burma for a rapid rise in life. He is swayed in his choice by the successes of his own countrymen in Burma, and he eagerly decides, when he is convinced that Burma is a Buddhist country under a just rule; not yet cursed with a similar competition to that of his own; blessed with an absence of caste prejudices; where even the poorest of the poor have always a roof over their heads, and the bare necessities of life, and where on his arrival an appeal to the society of his sect, (the *bön*) to furnish him with funds and obtain employment for him is hardly ever rejected. Thus the influx continues.

Of the Chinese clans that find their way into Burma, the Hokkien, the Cantonese, and the Haka are the chief. The second and third generally confine themselves to urban areas; but the first to a resident of Burma is practically a sect wholly of traders, and has, with Rangoon as the source of the influx, overrun the country, and established itself throughout Burma. Any important village in Lower Burma is a rare exception, if it does not depend on the Hokkien grocer for its supplies, and Upper Burma is attaining a similar condition. The villages in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies to a visitor of this province,

Burma, who is intimate with its rural aspects are conspicuous for the absence of the Chinese grocer whom caste prejudices no doubt keeps away.

The career of many a successful Hokkien in Burma commences as a poorly paid assistant in the grocery of a Burmese village. The strenuous struggle for existence in his native land inculcates within him an overwhelming desire to acquire an independence and the comforts of life. He applies himself assiduously and devotedly to the fulfilment of this desire. Thus he stands supported by a recognised national characteristic for hard and constant work, at a great advantage and above the average Burman rustic at the starting post in his race of life in Burma. In a few years by stinting himself from all but the bare necessities of life, he thriftily gathers together from his meagre earnings sufficient to establish himself on his own, as the grocer of another village; where he now seizes to the full extent the opportunity afforded by the Buddhist laws of the country; which forbids any conscientious Buddhist from rearing live stock for the market, and from there, with efforts crowned by successes, wholesome and unsavoury, within twenty years we find him a leading and influential citizen of one of our towns.

One wonders whether it is quite political to allow the rural trade of Burma to be fairly monopolised by an alien race. As this question has not reached, (so it seems,) the climax when the important task of a bill to prohibit Chinese immigration which touches international relations, can be safely contemplated, efforts to retard and break up the monopolization of the rural trade by these aliens are being indirectly made by district officials of the co-operative department. But their efforts are hardly crowned with success and the danger still grows.

# The Present Educational Needs of India

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BY

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EDUCATION is a transferred subject. Every thoughtful Indian expects that Indian ministers will introduce some radical changes and substantial modifications in the present system of education, which has long since been decried as defective; while for some, they are the cynosure on the pedagogical firmament of India. Even a layman in his blissful ignorance remarks that, in no distant future, Primary education in the country shall be free and compulsory. However, the period is the beginning of educational renaissance in modern India. Strange to say that instead of probing the educational problem of the country, for which the time was quite ripe in the last quarter, and presenting a definite scheme for the consideration and guidance of the ministers of education, the attention of the whole country, through the press as well as the pulpit, was focussed on non-co-operation even in the sphere of education. It was no less than a sacrilege.

Fortunately the classic records of Dr. Sadler's Commission, which has rendered yeoman's service, are at our disposal and supply enough material to a modern educationalist in India but they furnish data for improving only the higher education in the country and sadly lack in determining modified lines of work for our primary and secondary education, mostly because the jurisdiction of the commission was a university and not education in general. India is an agricultural continent with possibilities of industrial and commercial development and as such the principle of higher education for the masses is neither applicable to, nor practicable for, this country. Primary education is the birth-right of every child in all civilised countries and he should get it. To impart secondary education on an extensive scale so as

to supply the internal demands of a nation and higher education to bigger brains to improve the status of a country, is the bounden duty of every state which is to be held responsible to Higher Powers, if it is unfaithful to this sacred trust.

Free and compulsory primary education is, no doubt, the pressing need of the country and the sooner it is provided, the better; but difficulties, almost insurmountable at the present stage, are to be overcome before one can think of introducing this scheme. Apart from it, the existing system of secondary education is also open to much objection and necessitates immediate action for improvement. The greatest charge laid and perhaps justly, against the instruction imparted at present in Indian High Schools, is that an overwhelming majority of the alumni of our schools look upon service only as the ultimate goal of their education. Unless this point of view is changed, unless the horizon of school education is broadened, and unless the instruction is made "practical and useful," all other attempts would be pretentious and futile. "How to provide effective education must always be the most vital question a nation can deal with, as it is the most vital question a family can deal with," is the sound advice of Thrington.

The easy solution of the question, "How to make education effective," lies in (i) the introduction of technical, industrial and commercial elements in the present curricula of Indian High Schools, (ii) the elimination of harmful and deteriorating processes found in the present system and (iii) the organisation of the profession of teaching.

## INTRODUCTION OF TECHNICAL, INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

Every student and business man knows that the salvation of the profession can only be achieved through technical and commercial advance,



In the history of Asia, the political success of Japan achieved by means of her educational institutions leading to her commercial prosperity, furnishes a typical example which beckons young India to learn a lesson and follow her footsteps at least, if she has not yet received a stimulus from the commercial lead of the West. If we could afford facilities for this sort of training in our schools, we may considerably relieve our youths from the dread of poverty which now constantly hovers over them and also develop in some the industrial or commercial instincts which now die away in their latent or nascent condition or at the best remain undeveloped. It is everywhere true that

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,  
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,  
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its fragrance in the desert air.

The conception of education as a process whereby the material and moral progress of a nation can be attained, if scrutinized thoroughly, gets reduced to industrial efficiency. The institutions of the United States of America and Japan are an illustration of this very conception of education. For example a boy in the higher forms of an Upper Secondary School, side by side with cramming dry formulas of organic chemistry, gets interested in his work, does well, and is materially benefited when he is also given some training in applied chemistry.

#### ELIMINATION OF HARMFUL AND DETERIORATING PROCESSES.

The most astounding factor which is a great stumbling block in the way of making any real progress and which has so very frequently been brought to the notice of the country, is the acquisition of knowledge through a foreign medium. Its defects are too glaring, are too well known to be mentioned at any length. It is a fact, beyond doubt, English language has become an *alien growth* in India and so much the more is it a necessity for acquaintance with any one European language, absolutely necessary for the practical

country but it should be English as a compulsory language only, nothing more and nothing less. Experience has also contradicted the common belief that with English as medium of instruction a boy's capacity to express himself in English is increased, rather as a matter of fact his efficiency to express himself in correct English suffers badly with no gain except the knowledge of a few terms and technical words. The often-quoted argument that there are no efficient vernacular teachers and standard vernacular books for the higher classes of an upper secondary school is no argument inasmuch as it is a question, pure and simple, of supply and demand. Moreover, we have the experience of a province before us, in so far as the question of providing vernacular teachers is concerned. The Education Department in the Punjab trains senior vernacular teachers whom it certifies as qualified to teach all subjects in a high school except English. (I avoid entering into details.)

*Beyond all doubts secondary education in India shall become less expensive and more fruitful, if vernacular is adopted as the medium of instruction and the money thus saved could be more profitably utilised for effecting other improvements.* Matriculation and S. S. L. C. examinations in almost all provinces shall get out of the control of Universities in the immediate future when the approved recommendation of Dr. Sadler's Commission to exclude the Intermediate classes from the University control is acted upon and thus they would now have nothing to do with this change if it is allowed in all high schools. It is highly desirable educationally but extremely essential from the national point of view as a foreign medium indicates intellectual slavery. Nowhere in the world a nation has been educated through a foreign language and there seems to be no reason why this new and long experiment should be tried at the cost of Indian money, Indian brains, and Indian energies.

Another great defect found in the present system is the method of examinations. Leading educationalists of the whole world are unanimous in their condemnation of the system. Sadler remarks: "The mid-Victorian reformers rightly laid stress on the value of examinations as a public audit. English parents learned the lesson and find it hard to forget it now that the time has come for lessening the burden of examinations." Laurie in his detestation of them inquires if it is possible to reduce the evil and *save education*. Wren, a leading Educationalist of India, very aptly puts the problem thus "When an examination becomes the great end, cramming becomes the Royal Road," and warns the country to note that examinations were made for boys and not boys for examinations. America has full well realised their true value and is ahead of the world in this respect. A thorough search of a student's capacity, and a general survey of his previous studies is made at the time of his admission to any class of a school or a college and the probable period for which he shall have to remain at that institution for a particular standard of efficiency is adjudged. Once in for that standard, every exercise of a scholar is an answer to an examination question and the principle is carried so far that the student identifies himself with the examination, feels no dread for it and makes no special preparation for the final ordeal. If his attendance is regular, his record of every day work satisfactory and if his teacher recommend him as having attained a certain form of efficiency, he, in the natural course, passes on to a higher standard and the institution is held responsible, and has to submit an explanation and account for every detention that it makes. It is in strict accordance with all rules of morality.

Multiplicity of subjects for young children and a mechanically rigid adherence to a certain standard in each for every boy irrespective of his taste

and aptitude therein, is no less a curse. Secondary education in India is not likely to be benefited by any scheme till these three main defects are removed.

#### ORGANISATION OF THE PROFESSION OF TEACHING

While books can teach, only personalities can educate. Education is good or bad, effective or mechanical, exactly as teachers mould it. The importance of a teacher has, in all ages and in all countries, been fully recognised and in fact they are the most useful public workers. The only consolation a poor teacher has is the nobility of his profession. Martin Luther says: "I know that this work, next to the office of a preacher, is the greatest and the best. Nay, I know not which is better of the two, for young trees can be more easily bent or trained. Count it one of the highest virtues upon earth to educate faithfully the children of others which so few do by their own." In the light of the above remarks, the profession should attract the noblest brain of a country. First class men should devote themselves to the cause of education. In order to achieve this end the profession should be so organised that its members may begin to feel proud of their position, get relieved of their financial cares and anxieties which beset them now and consider themselves as better stationed in life than their brethren in other professions. This is the only profession which a considerable number adopt as a mere stepping stone to some other walk in life. So long as the employment of untrained teachers in schools is tolerated, so long as no provision is made for the wholesale training of them (which is not impracticable) and so long as teachers in general remain dissatisfied with their lot, effective education is not possible. To organise a Service of Education under Government control as separate from that under private management has drawbacks of its own and best results cannot be expected unless the profession is allowed to grow as a profession.

# THE CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW

By

MR. G. SWAMINATHAN, B. A., (HON.)

THE introduction of Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer's Hindu Law Bills in the Imperial Legislature has brought the problem of codifying Hindu law from the realm of academic discussion to the sphere of practical politics. An attempt will be made in this article to examine dispassionately the pros and cons of the problem and to suggest a satisfactory solution. The advantages and disadvantages of having codes are too well-known to need repetition. The general question is therefore dealt with here only with reference to the particular problem on hand.

A preliminary objection may be made at the outset by those who do not acknowledge the Legislature as the source of law. According to the strict Hindu conception, law is independent of the state, having its source in Divine Revelations. According to this view, even the State is subject to law. It will take us far beyond the scope of the subject, if we were to examine the true conception and definition of law. Suffice it for our purpose to say that tho' the Austinian theory of law, which makes all law the command of the State, is not strictly true, inasmuch as it emphasises only the element of force ignoring the equally important element of justice in the conception of law, and as it also does not recognise custom as an independent source of law, yet it is accurate to the extent that it defines positive law. Further, those who raise this objection seem to confound Moral law with Positive law. Law is for man and not man for law. And as man progresses, law must also grow. Hence even these critics cannot object to the competency of the Legislature to legislate in the department of secular law. Leaving theory apart, none can deny the fact that our Legislature, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, has taken upon itself the task of modifying Hindu Law by legislation, whenever it thought it necessary to

do so. The Freedom of Religion Act, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, the Majority Act, the Hindu Disposition of Property Act are a few instances in which the Legislature has made inroads into the orthodox Hindu law. Why, pure Hindu law as such is administered only in some special departments such as marriage, adoption, inheritance, succession etc. The Hindu law of evidence, of crimes, of contract, of transfer of property, have all given place to the general law of the land as declared by the Indian Legislature. Even the Hindu law which is administered now in our courts owes its binding force, not so much to the divine authority and sacredness of the old tests, as it does to immemorial custom and to the various Acts of the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial Legislature which, so to say, sanction its administration.

Another preliminary objection may also be noticed before we go to the subject itself. It runs thus: If a legal commission should go round the country now examining witnesses and collecting information, it would involve a great deal of expenditure which the country can ill afford to incur at the present time. In reply, we need only say that this objection is not a fundamental one and that it should not be an insurmountable bar if there is real necessity for the codification of Hindu law.

Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to examine whether there is any necessity for the codification of the Hindu Law. One of the very first arguments against codification is that Hindu Law is already codified, that the ancient Sanskrit texts of Hindu Law are as beautiful codes as one would wish to have, that to codify it anew now in a different language viz. English, would be superfluous. To those who are not actual lawyers this argument would seem to be a plausible one. It is well known that

there are as many Smritis as there are schools of Hindu law, that what is authoritative in one school may not be equally authoritative in another and that even among the several Smritis which are considered as authorities in one school, one Smriti contradicts another. To add to this confusion, custom has come to regard certain texts as obsolete, or has superseded the law of the texts; with the result that what would according to Smritis be illegal, may be legal according to custom. To give an instance, adoption of an orphan is illegal according to the texts. But in a recent Punjab case, the Privy Council held that a custom declaring such adoption valid among certain communities has been proved. Again, with regard to prohibited degrees for marriage, custom in South India has superseded the ancient texts. Commentators and Judges have contributed not a little to this confusion. Both Jimutavahana and Vignaneswara start from one and the same text and reach two different, at times contradictory, conclusions, e. g. the Dayabhaga and the Mitakshara Joint Family system. Or take again the text in Vasishtha. "Nor let a woman give or accept a son, unless with the assent of her lord;" how variously has the phrase "with the assent of her lord" been interpreted. And no wonder. The ancient codes were meant for a society different from ours. Manu mentions twelve kinds of sons and eight kinds of marriage. The present day society does not recognise them all. The introduction of Western civilisation into India has wrought several important changes in the Indian Society, and what is of greater importance, in the Indian outlook on life, which the ancient Smritikartas could not, in the nature of things, have taken into consideration. In fact no code can be for all time to come. As society develops, as environments change and as new customs arise, law also must change adopting itself to the new environments. So, to say that the law having once been codified

some thousands of years ago, a recodification will only be "a work of superogation" is to betray a sad lack of historical perspective and scientific appreciation of the relation of things. To put the matter shortly, the ancient codification is defective on account of want of clearness, definiteness, and exhaustiveness and needs revision.

To say this is not to admit the necessity of codification. We have only disproved the statement that our law having been codified once by the law giver, does not need recodification. Those who are for codification must therefore prove something more. They must prove that the present method of looking for law in the ancient texts gives rise to much difficulty and that that difficulty would be obviated by the existence of a code, which will state the law in clear, unambiguous terms. None would find fault with this argument, if such a code can be guaranteed.

It is the impossibility of preparing such a code that stands as a formidable obstacle on the way. We have already said that there are several texts of varying authority and weight and several local customs having the force of law that to collect all of them together into one comprehensive whole is a well nigh impossible task. But it may be pointed out by the other side that Dr. Gour and Mr. Mulla have already in a way codified Hindu Law and that the Legislature has only to put its *imprimatur* on their books. Here there is a serious misapprehension of facts. What Messrs. Gour and Mulla have done is simply to state the law as has been evolved up to now by means of judicial decisions. There are still some questions of Hindu Law which have not yet been decided authoritatively by the Privy Council. Where there are contradictory texts the Privy Council tries to reconcile them if possible or declares what texts shall be authoritative and what not. So, the Hindu Law at present is developed by means of case law, always with reference to the ancient texts, the only authoritative commentator being

the Privy Council. Is this system to continue? Is the law to be expounded only by the Privy Council and that only in the course of a judicial decision? Cannot the ratio decidendi of all possible and impossible cases be enunciated once for all in a code? The answer depends on the larger question whether ultimately a code can exclude case law. It is submitted that it cannot. A code is enacted embodying the customs obtaining in the society at a particular time. Society is not stable. Every moment there is a growth. And a code which may be applicable to a society at one time will become inapplicable to the same society some years. There is another difficulty. The interpretation of the Code has to be left to the Judges and we know that no case that comes to the forum is on all fours in all details with another case. And a judge in applying the law makes his own interpretation of the code so as to fit it with the case before him and thus a precedent is created. After some years precedents grow so voluminous and their authority is established as coequal with that of the Code. Moreover, no code can be so made as to be exhaustive of all possible cases that may arise under it. We have now got codes for contract, transfer of property, evidence, crimes etc. Have we dispersed with case law? Is it not a fact that along with these codes we have a voluminous case law on each subject?

Let us grant for argument's sake that codification is practicable. Is it desirable and expedient? We have seen that codes are inelastic and rigid. In fact it is one of the arguments in the armoury of the adherents of codification that the ancient codes do not fit in with the changed society of the present day. May we ask how is their new code to escape the same criticism some years hence? So then, the general argument against codification may thus be adduced against the desirability and inexpediency of codifying Hindu law at present.

It would seem that the cry is not so much for

codification as for modification of Hindu law in some respects. Several of the adherents of codification are desirous of changing the Hindu law, and they think that if they could bring the people to believe in the necessity of codification, they would be able to introduce their own pet changes in the body of the code very easily. Why they should fight shy of piecemeal legislation is not clear. By adopting this latter course, they get all the advantages of codification and avoid all the evils of it.

Let us take the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill of Dr. Gour. It is an admitted fact that the majority of the Hindus do not want it. Only a few bred up in Western notions of marriage, individual freedom etc., find the shackles of the old law too hard and want a change. The Bill shows at once the influence of Western ideas on Hindu Society and the consequent revolt of a few individuals against the society as a whole. As a large majority in the Hindu Society does not want the modification, the Bill has to be permissive in its nature. And Dr. Gour hopes that in this age of self-determination and individualism, Hindu Society must permit such a bill. Dr. Gour takes into consideration only those of his co-religionists educated on Western lines. But these are very few in number. Those Hindus who are not educated on Western lines—these form the bulk—do not believe in the Western individualistic spirit. In the West, the unit of society is the individual; while in India it is the family. In India the interests of the individual are merged in the family and those of the family in the society. Hence it is that the Hindu Society does not tolerate individual rebellion in social matters and hence the rejection of Dr. Gour's Bill. But suppose all the Hindus receive Western education and imitate completely Western ideas. The ancient Indian conception of the place of individual in society will then give place to the Western conception of 'each man for himself'; and the

passing of a bill like Dr. Gour's will be very easy.

But take Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer's Bill for the removal of disqualification of the blind, deaf, dumb and such other persons to inherit property. The texts relating to such disqualification have been declared to be obsolete. (See the latest reported case in 43 Mad. 4) But as there has been no authoritative pronouncement on the subject as yet, judges differ and no wonder the same point has been (at the moment of writing) referred to a Full Bench of the Madras High Court. It is of the utmost importance that in questions like this an authoritative statement is necessary. There are at present two ways in which it could be made. The Privy Council may decide it one way or the other, if this case goes to that august body. But it may so happen, as has been the case till now, that it is not taken there at all. Or, the Legislature may pass a law declaring whether texts are obsolete or not. In the former method, the majority of Hindus, whom the question concerns most, are not at all consulted and they have no voice in the decision. But if the latter method is adopted, the Hindus have a voice in the decision and it goes without saying that of the two the latter method is preferable.

So far all will agree. But opinions will differ as to the propriety of the present Imperial Legislature to pass such a law. In the first place it is not representative of all the Hindus. Nor is it exclusively Hindu in character; there are many Non-Hindu members who will take part in the discussion. And it cannot be said that a bill which is passed with the help of these members has the support of the Hindus. For this is not a question on which one has to vote according to reason, but a question on which he has to represent the general view of the society as a whole. Moreover, we have noted that a text may be obsolete in one province, but valid in another. It may be that what is considered as obsolete in

Madras is not considered so in Bengal, U. P., or Bombay. And the opinions of the members of the various provinces on a general bill applicable to all provinces like Mr. Seshagiri Iyer's, are sure to be coloured by the prevailing view of the people of the respective provinces. If we say that the Provincial Councils, being comparatively more representative, may be asked to tackle the question, a legal difficulty as to the competency of a provincial legislative council to modify the Hindu Law crops up. (See Sundar Iyer V. Nataragan in 43 Madras) The only satisfactory solution would seem to be the taking of a plebiscite on particular questions of Hindu Law as they arise.

To conclude: The codification of Hindu Law is impracticable, undesirable and inexpedient. Piecemeal legislation may be attempted with the aid of a plebiscite taken then and there on particular questions.

## INSPIRATION

BY

MARION FORSTER GILMORE.

They are not born of us, the songs we sing,  
Although they seem of our own fashioning.  
O, brother bards, for we are only reeds  
That grow among the other water weeds  
In life's deep ever-onward rushing river.  
God gathers us and in His Hands we quiver,  
With a mysterious wild ecstasy.  
That we are chosen thus through melody  
To give His message to a world in need.  
But it is God's own breath that, through each  
reed  
How subtly passing, ever outward floats  
In marvellous and never dying notes,  
Breathing of wisdom's glorious design  
Vibrant forever with a Love Divine;—  
Ay, no! those songs are born of heavenly powers,  
My fellow poets,—they are not ours, not ours.

—The Message of the East.

# REGINALD HEBER'S "INDIAN TRAVELS"

BY

MR. P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M. A.,

*Government College, Anantapur.*

OF the many English writers who have helped to embody Indian themes in that alien literature Bishop Heber should be accounted as of considerable importance. He was a poet, critic, divine and traveller. The son of a rector of Cheshire, he was born in 1783. At seventeen he went to Oxford, and at twenty won the "New Digate Prize" for his poem on "Palestine." Lockhart records in his biography of Sir Walter Scott, the latter's visit to Heber at Oxford at the time of his writing the poem. It was at Scott's suggestion that Heber wrote impromptu the lines:

No hammer fell, no ponderous axes ring;  
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric spring,  
Majestic silence!

In 1805 Heber was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls' College. Leaving Oxford, Heber went on a continental tour, his account of which is highly valued for its literary merits. He returned to be a parish priest and discharged his duties faithfully. He contributed to the *Quarterly Review* and among other papers wrote a notable critique on Southey's "Curse of Kehama," a romance based on Hindu myth. It was not without considerable hesitation that Heber accepted the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1823. Of his poetical work, his Hymns occupy a high place. He died in 1826 of apoplexy on the 3rd of April, at Trichinopoly and his grave may be visited there even today.

To Indian readers, the most valuable work of Heber is his *Indian Journal*, written during his visitations all over India. He sailed from England on June 16th, 1823 and landed in India after a voyage of more than three months and a half, on October 3rd. On June 15, 1824, he left Calcutta for a visitation through the upper provinces of India. He went east to Dacca, and turning back, went through Monghyr and Buxar to Benares. From Benares he passed west to

Allahabad, Cawnpur, Lucknow, Bareilly, Almorah, Meerut and Delhi. From Delhi he turned south-east to Agra, and passed south-west to Ajmere. From Rajputana he went to Baroda, and from Boroda to Bombay, returning thence to Calcutta. In August and September 1825 he visited Ceylon. On January 30th 1826 he sailed again for the south of India. The *Journal* closes with accounts of Madras, Mahabalipuram and Sadras. He died the same year. Details of his last sojourn in South India are gathered in his letters. A letter from him dated 21st March 1826 is written from Chidambaram (which he calls "Chillumbrum.") On March 28th he writes a letter from Tanjore, and one from Trichinopoly on April 1st.

There are many points of view from which the "*Indian Journal*" may be appraised and admired. It is one of the best books of travel on India. It is a vivid account of Indian life as it was nearly a century ago. It is a careful description of the most notable contemporary personages in India, as well as of the most notable sights. Heber's "*Indian Journal*" may be regarded as a "source book" for Indian History of the time covered by Heber. Heber is also a keen critic and offers discussion on many a subject incidental to Hindu civilisation and life and to the British coming in contact with them. And lastly Heber is a poet. A few poetic pieces are even scattered in the *Journal*, but his capacity for pure and eloquent description in the manner of Ruskin is sufficient testimony to his poetic touch.

Probably the first subject that should strike the mind of a European visitor to India is the question of human complexions in India. Before coming to India or to Western Asia, the European is apt to recognise only white and black. The negro represents to him the black race in all probability. It is of elementary knowledge that

the major portion of the Indian population is of the Caucasian type of men, the same as that of the Europeans, but it is only a direct contact which gives a definite impression to the foreigner. Almost at the beginning of his stay in India, Heber gives expression to the observation which, he says, had struck him forcibly

that the deep bronze tint is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skins of Europe, since we are not displeased with it even in the first instance, while it is well-known that to them a fair complexion gives the idea of ill-health, and of that sort of deformity which in our eyes belongs to an Albino. There is, indeed, something in a Negro which requires long habit to reconcile the eye to him; but for this the features and the hair, far more than the colour, are answerable."

He recurs to the subject of complexions many times in the Journal. He notes minutely the different shades observed in different peoples and his verbal portraits of great personages have reference to their complexion. In Benares he is struck with the European complexion of a Hindu lady whom he sees in a painting by "All-jeo of Patna." Of the descendant of the great Moghuls whom he saw at Delhi, he says: "His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European."

There is a larger number of passages in Heber distinctive for the vivid painting of striking natural phenomena peculiar to the eastern climates and the eastern skies, like the sunset and a squall on the sea. "The Evening Walk in Bengal" in poetry, which occurs in the journal, has long been a favourite with anthologies of English verse for Indian readers. The familiar objects of the Bengal background in it make it indeed unique. Among other spots, the Mount Meru extorts an eloquent description from the writer in the Journal. There are other spots of antiquity and historical associations like the caves of Salsette and Ellora and Mahabalipuram on the beach which are treated with a knowledge specially acquired about their history. There are again buildings and palaces described in detail and yet with the effect of beauty.

There are very interesting portraits of living personages. The Delhi Emperor, the Gaekwar and for the matter of that, every other Indian Prince of the time, the Maharajah Sarbojee of Tanjore, and the Begum of Sumroo are some of the figures. The Maharajah Sarbojee is an excellent scholar of both English and French literature, he is well-built and handsome and a deadly shot. The Begum is queer-looking and has brilliant wicked eyes. She bears the remains of beauty and tales of cruelty are related of her. As the present writer has shown elsewhere, Sir Walter Scott makes reference to a story mentioned by Heber, in his novel. "The Surgeon's Daughter" in which "Begum Montreville" has really the "Begum Sumroo" for its original.

Of officials, Mr. Elphinstone at Bombay and Sir Thomas Munro at Madras are mentioned in words of high praise. Of Warren Hastings a nursery rhyme in the vernacular sung to children is quoted by Heber, showing appreciation of the oriental pomp he employed on occasions:

Hat' hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeep,  
Judee bah'r Jata Sahib Warren Hasteen!

At Chunar, in the state prison, the Bishop visits the "celebrated Mahratta chieftain," Trimbukjee. "He then showed me his garden and pagoda, and after a few commonplace expressions of the pleasure I felt in seeing so celebrated a warrior, which he answered by saying with a laugh, he should have been glad to, make my acquaintance elsewhere." The Bishop also mentions in another place the story of Trimbukjee's escape from his first imprisonment at Bombay by a stratagem which, he remarks, might be of the Scotch Border.

Of contemporary education under state control and with state aid, Heber lets us know something in the illustration of the Vidyalaya (wrongly spelt Vidalaya) which he visited in Benares. Macaulay's minute had not been written yet and Government did not as yet turn Indian education into the Western channel. Warren Hastings, who was himself a good oriental scholar, gave generous



support to institutions teaching Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. But even at this time, private effort instituted the "Hindoo College" in Calcutta, adopting the teaching of European science and English literature. In Benares itself, as the Bishop records, a rich Indian had endowed an institution with a similar aim and manned it with a Christian Missionary. Raja Ram Mohun Roy is a name prominently associated with the earliest efforts to institute Western educational courses for Indian youth. In one of his letters, the Bishop records the Raja's aversion for the teaching of ancient learning in the Government institutions.

"Ram Mohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which, for its good English, good sense and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic."

There are numerous little episodes scattered in the Journal, of interestingly strange characters. The Bishop meets a "fine old pilgrim" near Mount Meru, one well suited to

"Repay with many a tale the mighty bed."

His son had been in the army and left him some money at his death which occurred prematurely. "He had determined to go to all the most holy spots he had heard of, and travel over the world till his melancholy legacy was exhausted." Heber mentions a saintly character in Benares, a Brahmin at the temple of Annapurna, whose "constant occupation is reading or lecturing on the Vedas."

Though he seems to have enjoyed considerable liberty to follow his own path of journey and observation in India, and provided with a large equipage of attendants and guard, Heber had his obvious professional duties to fulfil wherever he went. Ordaining priests and consecrating churches were his routine. He takes upon himself also the evangelistic mission and this leads him to be rather intolerant of the indigenous religion and its forms of worship. He is certainly jealous of the local priests, the Brahmins, and

is ready to have some fling at their character or customs. He had probably heard in England that there were in India Brahmins who were strict vegetarians and as soon as he found that some Brahmins he saw in Northern India did not mind fish, he at once thinks that a big lie has been spoken. His faith would have been shaken less perhaps if he had known of the Brahmins in South India.

On the subject of Hindu civilisation Heber has a sympathetic view to press for the acceptance of his brother-Europeans. Indigenous manners, dwelling houses, habits, and industries he considers to be quite of a high order not inferior to or deserving of contempt in the eyes of, the Europeans. As to racial feeling between Europeans and Indians complaints are heard in Heber's times which may be heard even today. Speaking of conditions which would operate against the popularity of the British Government in India and which was in their own power to remove, he says:

One of these is the distance and haughtiness with which a very large proportion of the civil and military servants of the Company treat the upper and middling class of natives."

He also mentions the neglect of the Government orders that tashildars should be offered chairs when interviewed by Collectors. "Yet there are hardly six Collectors in India who observe the former etiquette." The custom of the promiscuous garlanding of Europeans, current even to-day, is even a subject of complaint by Heber (not many Europeans in his position would share his feeling!)

"During my progress through the holy places I had received garlands of flowers in considerable numbers, which I was told it was uncivil to throw away, particularly those which were hung round my neck. I now, in consequence, looked more like a sacrifice than a priest, and on getting again into the wig was glad to rid myself of my ornaments."

It is not possible here to speak mere about the attractions of Heber's "*Indian Journal*," but it is hoped that enough has been stated to make the reader unacquainted with the Journal turn to its perusal as a flesh and blood record of nearly a century ago, of our own country, in pleasing contrast to "dry as dust" history.

# CHITTA RANJAN, DAS: A Sketch\* 393

BY

MR. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

## EARLY LIFE

CHITTA RANJAN was born at Calcutta on 5th November 1870. He was the second child of his parents. He was educated first in the London Missionary College, Bhowanipore, whence he matriculated in 1886, and subsequently in the Presidency College, Calcutta, whence he took his B. A.



MR. C. R. DAS.

degree in 1890. At College, he gave promise of exceptional literary and oratorical gifts which he has so gloriously fulfilled in later life. After taking his degree he went to England originally with the idea of competing for the I.C.S. But events happened which saved his being drafted into "the heaven-born service." He took an active part in the electioneering campaign

of Dadhabhai Naoroji and his speeches attracted attention both in England and in India. Later on, when Mr. John Maclean, M. P., in the course of a lecture, made certain extremely offensive remarks against the Hindus and the Mussulmans, Chitta Ranjan organised a meeting of the Indians in England to protest against Mr. Maclean's conduct and made a powerful speech, as a result of which Mr. Maclean was forced to apologise and resign his seat in Parliament. Soon after, he was called upon to make a speech on Indian affairs under the presidency of Mr. Gladstone which appears to have cost him his place in the civil service; for "though he came out successful in the open competitive examination, his name was chucked off from the list of probationers". Ultimately he joined the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in the early nineties.

## AT THE BAR

On his return to Calcutta in 1893 he joined the High Court Bar; his practice underwent the inevitable tardiness of recognition which merit unaided by circumstance obtains in this world; and he was seriously handicapped in his professional life by the insolvency of his father and by his voluntarily sharing with him the responsibility for those debts. But real merit cannot remain unrecognised for long. The celebrated conspiracy case against Mr. Arabinda Ghose and others in 1908 in which he appeared as counsel for the defence pushed Chitta Ranjan into the forefront of the Calcutta Bar. The fee that he received in that case was entirely inadequate for the labour that it involved. The trial lasted nearly six months. He had to incur a large debt to maintain his family during that long period. But such genuine sacrifice never goes fruitless or unnoticed. It paved the way for his fame and for a lucrative practice at the Bar. More than that, it produced two excellent results. It proved to the world the greatness and the purity of

\* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for the Eminent Indians Series, Price 4 as. each. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Arabinda Ghose and it brought about a life-long friendship between him and Chitta Ranjan.

Since the release of Arabinda, he was engaged in many notable cases and his daily fees exceeded a thousand rupees. He appeared for the Dumraon Raj in the protracted litigation relating to that estate; he appeared for Mr. Vaidya, then Secretary of the Home Rule League at Nagpur, and got him acquitted on appeal. He successfully defended Dr. Mehta in Burma when he was prosecuted under the Defence of India Act. He was engaged by the Kutubdia internees at Chittagong. Just before quitting the profession in answer to the call of Non-Co-operation, he was engaged by the Government of India to appear in the Munitions Board case.

#### HIS GENEROSITY

Chitta Ranjan, like his father, is a man of generous impulses. Although he has earned enormously as an advocate he has put by very little for the future. The poor student who goes to him for monetary help can always be sure of a liberal donation from him. Latterly he has thrown all his savings into the national cause. He might easily have made a fortune to leave it for his only son but with a true philosopher's frame of mind he does not care for the morrow; and he cannot restrain himself from giving while he has the wherewithal to give.

#### HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS

In religious views, Chitta Ranjan is a Vaishnavite of the Chaitanya school. His father Babu Bhupar had, like most other English-educated Bengalees of his day, joined the Brahmo Samaj movement and worked heart and soul for the propagation of that cause. Chitta Ranjan too retains some of his father's views about religion and reveres the name of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. Only, according to him, the life-work of this great man "has got to be re-estimated, revalued, re-understood and re-interpreted."

But Chitta Ranjan was against the Europeanization of our cultural system. He believed more in natural growth than in transplantation. He believed in each nation growing by itself (of course not without

being influenced by the growth of other nations around it) preserving its own distinct individuality in harmony with the rest of the world.

With me nationality is no mere political conception borrowed from the philosophy of the West. With me, a nation has to grow because a nation must grow. God's universe teems with varieties of life. Every nation is one unit of such life. Every nation must grow to the evolution of life. The nation to which I belong must also grow, only we must help in its growth. I value this principle of nationality as I value the principle of neutrality and religion. The service of country and nationality is service of humanity. Service of humanity is worship of God.

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#### AS AN AUTHOR

"Chitta Ranjan's entry into Bengalee literature dates from 1894 or 1895 when he published a volume of Bengali lyrics called *Malancha* which introduced a new element of freedom and realism into modern lyrical literature" in Bengal. But he curbed his literary tastes, and devoted himself wholly to the lawyer's life in order to remove the stain on his father's fair name. And when that was accomplished, he threw himself again into the Nationalist Movement in Bengal and in 1915 started a new Bengalee monthly, the *Narayana*. He has published four more volumes of lyrics since then: *Mala*, *Antaryami*, *Kishore-Kishori* and *Sagar Sangit*. The first three of these contain poems inspired by the Vaishnava cult of Bengal. We are told that, in the original, these poems are full of fresh and refreshing ideas and reveal a wonderful power of direct and forcible expression, somewhat akin to Matthew Arnold's in English literature. And a perusal of his own translation of *Sagar Sangit*, the Song of the Sea—and the verse renderings of the same by Sriyut Arabinda Ghose fully justifies and corroborates this criticism. At the same time, they reveal what a great influence, the devotional literature of Vaishnavism had exercised on his mind. He had recognised the inner significance of the sea—The milk-white ocean that serves the Lord, as a bed of repose, that sings eternally in His ears a paean of joy and praise. With his soul chastened and refreshed by such religious and

poetic experiences he returned to politics with a new force and vigour of life as a politician.

When it is said that he re-entered politics in 1917, it is not meant that he was not till then taking any interest in the subject. There is no educated Indian since the starting of the Indian National Congress who does not think about Indian politics and take an interest therein. And Chitta Ranjan Das who, when in England, fought in the electioneering campaign of Dadhabhai Naoroji, was not likely to remain quiet in India. He continued to take an unabated interest in the development of Self-government in his land and had been an active, though not a vociferous, member of the annual gatherings of the Congress and of the provincial organizations. In spite of it, however, he would not have come into the prominence that he now occupies had it not been for the two outstanding events that marked out definitely his political career.

#### THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUGUST 20TH

The first was the announcement of the Secretary of State on the 20th of August, 1917. Till then, the politicians in India were merely making demands for Home Rule or Swaraj and had not devoted their attention to the details of a practical scheme to work the idea in actual practice. For the Parliament had not recognised till then that immediate steps must be taken along the path which will lead India towards the goal that the British nation has fixed for it long ago. Therefore, when the memorable announcement of August 20th was made, all India was set a thinking about constructive reforms to achieve the aim of the British rule in India. New organizations burst into existence all over India; and the several peoples of India began to think independently about the matter. The Congress camp had already been split into two by the Morley-Minto Reforms. But their differences were merely about the details of actual work and in questions of policy and expediency, for both the Extremists and Moderates, were of one voice in this: that India was fit for Responsible Government though progressive steps or successive stages were necessary to work out

the idea. So far, they were all Nationalists. Further, both the Moderates and the Extremists were alike believers in the British connection, and in the necessity for the establishment of a responsible government in India. Only the Extremists were entirely against the acceptance of—piecemeal legislation in the matter. Chitta Ranjan Das belonged to this latter school of politics and therefore his constructive views about Responsible Government were not much in evidence. And when the Morley-Minto Reforms were accepted by the Moderates and were being worked out in the country, Chitta Ranjan felt no need to come forward to take interest in politics and devoted himself to the movement for the promotion of the vernaculars and the education of the masses into a knowledge of their present position in India. He was not a believer in mere agitation and, therefore, did not take an active part in the moving of the pious resolutions in the annual sessions of the Congress. The announcement of the Secretary of State, however, furnished an acid test. The real strength of the several Congressmen was laid bare to the public. The babblers in politics had to stand aside and make room for workers. A scheme signed by nineteen leading political thinkers was drafted and issued as the irreducible minimum of reforms which would be acceptable in India. Meetings were held everywhere and other schemes discussed. In the wilderness of schemes there was a likelihood of the main objects of the people being obscured. So Mr. Das felt himself impelled to come forward and emphasise the fundamentals. Mr. Montagu was coming to India to study the question. \* \* \* When he was thus confronted by the representatives of the different races and creeds, each urging a scheme wherein its own aggrandisement was particularly prominent, what could he do but to succumb to the belief that in an immediate grant of full responsible government lurked an unknown danger? And Dyarchy was the result. \* \* \*

The message of hope which His Majesty the King-Emperor left behind him when he returned to England after the Durbar at

Delhi rekindled again the faith in the British administration. So when that policy was re-stated in clearer and more definite terms by the Home Government and in a more authoritative manner (not merely as pious expressions of hope like the Royal Proclamations), a movement was started for uniting all the parties and demanding with one voice what the people, as the direct result of the World War, had begun to feel was their birth-right—full responsible government with an adequate protection of the minorities. The promise of the Secretary of State was reiterated in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy.

I propounded two questions to my Council (1) What is the goal of British Rule in India? (2) What are the steps on the road to that goal? We came to the conclusion which I trust most Hon. Members will agree was inevitable that the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire with Self-Government was the goal of the British Rule.

And His Excellency pointed out three roads: (1) in the domain of local Self-government village, rural, town or municipal, (2) in the domain of more responsible employment of Indians under the Government (3) in the domain of Legislative Councils wherein "an advance must be made simultaneously with the advances in the other two."

#### RELEASE OF THE INTERNES

All this prognosticated a change in the "angle of vision." If so, the machinery by which India was governed might also suffer a beneficial change and there need be no insistence of an entire change of such machinery. Was there such a change of view-point? was the question. "No," said C. R. Das on 7th October, 1917, when addressing a mass meeting to protest against the internments.

Gentlemen, at a time when the British Government in its wisdom has declared its policy that Home Rule in some shape or other must be granted to this country, that some sort of Responsible Government is necessary for the foundation and preservation of the Empire, at a time when His Excellency the Viceroy has advised us to preserve an atmosphere of calmness, I ask, is it wise to detain these men against popular opinion, against the universal desire of the Indian people? And why should they be detained? May we not tell those who are responsible.... You detained them under an Act which has been characterised by the highest authorities in England and in this country as illegal and *ultra vires*. You have

detained these men and other persons on political considerations which are outside the purview of the Defence of India Act under which you claim to detain them.

Again in protesting against the internments under the Defence of India Act in the Town Hall meeting at Calcutta on 5th March, 1918, he emphasises, once more, that there has been no change of front, that the Government has not made "any attempt of any kind whatsoever to discover the real causes of the revolutionary party movement" and points out:

"I know more about these peoples than anybody else in this Hall. I have defended so many of the cases and I know the psychology of their mind. I know the cause of the revolutionary movement is nothing but hunger for freedom. Our educated young men see that nations all over the world are free. They compare their position with the position of other nations and they say to themselves 'why should we remain so?' We also want liberty. These young men burning with the enthusiasm of youth feel that that they have not been given any opportunity of taking their legitimate part in the Government of their country in shaping the course of their national development. Give them that right to-day, you will hear no more of the revolutionary movement. Give them that right to-day. Tell the people of this country, 'Here it is; we mean to change the system of Government, the Government will be yours, Government of the people and by the people; work for the good of your country. Build up your nationality, shape the course of your history'; and I guarantee that from the next day the revolutionary party will cease to exist."

In response to the Premier's appeal for more recruitment to the army, Mr. Das spoke again urging the release of the interned:

"Release them, make them feel that after all it is their country, that there is a Government which feels for them.—Do you think that a country where the people have been fighting for political rights for so many years and where every time their petitions and prayers have been rejected with scorn, do you think that in such a country you will get a very large army to come forward unless you can create among them an enthusiasm, unless you can make them feel that they are fighting their own battle?..... Release them, what army do you want which Bengal cannot furnish? I take upon myself to give up my profession for six months and go over the whole of this country asking the people to join the army in thousands."

But the Government did not answer.

#### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The political speeches of Mr. C. R. Das delivered in 1917, all emphasise the ideal that India must place before herself. He

pointed out the futility of discussing the details of a scheme unless it clearly laid down "some sort of Government in which the Government officials would be responsible to the people whom they govern." The details might, according to him, be safely left to be worked out by the electorate in each province so that each province might mould its own destiny in her own peculiar way.

Mr. C. R. Das was a staunch believer in the immediate fitness of India for Swaraj. The oft-repeated reasons for the postponement of reforms or a gradual regulated dosage of them carried to him no conviction with it. That he was right in his estimate of the people, that illiteracy would not stand in the way of a proper exercise of the right of franchise, the elections under the Reforms Act have amply demonstrated. Everywhere in spite of their illiteracy the people have shown themselves keenly aware of their rights and chose with intelligence their representatives for the councils. Their shrewdness had outstepped even the anticipations of some of the popular leaders. The quickness with which they imbibed and assimilated the new idea was simply astonishing to those who thought that because the people could not read or write, they could not choose their men. Even among the voters who did not come to the poll, there were a great many who abstained, not because they took no interest in the politics of their land but because they realised the inability of their representatives for doing anything substantial in the new Councils as at present constituted. If the artificial division of the Nationalists into Extremists who abstained from, and into Moderates who were bent on working, the reforms complacently had not happened and if the Congress which took to the view that the Reforms were unsatisfactory and disappointing had not kept some of the best men out of the present councils, the Reforms Act, hedged around with difficulties as it is, would have proved in actual working that the people of India, the vast electorate of India were fit to

administer an Empire, not merely the portfolios that are now assigned to them.

In a Speech at Dacca he outlined the political future of India as a member of the British Commonwealth "we must not forget the need of an Imperial Federated Government to which all the Governments of the Empire should belong—a Government to which the English Government should belong as one unit, the Indian Government as another, the Governments of Africa, Australia and Canada should belong as other units", and he wants us to realise what a grand opportunity there is within the British Empire of fulfilling that yet still grander ideal of the human race. "If the federation of the human race is not always to remain the poet's dream, if it is ever to be fulfilled, I feel sure that fulfilment will come through the federation of this vast Empire to which we have the honour to belong."

Speaking in the Congress at Calcutta in 1917, he again emphasised this attitude.

I want the power to build my own constitution. I want the power to build my own constitution in a way which is suited to this country and which afterwards will be referred to as the Great Indian Constitution. We are all agreed as to the great ideal. Let us gather strength to fight for it—let us fight for it with all our might and let us not rest content till the whole thing is granted to us.

It may be said that the British Parliament will never grant you that, but are we considering that at present? When they make a definite pronouncement as to what they are willing to give us it will be time then to meet again and formulate a definite scheme as to the way in which that ideal might be given effect to. But the time has not come to discuss about it, because I am afraid that in the discussion of it, the main ideal might get lost and I am not anxious to keep up that ideal before you.

#### AS A NON-CO-OPERATOR

Mr. Montagu returned to England. He comforted himself with the idea that he had got several leaders of the country to accept his compromise. While in India he had realised how delay in the grant of reforms would be dangerous. He pursued the Reforms Bill forward and the Act was passed before the Congress met at Amritsar. And though the Congress expressed itself strongly against the inadequacy of the reforms, most of the leaders including Mr. Gandhi were in favour

of co-operation with the Government in the working of the reforms. But Mr. C. R. Das was not the man who falls from the ideal he has set before himself. He opposed co-operation with the Reforms. And in all probability he would have kept back from politics, nursing in solitude his own ideal of Self-government and trying by all lawful and peaceful means in his power to prepare the country for a complete scheme of Self-government. But that was not to be; another event happened which determined the next stage in his political career. That event was the rise of Non-Co operation Movement. He himself explains the position in these words:

I have often been asked what is the meaning of this movement? To my mind the meaning is clear. We want freedom. we want to realise the right of regulating our own lives; we want to realise the right of building up the great Indian Nation. We want to compel the bureaucracy to recognise that right.

It is unnecessary to refer to the past. It is not my desire to perpetuate bitterness. It is my desire to strengthen our determination to achieve our freedom.

I advocate the method of Non-Co-operation as every other method has failed. I want you to cling to this method, come what may. This is our last chance and this at least shall not be in vain.

Do you understand what Non-Co-operation means? You must withdraw your help in moving the powerful machinery of the bureaucracy. Do you realise how you can move this machinery? The bureaucracy works its wicked will through the pleaders, through doctors, through clerks, through their police officers, and through magistrates and judges.

The method that I advocate is the method of sacrifice.

The very simplicity of our life has become difficult of comprehension because of the tortuous and complex organisation which European culture and education have placed before us. Once you turn your face away from that, you will have faith in methods which belong to us, in standards which are really part of our blood and of our bones. What is more simple than the desire and the determination to, withdraw your help from that which is false and unrighteous? And yet why do you experience such difficulties in forming that desire and in fixing that determination."

In his lecture delivered in Patna in February 1921, he traces the history of this new movement, of this new idea.

Think what happened in the Punjab and I cannot forget the Khilafat either. There instances you can forget. You remember there was a non-official committee appointed by the Congress. Last year we all met at Benares and we signed the joint report as non-official commissioners. The report was drafted by Mahatma Gandhi. We examined that report and discussed the matter. We purposely put our demands very low. . .

We had made up our minds that we would put forward our demand and it ought to be no more a pious resolution and we must insist upon the Government to act up to our recommendation. Our legitimate demands were so low. Even these demands were treated with scorn and the offenders were left scot free. Subscriptions were raised for these villains. Ladies danced, I am informed, to collect money for the upkeep of those villainous offenders. We entered into a contract there in the holy city of Benares. It is for this blunder that Mahatma Gandhi has started Non-Co-operation."

His subsequent conduct cannot be put better than in his own words.

Mahatma Gandhi started it, and after that my friend Mr. Motilal Nehru joined it. In the Calcutta Congress I did not join it because there was a great difference of opinion. Few read my speech because I was against Non-Co-operation at Calcutta. Is it not a fact that I opposed that resolution on the very ground of Non-Co-operation. Once I have made up my mind to accept it, I must follow it. Afterwards I made up my mind that this Non-Co operation must be more complete from the national point of view. I wanted to bring a more effective resolution. So far as my practice is concerned, I have not accepted a single new case after the Calcutta Congress: I drafted another resolution. I specially went to Benares and there discussed the resolution with Mahatma Gandhi, with my friend, Madan Mohan Malaviya, with my friend Lala Lajpat Rai. I met again Mahatma Gandhi at Dacca and discussed with him again and he agreed to it. These who knew of the inner working of the Nagpur Congress might have known how I worked day and night for that resolution and I tell you I succeeded.

#### "MY QUARREL IS WITH THE SYSTEM"

As early as in 1917 he was clearly determined upon getting rid of the bureaucracy, as he calls it.

"My quarrel is not with the individual at all. My quarrel is with the system. It is the system which is responsible for the bad Government of this country. Why is the system bad? It is for this—that there is no responsibility. To whom is the Government of India responsible? Not to the people. They have got to take their orders from the British Parliament. Has the British Parliament got any time to devote to India or to make that responsibility real? No, they have neglected India not out of apathy but their own interest required it—they have to discuss so many questions which are of far greater importance to England than the question of India."

And Mr. Das was convinced that the new Reforms did not materially alter the situation.

"I care not whether you have Parliamentary councils or Legislative councils divided into so many compartments, whether you have an upper house and lower houses in order to govern the country. I want India to say in one voice that we will govern ourselves. That is the right we have. No Government can deprive us of that right. The moment you discover that, you will get Swaraj."

“What happened in the Punjab, what happened to our Mohamedan brethren and the passings of many oppressive laws from time to time” were to him further indications and more positive proofs that the bureaucracy had not changed its angle of vision, that nothing short of Swaraj was good for India. Mr. Das would have been a Non-Co-operator even if these events have not happened (as his attitude at the Amritsar Congress indicated) but he would have stood alone and there would have been no mass movement behind him.

#### HIS GREAT SACRIFICE

The progress of Chitta Ranjan in the Non-Co-operation movement is too well-known to need a detailed discussion. He was chiefly instrumental in drawing the students away from the Calcutta colleges and the schools in Bengal as might be inferred from the lament of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. He was largely instrumental in collecting the large sum that was collected in Bengal for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. He has completely given up a lucrative practice and a leading position at the Bar. He has given away all his earnings in support of the National College at Calcutta where the students that came out of the other colleges were taught the use of the Charka as a step in the attainment of Swaraj. And because of all this work that he did so whole-heartedly and so thoroughly, he was unanimously elected by the Congress organisations which had since the Nagpur Congress become Non-Co-operation organisations—to be the President for the Session of 1921. For Mr. Das is A MAN WITH A PERSONALITY, a man with an ideal, a man who has heard the roar of the sea and cannot contain himself.

It does not matter what happens to me—it does not matter what happens to the present generation, it does not matter what happens to the educated community of to-day, but what matters with me is the development of the nation. I look forward to the time when the nation will rise and stand in all its glory. I do not care whether I am alive or dead at that moment, whether my children will be living then or not—but the time will come when by God's grace we as a nation will make ourselves felt and will stand in all our strength and face the world. That is the ideal which appeals to me every

moment of my life. I feel within myself that that is my appointed task. I shall devote all that I hold dear to the service of that cause; and, if I die in the attempt, what then? Fail we alone? If I die in this work I believe I shall be born in this country again and again, live for it, hope for it, work for it with all the energy of my life, with all the love of my nature, till I see the fulfilment of my hope and the realisation of this ideal.

And whether or not we agree with Mr. Das in all that he does, this is clear that he is a great unselfish man actuated by high ideals and fully deserving of all our admiration and regard.

#### MESSAGE BEFORE ARREST

Since the election of Mr. Das as the President of the Congress, events marched in rapid strides. Early in December, Lord Ronaldshay defined the attitude of his Government towards the progress of Non-Co-operation to which Mr. Das replied on December 2nd by sending a message to the Congress workers, of which the following is an extract:

“My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent Non-Co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that sometimes the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought, word and deed. . . . Let us not forget that we, the Non-Co-operators, claim to hold the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hoodlums or not, to that extent Non-Co-operation has failed. The responsibilities are ours. . . . If we fail to exercise control over the masses, how can we claim to have success?”

And this from his message to the people of Bengal:—

“Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and that Non-Co-operation is the only method by which to reach that goal. . . . The people of Bengal are now on their trial. . . . I ask my countrymen to be patient. I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully. I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined. The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. . . . I offer myself as a volunteer in the service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days there will be a million volunteers for the work of the Province. Our cause is sacred. Our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not realise that the service of our country is the service of God?”

#### ARREST AND CONVICTION

Soon after the volunteer movement was declared illegal in Bengal and Chittaranjan Das,



the only son of Mr. Das, was arrested on the afternoon of the 6th and sentenced to six months imprisonment on the 9th. Mrs. C. R. Das, and Urmila Devi, the sister of Mr. C. R. Das, were also arrested on the evening of the 6th for obstructing the highway on the allegation that under cover of selling Khaddar they were trying to effect a hartal. Though ultimately they were let off with a warning by the Magistrate, other sensational arrests were made throughout the country. We were told that on the 9th instant Mr. C. R. Das interviewed Lord Ronaldshay and that nothing was known about the result; and on the 11th came the news that Mr. C. R. Das himself had been arrested on a charge under S. 17-B. of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The hearing of his case was adjourned from time to time and Mr. Das was an under-trial prisoner when the Congress met at Ahmedabad.

And none has put the position of the true Non-Co-operator in clearer and fewer words than he in the message which he delivered on the eve of his arrest on December 10th and the student of the life of Mr. C. R. Das cannot refrain from adding the latest messages that he has issued to the people and to the Congress workers to indicate the line in which life is developing.

'This is my last message to you, men and women of India. Victory is in sight, if you are prepared to win it by suffering; it is in such agony as that through which we are passing that nations are born; but you must bear this agony with fortitude, with courage and with perfect self-composure. Remember that so long as you follow the path of Non-violence, you put the bureaucracy in the wrong; but move by a hair's breadth from the path which Mahatma Gandhi has mapped out for you, and you give away the battle to the bureaucracy. Swaraj is our goal, Swaraj not in compartments, not by instalments, but Swaraj whole and entire. Now it is for you, men and women, to say whether we shall attain the goal for which we are striving. \* \* \* \*

#### CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS'

Mr. Das is only just over fifty years old now and in the full prime of life. As years pass by, newer aspects of his greatness might develop with the march of events and the full influence and true bearing of his life is

impossible of final assessment 'at present'; we must rest content for the present with an appreciation of the views he has so clearly expounded in his undelivered Presidential Address to the Ahmedabad Congress of December 1921, as indicating the scope and future development of his career and accordingly the following extracts therefrom are made:—

"We have arrived at a critical stage in our struggle with the bureaucracy. . . . I come from the struggle which has just begun in Calcutta, chastened and purified, and if I have no worldly wisdom to give, I at least bring before you unbounded enthusiasm and a resolute determination to see this struggle through. . . . And what is Non-Co-operation: 'It is the refusal to be a party to preventable evil; it is the refusal to accept or have any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with those who on grounds of interest or expediency, insist upon committing or perpetrating wrong' (Stokes). . . . We break in order to build: We destroy in order to construct: We reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour. . . . It requires no wisdom to see that, if every one of us withdraws our helping hand from the machine that is relentlessly working to prevent our growth and self-realisation as a nation, the machine must of necessity cease to work. This, then, is the philosophy on which the Non-Co-operation movement is based: to defy with absolute constancy the hostile powers that would hamper in any way our growth and self-fulfilment as a nation, to keep its evil always in view, not hating the power but recognising its evil as an evil and refusing no suffering that the malice of that power can invent. . . ."

The Address ended with a justification of the boycott of the Prince's visit clearly expressing the Non Co-operator's point of view.

"On your behalf I would respectfully lay before His Royal Highness our wishes of goodwill to him personally. There is no quarrel between us and the Royal House of England; but he comes here as the ambassador of a power with whom we have decided not to co-operate; as such we cannot receive him. Also, we are in no mood to take part in any rejoicing. We are fighting for our national existence, for the recognition of our elementary right, freely to live our own life and evolve our own destiny according to our lights. It would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to extend a national welcome to the Ambassador of the Power that would deny us our elementary right.

On the 14th February Mr. Das was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

401

BY VIATOR.

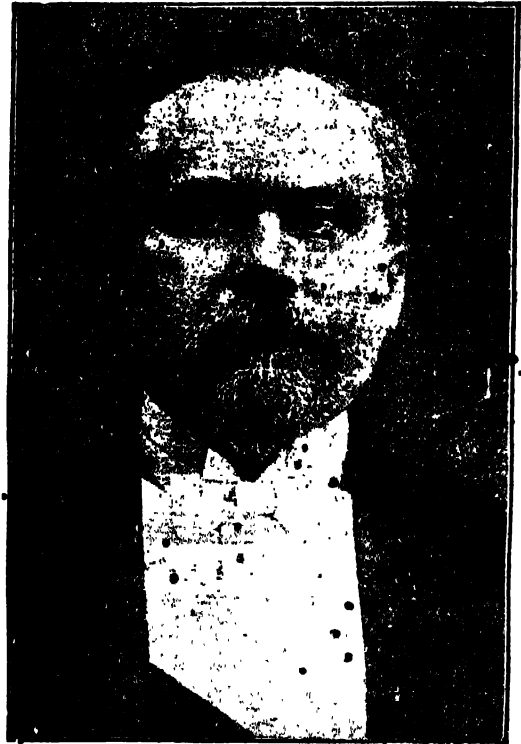
**D**URING the last couple of months, the most significant event in European politics has been, of course, the Genoa Conference. Less by the positive results achieved—for these were small—than by its implications, this meeting must be held to mark an epoch in the history of post-war reconstruction. Like Washington, of which it was an obvious imitation, it was intended to mark the end of the dictatorship of the Allies, and to usher in an era of cordial cooperation between the European powers. That it did not fulfil these hopes, was not the fault of Mr Lloyd George, but must be ascribed partly to the inherent difficulties of the situation and partly to the chauvinist spirit displayed by France. As a natural consequence, Soviet Russia, whose attendance at Genoa must be reckoned a triumph for

assigned to this move, which is to be taken rather as a protest than as a menace; but unquestionably it added immensely to the difficulties of the Conference by enabling France to assume the role



MR. LLOYD GEORGE (AS ADMIRAL NELSON.)  
Who retains his ascendancy in the Council of Nations.

the British premier, was driven into the arms of Germany. Too much importance must not be



M. POINCARÉ THE PREMIER OF FRANCE  
Who insists on adequate reparations from Germany.

of injured innocence. In this connection we may notice that while the attitude of our Ally is exciting widespread reprobation, it is not so unintelligible as is sometimes alleged. France suffered more than anyone else from the War, and she made sacrifices incomparably greater than those of any other country. In the peace negotiations she confined her demands to certain specific topics, leaving to the rest of the Allies the right of putting forward their claims in other directions. It must be counted at least as much the misfortune of France as her fault that her chosen sphere in

the matter of reparations lies almost exclusively in those fields where bitter experience—undreamed of save by rare souls like Keynes at the time—has shown that to exact full measure will kill the golden goose. In consequence, France feels that she has not reaped all that her sacrifices entitled her to gain: that she has been tricked, if not by her Allies, at least by circumstances and with their active connivance. For, indeed, it is undeniable that each time Britain has asked her comrades to make some concession to what are now unquestionably the economic facts of Europe, it is France upon whom the burden falls. Hence the acidity of the French press vis-à-vis Lloyd George, who is reminded day in and day out by such papers as *Le Matin* that it is easy and profitable to be generous with other people's rights. That is the French view; but on the other hand the opinion of the world in general is that France is cutting off her nose to spite her face, and that her pound of flesh, if exacted, will merely cause the dissolution of a debtor whose assets are in the future rather than in the present.

That it is no mere question of sentiment that keeps France loyal to the treaty of Versailles is amply proved by her conduct towards the treaty of Sevres. She was the first power to perceive that the doctrine of self-determination is a mere will-o'-the-wisp, if only because neither a nation nor an individual can "determine" anything except with reference to other units. Accordingly, at the price of valuable concessions, she sought the friendship of the Kemalists, and generally reaped the fruits of her own intelligence. But it is impossible, in the face of her conduct in Syria, to maintain that she is animated by humanitarian sentiment. Singularly free from illusions she for her own part would never contemplate for one moment doing what Britain has done, quite simply and without ostentation, in Mesopotamia. She is firmly convinced that she knows the true interest of people subject to her far better than they do

themselves. She may be right. She can point proudly to the calmness and tranquillity of her colonial possessions, which contrast so eloquently with the stir and stress which goes on in so many places beneath the British flag. It is easy to say that the one shows the agony of life and birth, the other the placid calmness of death and decay. But time alone can show whether this dictum has anything save sentiment behind it. How many of us in India stop to wonder whether, when the history of the world comes to be written, it may not be proved that, since the average man cares nothing for politics in any country, a government that is good, irrespective of its form, may in the last resort be found more conducive to human happiness than the shibboleths of modern democracy?

Meanwhile, owing largely to the inherent differences in aims and outlook that distinguish the policies of France and Britain, the prospects of an early settlement in the Middle East are still somewhat doubtful. Both the Kemalists and the Greeks appear to be rallying their resources for a new effort; but there is no reason to apprehend that for the moment at least they will do anything except fulminate at one another. There seems to be a recrudescence of English and American feeling against Turkey as a result of recent reports of massacres. Whether these reports are founded on fact, or owe their existence to the mendacity of unscrupulous propagandists may be questioned; but the fact that America has announced her willingness to be represented upon the Enquiry Commission is significant. It is time that all such stories as these were investigated by a thoroughly impartial commission, upon which Muslims as well as Christians are represented. It would be an excellent thing to invite some of the well-known leaders of Mussulman opinion in India to lend the weight of their authority to its deliberations.

**Eminent Orientalists:** Indian, European and American. By various writers: Price Rs. 2. To subscribers of "The Indian Review," Re. 1-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The world has travelled far indeed since Macaulay with characteristic cocksureness, talked lightly of the wisdom of the East. Time has had its revenge and the verdict of



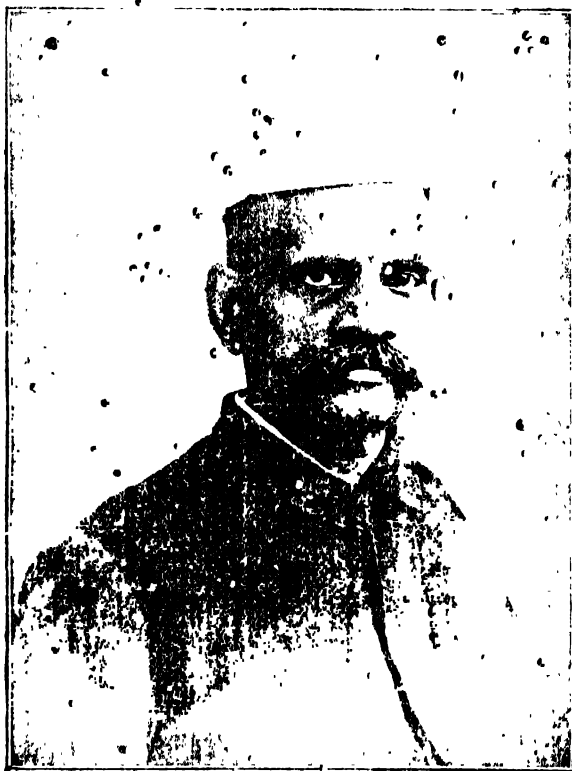
LORD MACAULAY

Whose *Minute on Education* laid the foundations of European culture in India in preference to Oriental learning.

Macaulay no longer holds the field. The East has come into its own. Its deep wisdom and its hoary traditions have come to be recognised as an important contribution to the sum of human knowledge. Nay more. As the mystery of the Orient is unveiled, a deep sense of gratitude and of veneration has come over the rest of the modern world which has learnt to look upon the East as the lamp of ancient wisdom.

In this task of unveiling the wisdom of the East, a handful of European and Indian scholars have co-operated with admirable results. It was during the days of Warren Hastings that the first impetus was given to Oriental research and a devoted band of scholars under the lead of Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Colebrooke and Wilson followed his tradition and enriched the proceedings of the Society with their contributions, with a view to popularise the abstruse scriptures of the Sanskrit classics. The bright example set by these Sanskritists inspired a host of savants intent on Indo-Aryan research. Every department of Oriental life and thought came to be scrutinised from a new angle of vision, a vision disciplined by the critical methods of science and inspired by the wealth and splendour of the half-hidden world of culture. The votaries of ancient Indian history examined her records with a keen and sympathetic understanding. Dr. Vincent Smith took the whole field of ancient India under his ken, while the dynasties of the Kanarese districts and the history of Gujarat were explored by Dr. Fleet and Bhagavanlal Indraji. The pioneer in this fruitful field of historical research is Dr. Bhandarkar, whose "Early History of the Deccan" is still a model of what indefatigable research and erudition can achieve. Meanwhile the study and investigation of Indian archaeology facilitated the difficult task of deciphering ancient inscriptions and the achievements of Prinsep and Cunningham in Europe have been nobly followed in India by Bhau Daji and Rajendralal Mitra. Indian Epigraphy and Palaeography to which Buhler gave so much of his life-time found in Dr. Fleet a worthy disciple, and students of Epigraphy are indebted to the labours of Prof. Senart "whose epoch-making work" on Asokan Inscriptions has revealed a wonderful world of new knowledge. Fergusson's Architecture and Vincent Smith's interpretation of the fine arts are among the

other treasures of Eastern art and craft. Further more the study of religions as embodied in the writings of Max Muller, B. G. Tilak and Paul Deussen, are a domain of perpetual wonder and deep content, while the efforts of Macdonnell and others have unravelled the beauty of Sanskrit, the mother of languages. Nor could we forget the enchanting territories opened out in recent years by Prof. Sylvain Levi, of the extra-territorial influence of Indian civilisation in distant lands. Above all, we are indebted to the muse of Arnold and Griffith and the eloquence of Sister Nivedita, who, by a strange affinity, were inspired by the life and thought of the East, and dedicated themselves to the interpretation of the best and loveliest in Oriental literature.



DR. BHANDARKAR

The veteran orientalist who brings to the interpretation of eastern thought, the critical methods of western science.

A study of the lives and writings of such orientalists must be of especial interest to students of comparative philosophy and religion. Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have in this volume brought under one cover a succinct account of the career and achievements of no less than five, and twenty of these Indologists who have shed lustre on various aspects of Oriental thought. The activities of this group of savants—English, Scotch, French, German, American and Indian, have been many-sided. They have explored the regions of archaeology, epigraphy and palaeography, not to speak of their valuable researches in regard to the religion of the Vedic Aryans and have thus opened out vistas of knowledge in directions never before thought of. It is hoped that this modest collection of critical sketches will serve to remind us of their achievements and inspire us to continue their work with becoming devotion. It is satisfactory too that the sketches are mostly contributed by writers of distinction. Among the contributors to the volume are: Prof. P. Seshadri, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayengar, Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, Mr. Shumbu Chunder Day, Prof. Suryanarayana, Mr. Vasant Naik, Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Prof. M. S. Ramaswami Ayengar, Prof. Surya Kumar Bhuyan, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and Mr. D. W. Wickramaratni.

**The Bombay Representative Conference**—*The Indian Social Reformer* office, Bombay. Price Re. 1.

We have already given a summary of the proceedings of this Conference in our February number. The Report under review contains, besides full text of the speeches, appendices of the correspondence that passed between the Secretaries and the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi, the latter's ultimatum to the Viceroy, the Bardoli resolutions and other important documents.

**Mr. Gandhi's Speeches & Writings.**

• G. A. Natesan & Co / Madras Price Rs. 3. To subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Rs. 2-8.

This is an exhaustive, comprehensive and thoroughly up-to-date edition of Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings (published by G. A. Natesan & Co., some years ago), revised and considerably amplified, with the addition of a large number of articles from *Young India* and *Navajivan* (rendered into English). The inclusion of these papers have almost doubled the size of the old edition and the present collection runs to about 1,000 pages of well-arranged matter ranging over the whole period of Mr. Gandhi's public life. It opens



M. K. GANDHI.

with a succinct biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi, bringing the account of his life down to the historic trial and sentence. The volume begins with the South African Indian Question and covers his views on Indentured Labour and India in the Colonies, his jail experiences in South Africa, his pronouncements on the Khaira and Champaran affairs, his discourses on Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha, and finally his *Young India* and *Navajivan* articles on the Non-Co-operation movement, including select papers on the Khilafat and Punjab Wrongs, the Congress, Swadeshi, Boycott,

Charka, National Education and Swaraj. The additional chapters are arranged under suitable headings and include his messages on the eve of and after the arrest, his statement before the court, the trial and judgment. Then follows a symposium of appreciations from such diverse men as Tolstoy and Tagore, Prof. Gilbert Murray and Dr. Holmes of New York besides excerpts from the British and American press. The book which is bound in cloth and indexed contains portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and three characteristic pictures of Mr. Gandhi taken at different periods of his life. An important feature of the book is the Introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews who explains Mr. Gandhi's intellectual position on the subject of the "British Constitution" and the "British Empire," which is reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

**Principles of Political Science.** By R.

N. Gilchrist, M.A., Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.

• This book is specially designed by the author to be of use to students of Indian Universities, and the course covered is substantially that presented by the Calcutta University. The author has attempted a fair impersonal presentation of modern political theory with more or less detailed studies of the government of Great Britain and the Government of India—the two institutions which touch Indians most vitally and in which the Indian student is expected to be more conversant than with the mechanism of the government of the rest of the world. A chapter on the government of Japan with an outline of the political constitution is also included. India's interest in Japan is second only to her interest in England and the rapid growth of democratic constitution in the far eastern island must afford a very salutary lesson to Indian aspirants after political freedom. As a text book for the earlier stages of political and economic studies the book will be of especial value to students of Indian Universities.

**South India and Her Mussalman Inva-**  
**ders.** By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar.  
Oxford University Press, Madras.

This book is the result of an investigation into the circumstances that brought the Empire of Vijayanagar into being and as a corollary the actual condition of Southern India on the eve of its first conquest by the Muhammadans. The first chapter traces the break up of the Chola empire in the 13th century into a number of chieftaincies after Kulottunga III's time. The second takes us to the revival of the Pandya power in the same period, to the condition of South India at the time of Marco Polo's visit and to the Moslem Arab trading settlements in the South which were independent of and anterior to the invasions of Ala-ud-din and Malik Kafur. The next three chapters detail the Moslem invasions from Hindustan, the route of Malik Kafur, the extension of the empire under Muhammad Bin Tughlag and its subsequent disruption. The short lived Muhammadan Sultanate of Madurai, the arduous struggle put against Islam by the Hoysala ruler Virra Sallala III, the rise of the founders of Vijayanagar, the campaigns of Kumara Kampana—these take up the rest of the book.

A series of learned geographical notes identify the various places mentioned in the text; and we have in addition the texts with translations of the relevant inscriptions and a summary of Ibn Batuta's contemporary notice of South India.

**A Handbook of Modern Europe.** By Prof. L. Mukherjee, Calcutta, Mondal Brothers.

This manual meets the requirements of B. A. candidates and is a summary of the information they have got to study on the subject. The author points out the national and international significance of the various events while the important treaties, brief notices of great men, and university questions given at the end add to the usefulness of the book for the students.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**PRINCIPIA ETHICA.** By George Edward Moore.  
The University Press, Cambridge.

**THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.** By Sir A. W. Ward & G. P. Gooch,  
Cambridge University Press.

**A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.** By Surendranath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Cambridge University Press.

**PEACE IN INDIA: HOW TO ATTAIN IT.** By Mr. S. M. Mitra, Longmans Green & Co., London.

**IRELAND IN INSURRECTION.** By Hugh Martin.  
Daniel O'Conner, London.

**IRELAND SINCE PARNELL.** By Captain D. D. Sheshan.  
Daniel O'Conner, London.

**THE CRUCIFIXION OF SIMON, THE CYRENEAN IN PLACE OF JESUS CHRIST.** By Abdul Wahid Haji Chank Math, Lahore.

**ANGLO-INDIAN VERSE.** By An Anglo-Indian,  
Vol. I Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras.

**FOR INDIA AND ISLAM.** By The Ali Brothers.  
Saraswati Library, Calcutta.

**AHMEDABAD CONGRESS AND THE NATIONAL WEEK.**  
Saraswati Library, Calcutta.

**VAJRAYA DHARMA SURI: HIS LIFE AND WORK.**  
By A. J. Sunavala, B.A., LL.B., The University Press, Cambridge.

**THE STORY OF THE KHILAFAT.** By R. C. Banerjee, Ratanganj, Jessore.

**TWINTINE TALES FOR LANGUAGE LEARNERS: FRENCH.**  
By Jean Rameau, The Holerth Press, London.

**TWINTINE TALES FOR LANGUAGE LEARNERS GERMAN.** By Rudolf Herzog. The Holerth Press, London.

**ADULT EDUCATION.** By J. P. Bulkeley, M.A.  
(Bureau of Education, Occasional Reports No. 10.) Government Printing, India.

**INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1920-21.** Government Printing, India.

**NOTES AND NEWS ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS.** The Institute of International Education, New York.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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May 15. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton has accepted Lord Lytton's offer of the presidency of the Bengal Legislative Council in succession to Sir Shamsul-Huda.

May 16. The Dail Eireann Committee reports that peace negotiations have broken down.

May 17. A permanent Standing Committee for Emigration has been instituted by the Government of India.

May 18. Gandhi day is celebrated in all cities with mass meetings and other demonstrations.

May 19. Strike of Mill hands in Bombay.

May 20. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir sailed for England.

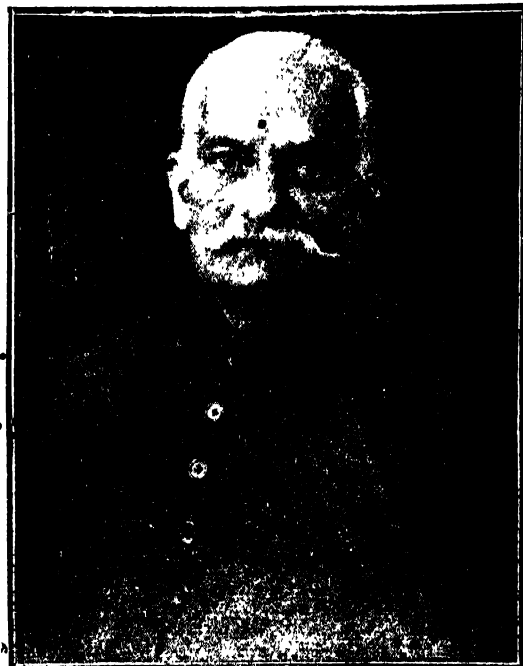
May 21. The P. & O. S. S. *Egypt* collided with the French Steamer *Seine* and sank near Brest.



Mrs. Gandhi who presided over the Guzerat Political Conference on May 25.

May 22. An Ulster member of Parliament, Mr. T. Wadell, was shot dead at Belfast.

May 23. The Indian Association has cabled to the Secretary of State for India for the appointment of an Indian on the Detrenchment Committee and suggests Mr. B. N. Basu.



Pandit Motilal Nehru who was released on the 6th of June has appealed for the continuance of the khaddar programme.

May 24. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri was entertained at a Garden party in Colombo.

May 25. The Guzerat Political Conference was held at Anand, Mrs. Kasturi Bai, wife of Mr. Gandhi, presiding.

May 26. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived in Colombo this afternoon.

—Tasadduk Ahmad Khan Sherwani, Barrister at Law, has been released from Nainital jail after serving his term and has returned to Aligarh.

May 27. The Afghan Delegation passed through Lahore to-day.

May 28. Horatio Bottomley has been sentenced to seven years penal servitude.

May 29. The Whyte Committee Report on Burma Reforms is published.



May 30. The Associated Chambers of Commerce presented an address to H. E. the Viceroy at Simla.

May 31. Vaman Vishnu Phadke has been gazetted an unofficial member of the Kenya Executive Council.

June 1. In the Irish debate in the Commons, Mr. Churchill made an important statement.



Mr. Hari Lal Gandhi who returned from jail after 6 months' imprisonment was entertained on the 16th instant at a meeting arranged in Budabazar, Calcutta.

June 2. Sir J. D. Rees has been killed by falling from an express train.

—Lord Reading receives the title, G. C. V. C.

June 3. On King's birthday the Raja of Muhammadabad becomes a K. C. S. I. and Sir R. N. Mukerjee is made a Knight Commander.

June 4. The son of C. R. Das has been released. The U. S. A. has accepted Britain's invitation

to be represented on the Commission of Investigation into alleged Turkish atrocities.

June 5. Abdul Majid Sharar was released from Trichy Jail to-day.

June 6. Pundit Motilal Nehru was released to-day at Nainital.

June 7. The printer and publisher and Mr. Qureshi, the ex-Editor of *Young India*, were charged with "exciting disaffection."

June 8. Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Lucknow discussed the civil disobedience resolution.

—H. M. the King granted an audience to Mr. D. M. Dalal on his appointment as a Member of the Indian Council.

June 9. Pandits Nehru and Malaviya were refused permission to see their sons in prison.

—The Sindh National College has been affiliated to the Bombay University.

June 10. The Racial Distinctions Committee reassembled at Simla for final sittings.

—H. R. H. the Prince of Wales arrived at Cairo and exchanged greetings with King Fuad.

June 11. Admiral Kato, ex-Minister for Navy, has accepted the Premiership of Japan.

June 12. Mr. Qureshi, late Editor of *Young India*, was arrested this morning at Lucknow.

June 13. Joint Conference in London of Irish and British signatories to the Irish treaty. Mr. Churchill announced that the Irish Constitution conformed to the treaty.

June 14. The State Government of Australia entertained the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to lunch at Sydney.

June 15. Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, late Editor of *Young India* and Messrs. Valji Desai, Bans Ali and Swami Anandanand were tried and convicted to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500, in default to undergo six months additional imprisonment.

—Earl Winterton introduced the Indian Budget in the House of Commons.

### The Riddle of Ireland

"Judez" writing in *The English Review* for May analyses the Irish situation, and says that while the English Catholics are openly anti Sinn Féin, in Ireland the Catholics are divided between Treaty Irishmen and De Valera Irishmen; and what is now going on is a purely Catholic schism in which Englishmen play very little part.

A large majority in Ireland unquestionably desire peace, gladly welcome the Treaty, realise that no country could grant more than we surrendered to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins; unfortunately, the Army or youth, favours the fighting. Now if the careful student, puzzled over this strange tripartite sectarian dissension, were to go to Ireland and make personal inquiries, he would discover that the lute was rifted in curiously unexpected places, and he would be confounded with the deepening mystery. Things such as these would astound him. In the course of his investigations he would naturally search out the Church, and precisely there he would marvel. In his frank talks with the Jesuit Fathers, he would find hostility, in cases fierce hostility, towards De Valera; then again he would find ardent young priests consumed with admiration for the semi-Spaniard's martialism; he would find disunion among the Hierarchy; he would find high dignitaries of the Church scoffing at Irish freedom, deriding us for not shooting up the "rebellion," and then he would find learned and exalted prelates genuinely pro-Sinn Féin. Ask an Irishman on the spot what would "settle" the problem, and a smile is the invariable reply. It is certain that political Rome is against the Republican idea, and yet the Hierarchy in its corporate state has not yet blessed the Treaty, has refrained from any definite pronouncement giving a lead. This is the mystery. Although the whole issue of Ireland is North versus South, or Catholic versus Protestant, the Church, which is the supreme authority in the island, does not feel called upon to associate itself with the Treaty party, as if unwilling to make any public attempt to shepherd opinion in its predicament.

The writer continues that De Valera reckons that England will break her part of the treaty, goaded on by Carism and the national instinct to send back the Army and reconquer; and then he could cry treason and renew the struggle.

The three things to remember are these: (1) De Valera aims at us through his attacks on Collins. (2) His object is to goad us into retaliation and so restore the *status quo*—of war. (3) His flag and that of the Brotherhood is the Faith of Ireland in its relation to world politics—Ireland therefore is the instrument.

If this is so, can any true settlement be reached? It can. Precisely because Ireland is a world factor—a factor of religion, a factor of New World thought—so it is along world lines that Ireland can be exorcised

from her own martyrdom. The machinery is alive, if still-born—the League of Nations. Yet this mechanism could bring peace and the Irish would accept such a judgment. They would because the moment Ireland was referred to a world tribunal, on which a Japanese sat or a Chinaman, the responsibility for Ireland would become a world concern, and Ireland could not defy the world. Could not because the Irish question is Faith and by refusing a world judgment the Irish would set the world of Faiths by the ears.

### Ireland under the Irish

This is the subject of a striking article in a recent issue of the *Sunday Express* from the pen of Mr. Michael Collins, the Irish leader. For the first time in seven centuries the affairs of nearly the whole of Ireland are under Irish control.

The Government that rules Ireland to-day is as completely and wholly Irish in blood, in outlook, and in policy as the Government that ruled Ireland under the great Art Ri, Brian Borumha—the last entirely Irish Government ruling over the whole country.

It is taking over the control of the country from the British authorities, who have now almost evacuated the south, east, and west, the present Irish Government took over also a vast accumulation of the fruits of centuries of misrule and maladministration.

This legacy of misrule and maladministration has been immensely added to during the last two years. The lawless example of the English recruited 'Black and Tans' and the so-called auxiliary police, and the record of crime and outlawry they have left behind them, have unfortunately had a bad effect on certain impressionable and irresponsible elements in Ireland.

Even under the happiest circumstances, a period of transition in every country is invariably accompanied by eruptions of disorder and spasmodic turbulence. There are many recent examples of this truism. In Poland, Germany, Esthonia, Finland, and in practically all the European countries that underwent change as a result of the European war, there were many months of fierce civil war, which was only put down after vigorous fighting and appalling loss of life.

Our transitional period is not being attended by scenes anything like as bad as that, nor is it at all likely to be. We may be depended on to deal with the disorder in our midst just as effectively, and just as thoroughly, as those several Governments dealt with it in their spheres. Our methods may be different, but the results will ultimately be equally satisfactory.

As for the future, there is nothing to be pessimistic about. I have said again and again that Irish liberty, Irish rights, and Irish peace will be safeguarded by the Irish people's Government in the Irish way.

### Maternity Benefits for Workers

Miss. G. M. Broughton, adviser to the Labour Bureau of the government of India, writing in *The Local Self-Government Gazette* examines how far the present social customs of our country conform to the Washington recommendations in this respect and what the difficulties are in the way of introducing changes. She says that maternity benefit schemes are rare in India and there is practically no estimate of the numbers who are compelled to leave work on account of pregnancy.

With regard to the provision of pecuniary aid, which is the next recommendation, the admission must at once be made that maternity benefit schemes are comparatively rare in India. The Basel Mission in Madras had such a scheme and Messrs. Tata Ltd. have just started a liberal one for their employees in the Bombay and Nagpur mills. \* \* \* \* The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills have also a maternity scheme in force for their employees. Generally speaking, the right to maintenance on the part of the mother is not accepted as a legitimate charge on industry. Information received from Bihar and Orissa, however, goes to shew that gratuity is occasionally given, and in Assam, it is stated that "half pay is given during sickness."

Going to the question of medical aid we have the following information :—

Turning now to the question of facilities for medical aid available for women industrial workers in India, it may be stated that the existing Women's Medical Staff in India is not sufficiently large to provide all the assistance necessary generally, and that in many factory areas such aid is non-existent. Medical attendance is to some extent provided in Bombay, the Central Provinces, Assam and Bengal. In Madras qualified doctors and midwives attached to public hospitals or dispensaries are stated to be available in most places where there are factories. But against this has to be noted the fact that the majority of such medical officials are men and that their assistance is not sought in maternity cases except in Madras (city). In the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Rajputana and Delhi free attendance is not provided. The supply of qualified medical women in the Punjab for maternity purposes is understood to be good. The bulk of Indian women are, however, on the whole left to the tender mercies of *dais* or untrained midwives and receive no medical aid whatever.

The recommendation that mothers should be allowed intervals during the day to nurse the child is already observed in India. Women at present seem, or the whole, to be given permission readily to leave their work for this purpose, but no systematic arrangements appear to have been made for allowing women certain definite periods off on this account.

A Conference in the Department of Industries for the welfare and medical relief of women and

children which took place at Simla in May, 1921, made the following suggestions :—

Women who were refused admittance to factories where such abstinence was made compulsory could easily obtain work in non-regulated factories or in agriculture. Further, employers and inspectors would find it almost impossible to enforce this provision as the system of birth-registration at present in force in most parts of India is not sufficiently accurate or detailed for the purpose in view. Moreover the production of a medical certificate, stating that confinement was likely to take place within six weeks, would in most cases be impossible. Indian women would be most unwilling to obtain such certificates except from women doctors, while the smallness of the existing supply of medical women in India made such a proposal quite impracticable at the present stage.

While agreeing that no immediate action was possible in India to enforce absence from work, it was suggested that employers might be asked to see that fines for absence were not inflicted on women who left within a short time before confinement. It was pointed out that more would probably be gained by enlisting the sympathy of the management than by passing legislation without providing the necessary machinery for enforcing it.

### Modern Industrialism in India

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D., contributes to the American official *Monthly Labour* an interesting article on the rise of factory labour in India. He says that modern industrialism arose in India in this manner :—

Until the end of the eighteenth century India not only supplied the limited demand of her population for manufactured goods, but also enjoyed a large export trade. With the beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian industry underwent a complete change. Instead of exporting manufactures India began to import them and to send out grains and other raw materials in exchange. This rapid change was due to the policy of the East India Co., a policy which increased the export of Indian raw materials to British mills and the importation of British manufactured goods into India.

As a result of this change there followed a complete collapse of the industrial organization of the country. The artisan class suffered most, for its members had to fall back on the land and to depend wholly on farming. The produce from a little piece of farm land which had for so long only supplemented the income from their craft now became the sole means of their support. With the decline of the craft system, engineering, architecture, and other industrial skill also disappeared and the industrial disorganization was soon followed by intellectual stagnation and moral deterioration of the people.

From this condition India has, within the last two generations, been slowly but surely drifting toward modern industrialism. The self-sufficient village economy has, in many cases, been replaced by national and international economy.

## Evolution through Rebirth

The belief in reincarnation or rebirth is very strong inspite of the Christian basic dogma that our earth-life for each soul represents the divine plan. The ancient order of the Rosicrucians adduce arguments in support of the rebirth theory and say that the human soul progresses by repeated births into the physical world. Mr. W. H. Stevens, writing in *The Occult Review* for June says of the three theories of the riddle of existence as follows :—

The materialistic theory asserts that matter alone exists, that with the disintegration of the physical body the echo perishes completely.

The theological theory assumes that the human soul is newly created at birth; that its sum total of earthly experience is obtained by one life in the physical world; that it passes at death into the invisible world, there to reap the harvest of its one earth life, an eternity of heaven or hell as the case may be.

The theory of rebirth teaches that each soul is an integral part of God containing within itself all divine potentialities; that by repeated births into the physical world it gradually improves its vehicles and strengthens its powers as it gains further and further experience. Eventually it attains perfection and reunion with God.

If the soul is eternal it must have always lived. Orthodoxy predicates the creation of the soul at birth and an eternal life for it thereafter. But if the soul lives for ever after its birth into the world it is far more rational to believe that it has lived for ages previous to this earth life. Eternity connotes infinity at both ends, as it were.

Another extremely weighty argument in favour of rebirth is to be found in the inequalities between one individual and another. If all souls are created fresh from the hand of God then why are not all given an equal chance? That this is not so is obvious. Physical, mental and moral qualities differ to a surprising extent.

The theory of rebirth alone throws into proper perspective the present earth-life with its glaring inconsistencies, its delayed rewards and postponed punishments. What is more important, exact justice fits in with rebirth.

Each soul is alone responsible for its condition at birth. It obtains exactly what it has earned. At each physical birth it is drawn to those parents who will give it the exact characteristics that it has merited through all its efforts in the past. The environment is likewise fixed by the same rigid regard to personal achievement. The undeveloped ego will naturally find itself handicapped in many ways at the commencement of a new life. Similarly the advanced soul will be exceptionally favoured.

This solution to the perplexing problem of life and death makes the soul in a very special sense the

arbiter of its own destiny. Orthodoxy will argue in the same strain, but with obviously weakened effect.

As described, the soul carries over into this present earth life the sum total of its exertions throughout all previous stages of its pilgrimage. In the same way it can shape its future lives by earnest, well-directed effort in this one. Thus every high endeavour, every sacrifice for noble ideals, means so much progress gained. No energy directed into worthy channels during the present life is lost or wasted. The harvest may be postponed, but it will be garnered.

The objection raised to this is generally the argument that the ego does not remember its past lives. Rosicrucians and others think that by developing the sixth sense which lies latent in all definite first-hand knowledge can be obtained of the absolute reality of rebirth.

## The Co-operative Movement

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* for April Mr. Albert J. Saunders, M. A., F. R. E. S. publishes his impressions of the Co-operative movement in England. He concludes :—

The principle of Co-operation in contradistinction to competition has long since past the experimental stage, it is now firmly established as one of the greatest forces in our modern life. The experience of England points to the fact that India's hope of economic solution must lie in the application of that same principle. Among the many Americans who visited England last summer were a group of economists who expressed their opinion of English Co operation in these words which will bear repeating here :

"While the external features of the various activities which we saw were in themselves impressive, we were impressed most of all with the fact that the directing genius of the huge business is located by the democratic choice of the members in the hands of the directors who are themselves workmen, and who conduct its affairs without remuneration after their own day's work is done. England has given to us many valuable suggestions during our summer here but none of greater importance than is found in the success of the Co-operative movement."

The motto of the movement is a worthy one for India in these new days of political responsibility : "Each for all, And for each."

## South India in Ancient History

Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer, Archaeologist of Travancore, writing in the April issue of *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, attempts to define the ancient territorial divisions of the west coast about which there is dearth of information in the early Chola and Pandya records. Interpreting one of the words "Iramakudam" that occurs in the historical introduction to one of the inscriptions of the Chola Rajadhiraja I, he identifies it with the Sans *Ramghata*, and points out that the country indicated by the term is the Mushaka territory. He says that the Mushakas originally occupied a territory in the Vindhyan region and subsequently marched southwards and permanently settled in the Deccan; that the Elimalai was the spot to which the Mushakas repaired after they had been overthrown in Mid India; that the new kingdom of the Mushakas came to be known as Ramaghata or Iramakudam; and the kings themselves were styled Mushikesvaras, or Ramaghata-Mushikesvaras. The principal hill of the Mushaka king was Elimalai, his *nadu* was Iramakudam and his capital Kolam. Elimalai was known to early European and Mahomedan travellers and navigators and traders by various names more or less connected with the term Eli (Albiruni, Marco Polo, Vasco da Gama). Marco Polo states that Eli was a kingdom towards the west, about 300 miles from Cape Comorin. 'Abul Feida and Ibn Batuta both locate it there and da Gama, Nicolo di Conti and others visited the place. This mountain city of Elimalai projecting into the sea contains one of the oldest palaces of the ancient line of the Kolatiri Rajas (i. e. rajahs of Kolam); and it may be noted that Pandalayani near Calicut, at the mouth of the Agalappunzha river is the capital *kolam* of the Mushikesvaras. The Mushaka kingdom itself extended from the Tulu country to the kingdom of the Keralam.

## The Prince in India . . .

*The Asiatic Review* for April, has the following note on the value of the Indian tour of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

The mission of the Prince was to hold out the hand of friendship to her, in her latest incarnation as a rising member of the British family of self-governing states which owe equal fealty to the Royal House. He went, in the words of the King, "to ripen goodwill into yet fuller understanding," and that he has surpassingly done. At a time of unrest and political uncertainty he has travelled, serene in his confidence in the loyalty of the people, to all parts of the country. He has pitted his personal charm, frank courtesy, good-fellowship, and affection against the armed forces of disorder. He has won his way to an extent that seemed entirely impossible at the start. There remains behind him an impression that will endure. After this visit, so courageously undertaken and so meticulously carried through, nothing in the hearts and minds of India can be quite as before. His opportunity has been the greater because, unlike most other visitors to India, he has had no axe of his own to grind. He has been the Imperial symbol towards whom every Indian, whatever his political views and aspirations, could make the gesture of amity with self respect. The East values courage and steadfastness, and responds warm-heartedly to proffered affection. The Prince will be remembered as no fair-weather friend, but as one who was the more and not the less anxious to be with the people of India, because they were undergoing a period of trouble and of stress. He has won many friends. He has established touch with the country. He has acquired knowledge of her problems and her needs, which will be of service to the Empire, not only now but in the years that are to come, when it falls to him, as soon or late, in the course of nature, fall it should, to inherit the British Crown.

The visit has also been valuable to India. It has helped to break down the isolation in which her remoteness has placed her. It has removed much mistrust and doubt. It has turned the eyes of the Empire upon her. It has brought her circumstances, her aspirations, and her achievements prominently to the attention of the Anglo-Saxon nations. It has stirred feelings of loyalty and devotion to a common ideal, feelings, which lie as deep in the hearts of the East as in those of the West. It has helped India to feel her solidarity with the people of England. It has brought her a friend who is also her future King.

The Indian tour of the Prince is totally different from any of the previous journeyings he has made; harder and tougher the task of the Prince was in India.

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### What Humanity owes to Islam

• Mr. R. Lissan, writing in *The Review of Religions* describes the humanising movements of which Islam has been the pioneer, besides the dissemination of a pure monotheistic faith. The writer speaks of it as having never demoralised or degraded any race, either by drunkenness or by enslavement and as having purified degenerate and worn-out states infusing into them a freshness and vitality all its own. Thus,

In regard to slavery, the Prophet has been accused of consecrating it, by some Christian writers. This is not so. He greatly minimised it and its hardships by his teaching. A master must not ill use his slave; he who strikes his slave must free him; the slave who embraces Islam is free; the master must provide proper food and raiment. Islam in its adoption by the tribes in West Africa, by banding them together in a common bond and brotherhood, formed a barrier against raiding pagan tribes. The position of the slave under Moslem rule was vastly better than under Christian. He was kindly treated and educated and was as one of the household, thus raising him much in self respect and to an extent in position, not being a chattel.

Again we have—

• If polygamy, practically speaking, means association with more women than one, it can reasonably be shown that people in the West are more polygamous than those in the East where the far greater majority have only one wife.

The second wife in Moslem lands is properly maintained and suffers no social stigma, neither she nor her children.

But where, in the West, this happens, the woman suffers ostracism and the offspring is not legally recognized. This is against social and moral progress, the recognition of the former is the acceptance of an unavoidable necessity and the latter as a source of moral and social degradation for all concerned.

The sun rises in the East and out of the East have come all the Great teachers. Europe can show none. Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, Jesus of Nazareth, the Prophet and Reformer, Gautama, the Buddha, Lao Tze and Kong Fu Tze (Confucius) were all of the Orient, and so from the East also come those uplifting and humanizing movements for the world's progress, Islam and its doctrines were carried back by the returning crusaders who took back to their home the knowledge and facts. The Moslems were not as the Church had falsely declared them to be, but cultured, devout and chivalrous, qualities largely unknown in Europe. When the French King removed the Papal court to Avignon, this helped to stem the tide of Italian overlordship in affairs, and introduced a different current of thought; with the returned crusaders, Provence and the southern cities of France took on a more vigorous life; literature, romance and poetry were cultivated and indulged in. From Moorish Spain and Saracens, chivalry was derived which went for establishing a more polished social code.

### The River Indus

In *The Calcutta Review* for June Mr. J. Abbott, gives us an idea of the mystery of an 'uncomprehended vastness that has clung to the river Indus from the times of Skylax and Nearchus to the last adventure of Burnes. Thus he writes of the great forgotten cities that rose and sank by its banks :

Sanctified by many a hoary legend of miraculous power, here at Uchch stayed in its advance by the brick of Khwaja Khizr more effectively than any chair of Canute stopped the incoming tide; here at Alor to save a threatened maid drawn with its burden of ships from out of one course into another; identified again with Sarasvati the purifier of celestial origin; withall its title Darya Shah the title of a king. In old courses marked with many a name of village and town, its present going one almost throughout the valley a passing from silence into silence until it reaches oblivion in the sea; its course ever westering, its delta ever extending, its path strewn with the litter and ruin of abandoned cities whose lineage is beyond all tracing. The capitals of old were its associates; far-famed emporia the companions of its advancing delta—Patala, Bahmanabad, Alor, Mansura, Tatha the first; Barabar, Debal, Lahribandar among the second; of those not one with a lifetime clear. And the delta with its memories of the wild hopes of Alexander, reminiscences of Tatha in its prime and the spacious days of the Moguls; a land of adventure to Persian, Greek and Briton alike, now lies divorced from the life of the valley the moorland of which is Karachi alien in spirit, alien in origin from its deltaic predecessors as capital or port.

The sovereignty of the Indus as a noble and historic river has been maintained in literature since the time of Herodotus and the early Arab writers :

• The sovereignty of the King River is indeed anomalous. Without the sanctity of the Ganges, the Tapti or the Nerbuda though it possess its Khwajah Khizr and its Daryapantis; royal but not holy? Its capricious wanderings forbidding the settlements that have crowded with cities and shrines the banks of India's great rivers, and dooming it in large to unaccompanied solitude. To the west a stream of ill known parts long after the Ganges had become a familiar association withall the partner of a valley that serve as a portal to India's immigrants and conquerors has played an obscure role, the Indus has yet by the accidents of fortune and position acquired an imperial sway. And it is not the least strange aspect of this sovereignty that the river, its source, its delta and even its course, should have remained the subject of wildest error for centuries after its name had been given to a greater whole; that the ages that found 'Indies' in the West or sought them by the North West Passage should still bring the delta of the Indus to the Gulf of Cambay, and place one of its most ancient parts of Mokrān.

## Western Borrowings from India

The *Everyman's Review* for June contains an account by Mr. A. Rama Iyer of what the East has given to the West. Besides the alphabet, the invention of paper and printing, numbers, decimals and algebra, the solar computation of the year, and various elements in medicine, chemistry, philology etc., we have the following interesting account of Indian contributions to western philosophy.

There is a tradition in Europe that the great Greek Philosophers like Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Pythagoras, travelled to the East for the study of Philosophy. It is even said that the last named had been to India for this purpose. Whatever that may be, it is surely undeniable that India has been reputed to be the home of Philosophy, from the very earliest times.

(a) What is known as the Iliatic doctrine, namely, that God and the Universe are identical, and that all matter is *maya*, is in fact the fundamental teaching of the Upanishads and the Vedanta.

(b) The doctrine of Empedocles, namely, that what was not at the beginning cannot be destroyed, is but a paraphrase of the Samkhya teaching.

(c) The teachings of Pythagoras in Philosophy, as well as Mathematics, were all familiar to the Indians long before his time. His doctrine of Reincarnation, as well as his conception of all matter as formed by the combination of the five elements in diverse proportions, was derived from India.

(d) It is quite obvious that all the Neo-Platonic doctrines of the West were derived from our Samkhya Philosophy.

(e) The Christian Gnostics of Europe also derive their doctrines from Indian Philosophy. The doctrine of the existence of the Soul and Consciousness as apart from the physical body is derived from the Samkhya. So, too, in their classification of human beings into three classes, the Gnostics have borrowed the *Triguna* conception of man which is so familiar to us Indians.

(f) Even now Hindu Philosophy holds its supreme place as of old, and the German Philosophers of modern times have not scrupled to borrow freely from its teachings.

## Educational Reconstruction

Mr. Ch. V. Joga Rao, writing in *The Indian Education* for May makes a good suggestion regarding the organisation of Parents' Associations, Teachers' Associations and a Council of Education.

"Parental Associations must be formed in every area which has a High School. In localities where there are several High Schools there need be only one Parental Association. The parents or guardians of all students in the High School or schools and in the other Secondary and Primary Schools in the locality can be members of this association. Their functions shall comprise the investigation of all matters relating to the educational progress of students. It shall be competent for them to hold correspondence with the heads of institutions in the matter and to make representations to the higher authorities regarding such changes in the educational system as would, in their view, be found desirable. Teachers in their capacity of guardianship can be members of this association.

Teachers' Associations shall be formed on the same model and with the same jurisdiction as the parental associations. All teachers of High Schools and of the Lower Secondary and Primary Schools affiliated to them shall be members of the association. It shall be competent for them to discuss, among other subjects, every detail connected with teaching and education. They shall zealously maintain their freedom of initiative in teaching. It shall be their aim to see the removal of all things unfavourable to educational progress.

There should be a council of Education for every province resembling, in constitution and powers, the University Senate. The number of members should be neither too small to be sufficiently representative of the varied interests of the country nor too unwieldy to render its activities effectual. To be plain the number should not be below 50 nor above 100; and it should range between these two figures to suit the varied linguistic and communal interests as well as the area and population of the provinces."

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### A Warning to England

Discussing the policy of England towards Non-co-operation, the *New Republic* writes:—

England may, and undoubtedly will, strike hard at the tremendous movement which, as its leader confesses with his studying simplicity and candour, is designed to overthrow the alien government. But England cannot enter upon the subjugation of India. Ireland and Egypt are overpouring witnesses to the contrary. The age of conquest is past. Humanity is on the march. There seems no escape from the conclusion that the choice before the nations now dominant in the world is terrible but clear. It is the choice between a futile, and in the end fatal, attempt to check by force the drive of the peoples, and a daring resolution to throw open the gates and lead them into freedom.

### The Indian Drama

The subject matter of the drama was not confined always to mythology; it had as wide a range as almost the form of its presentation, writes Prof. S. K. Belvalkar in the May number of the *Calcutta Review*. He goes on to say:—

"If the Vishnu-Krishna cult lent it some specific features, the Rudra-Siva worship furnished some more, and there would be variations without end introduced by the idiosyncracies of custom and worship as prevalent in different peoples and provinces. The ethico didactical preachings of the Jaina-Buddhistic religion were probably responsible for the introduction of an allegorical element into the play, whereas the continued Royal patronage of the profession led in all likelihood to the adumbration of the Court-play or the play of Harem-intrigue, which in time came to be regarded as the norm for all plays, the technical terms of which as preserved to us now being, in the first instance, probably coined for them. Nor need we finally gainsay the possibility of the Indian Stage taking a lesson or two in the way of stage management from the Greek or New Attic drama when

it became known to the Indian Court, though it is easy enough to exaggerate this factor. The Indian drama is a growth of centuries; it was an organism that continually evolved assimilating into itself each new or foreign factor and yet preserving its own peculiar individuality unabated. No one theory can be adequate to explain all its complex factors. The war of wits that ranges now over one and now over the other of its manifold features and aspects make the problem more intricate than ever. And this is what we must expect; for the drama purports to be "lokanu-krtih"—and it is no wonder if, like life itself, it baffles all analysis."

### History and Fiction

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan has a very charming essay in the May *Cornhill Magazine* on History and Fiction. In it he shows something of the wonder of knowing what men and women did, said, and thought in past days, and of what we owe to the historians and novelists of imagination who have re-peopled the past for us.

"Intellectually," says Mr. Trevelyan, "everyone would always admit that the past was real—with the exception of a few meta-physicians who might claim to reserve judgment on the point. But to admit the truth of the proposition is not to feel it as a living fact. It is the detailed study of history that makes us feel it; that is the attracting pleasure of this study, which inspires the driest of antiquarians and the most scientific of historians."

"Historical fiction is not history, but it springs from history and reacts upon it. Historical novels, even the greatest of them, cannot do the specific work of history; they are not dealing, except occasionally, with the real facts of the past. They attempt instead to create, in all the profusion and wealth of nature, typical cases imitated from, but not identical with recorded facts. In one sense this is to make the past live, but it is not to make the facts live and therefore it is not history."



## Are Inventions Inevitable ?

*The Political Science Quarterly* for the first quarter 1922 contains a very able note on multiple but independent origins of inventions which bring out forcibly the importance of the cultural factor in the production of inventions. The relation of mental ability and cultural preparation as factors in the origin of inventions is examined. The writer observes :—

To say that one of these factors is more important than the other is to condense the conclusion to unwarranted brevity. It is more satisfactory to summarize briefly the way these two factors are related. Mental ability is a factor, since no inventions could be made without it. And the mental ability of inventors is above the average. But the distribution of inherent mental ability at any one time is such that there is great probability of considerable frequency of exceptional native ability. The manifest ability necessary to produce inventions may be rare because the native ability has not been trained or applied to the problems of inventions. On the other hand, a specific invention depends upon a certain cultural preparation, and could not be made without the existence of the constituent cultural elements that make the invention.

However, if the necessary constituent elements exist, the invention may occur if there is a cultural need for it, for at any one time the distribution of inherent mental ability is such that in a large sample there are many cases of exceptional native mental ability. With the frequency of multiple independent inventions. Furthermore, the variation in a result, e.g., in inventions, depends on the variation of the factors. The factor of culture, since the historical period, varies rapidly within very short periods of time. The constituent elements of culture at any one time are different from what they were a few years previously. No such variation is conceivable in inherent mental ability over so short a time. In fact, it is exceedingly probable that over a few centuries there is no appreciable variation in the average or the distribution of inherited mental ability. The evidence and analysis show the tremendous importance of the cultural factor for inventions. Since the existing status of culture is so important a determinant of a succeeding culture, since culture is so highly variable, since inherited mental ability is so stable, we must conclude that the processes of cultural evolution are to be explained in cultural and social terms, that is, in terms of sociology and not in terms of biology and psychology.

The list of recurring independent inventions assumes greater and greater importance as we near more and more the modern times. There are a number of well-known and famous cases of duplicate inventions or discoveries.

The most important of them are given below :—

Both Newton and Leibnitz invented calculus. The theory of natural selection was developed practically identically by Wallace and by Darwin. It is claimed that both Langley and Wright invented the airplane. And we all know that the telephone was invented by Gray and by Bell. A good many such cases of duplication in discovery are part of the stock of knowledge of the general reader.

There are, however, a large number of very important instances that are not so well known. For example, the invention of decimal fractions is credited to Rudolph, Stevinus and Burgi. Oxygen was discovered by Scheele and by Priestley in 1774. The molecular theory is due to Avogadro in 1811 and to Ampere in 1814. Both Crox and du Hauron invented color photography in 1869. The trolley car resulted from the work of Van Doble and also Sprague, and the essential elements were devised independently by Siemens and Daft.

We think of Napier and Briggs as the inventors of logarithms, but it is not generally known that Burgi also invented them three years previously. We associate the origin of photography with Daguerre but it was also independently invented by Talbot. Boyle's Law is known in French textbooks as Mariotte's Law. The existence of Neptune was discovered independently by Adams and Leverrier, before the planet was actually observed, the work of these two mathematical astronomer leading to its observation by others. Gauss is frequently recognized as responsible for the principle of least squares. Legendre published his account of the principle three years before Gauss did, although Gauss had used the principle still earlier.

There were four independent discoveries of sun-spots, all in 1611, namely by Galileo in Italy, Scheiner in Germany, Fabricius in Holland and Harriott in England. The law of the conservation of energy, so significant in science and philosophy, was formulated four times independently in 1847 by Joule, Thomson, Colding and Helmholtz. They had been anticipated by Robert Mayor in 1842. There seems to have been at least six different inventors of the thermometer and no less than nine claimants of the invention of the telescope.

### • INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

THE FISCAL SYSTEM OF INDIA. By Pramathanath Banerjee, M. A., D.Sc. [The Calcutta Review, June 1922].

INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1922-23 By An Economist [Journal of the Indian Economic Society, March, 1922].

THE PRICE OF INDIA'S DREAM. By Mary Barden Turner, [The Hindustan Review, May 1922.]

THE MALLAS IN ANCIENT INDIA. Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L., F.R. Hist. S. [The Modern Review, June, 1922].

MODERN SCIENCE IN THE UPANISHADS. By Mr. N. S. Arunachala Iyyar, B.A., L.T. [Everyman's Review, June 1922].

POSSIBILITIES OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUNJAB. By P. J. Fagan, [The Young Men of India, June 1922].

## The New Dewan of Datia

Khan Bahadur Kazi Azizuddin Ahmad, O. B. E., I. S. O., M. R. A. S., the new Prime Minister of Datia, has had a wide and varied administrative experience both in British India and in Indian States. Born 7th April 1861, on



KHAN BAHADUR KAZI AZIZUDDIN.

the sudden death of his father, the late Kazi Sayiduddin Ahmad, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Oudh, he joined the service of Government in 1878 and rose to the position of Deputy Collector in 1888. He was attached to the staff of His Majesty the late Amir Habibulla during his Indian tour in 1907. In 1910 he was deputed to Bharatpur, as Revenue Member to the Council of Regency, and in 1911 assisted in the arrangements of the Press Camp at Delhi. He was later transferred to Dholpur in 1913 and after nine years' distinguished service as Political and Judicial Minister has just been sent to Datia State as Chief Minister, or Dewan. He ably assisted Colonel St. John at Delhi in the Press

Camp during the recent Royal visit. The Kazi is a well known Urdu writer and is author of 45 books. A Fellow of the Allahabad University and a Trustee of the Agra College, he has taken deep interest in education. As a member of the court of the Muslim University of Aligarh he has taken a leading part in the movement for the education of his co-religionists along the lines chopped out by the late Sir Syed. His charming and courteous manners make him very popular with all classes of the people. His work as Dewan of Datia has just commenced and he has begun to introduce many reforms in the administration of the State. He enjoys the full confidence of His Highness the Maharaja and is respected by the Political Officers of the Government of India.

## Demand for Reforms in Native States

The second session of the Deccan Native States Subjects' Conference, which was attended by a number of delegates from the several States in the Deccan and presided over by Mr. Gupta, M. L. C., was held at Poona in the third week of May. The President in his address dwelt upon the necessity of Indians in British India not neglecting the welfare of their brothers living in Native States. The Princes' Chamber established in India, far from helping the subjects of the States, had only served to strengthen the position of the rulers. The policy of the British Government towards these States had passed through different stages during the last two hundred years, but while it had conferred more rights on the rulers it had left their subjects entirely unaffected. He despaired of getting anything for the subjects either from the rulers themselves or the Government of India. He therefore pleaded for an influential deputation to go to England to lay their case before the Prime Minister of England and Parliament. He suggested that the question should in the last resort be carried to the League of Nations, but it was absolutely necessary to secure immediate relief.

# QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

## Reforms for Burma

The Report of the Burma Reforms Committee with connected papers presented to Parliament which include draft rules approved by the Joint Committee, three despatches of Government of India to the Secretary of State and proposals of the Government of Burma was published on May 30. The report which has been signed by Sir Frederick Whyte, Chairman, and seven members is mainly unanimous except for three minutes of dissent which have been appended to it by Maung Po Fye, Maung Myint and P. P. Ginzala on the question of communal representation. In seven chapters it deals with the terms of reference, the history of the Reforms movement in Burma, the franchise constituencies and the constitution of the Council, excluded areas, the division of functions and the representation of Burma in the Indian Legislature. The Committee examined one hundred and one witnesses, official and non-official, representing the European, Burmese, Indian, Karen, Anglo-Indian, Serbadi and Chinese communities. The report states that the attitude of boycott throughout the enquiry was maintained by various societies and individuals who owned allegiance to the General Council of Burmese Association. Several Indian Associations adopted the same policy.

### BURMA'S POLITICAL AWAKENING.

Referring to the political situation in Burma, the Committee states:—

The record of our evidence contains convincing proof that the political awakening of Burma is not only a fact of profound significance but it has come about with astonishing rapidity. Its influence is nowhere more clearly shown than in the successive modifications which the constitutional proposals of the local Government have undergone since Mr. Harcourt Butler, the Lieutenant-Governor, set up his committee in 1916 to enquire into the reform of the Legislative Council. Not the least important factor moreover in the ripening of Burmese opinion has been the constitutional progress of India. The politically minded Burman, while loth to accept any Indian model, watched the incubation of the Indian Reforms with a not un pardonable jealousy and when he saw from afar the inauguration of the new Legislatures at Delhi and elsewhere in February 1921 by his Royal

Highness the Duke of Connaught, his national pride suffered a shock at the exclusion of his own province. The influence of Indian affairs did not however stop there. Certain decisions regarding the electoral and representative parts of the new Indian Constitution appeared in his eyes to be influenced by considerations which hardly applied to Burma. On this point most of our Burmese witnesses have been at pains to lay some stress and it will be seen from our electoral aspects of constitutional reform there has been no small amount of controversy. The relative merits of dyarchy and Home Rule have been canvassed in a manner which shows an ever spreading interest in politics but which also suggests that even the politically minded Burman regards the former as the enemy of the latter and has not fully understood either the principle of dyarchy or its present operation in India where developments of great significance are in progress.

### FRANCHISE.

Coming to the question of franchise the Committee unanimously reject the abandonment of land revenue as the basis of franchise and recommend that rural franchise in Upper Burma should consist in the payment of Thathameda which will yield an electorate practically based on household suffrage and for Lower Burma, the payment of the married rate of capitation tax as the principal qualification. The capitation is virtually a poll tax levied on the individual at the general rate of Rs. 5 for a married man, Rs. 2-8 for an unmarried man. For each township in which the urban franchise will be exercised the adoption of the existing municipal qualification as the basis of the electoral roll is recommended so that there should be added those who pay a minimum amount of four rupees in yearly rates and taxes (including capitation tax and land rate in lieu of capitation tax) either in a municipality or a notified area or a cantonment with the further alternative qualification of (A) a minimum value of immovable property either in a municipality or a notified area or a cantonment of Rs. 200, (B) a minimum amount of rupees five paid as monthly rental either in a municipality or a notified area or a cantonment, or (C) a minimum rental value of Rs. five of the residence of employees living rent free in employers' houses either in a municipality in a notified area or a cantonment both in rural and urban areas. All retired, pensioned or discharged officers, non-commissioned officers or soldiers of His Majesty's regular forces should be qualified as electors. The Committee make no general provision for the enfranchisement for women because they believe the decision in this matter should rest with the elected representatives of the people when the new constitution comes into being.

### CONSTITUTION OF COUNCIL.

Referring to the constituencies and the constitution of the Council, the Committee though of opinion that communal electorates are an undesirable feature in any representative system, yet in face of the evidence they have no course left but to recommend certain special measures for minority representation and propose the creation of separate communal electorates for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and allot reserved seats to the Karen community in five districts. Chinese interests in the province would be represented satisfactorily by an elected member from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Rangoon.

The Committee suggests one hundred and one members for the Legislative Council of which seventy-eight would be elected as follows:—Urban twenty, rural fifty, Burma Chamber two, Burmese Chamber of Commerce one, Rangoon University one, Rangoon Trades Association one, European one, Anglo-Indian one.

(The number of elected representatives as detailed total 77 instead of 78.—Ed. "I. R.")

The remaining twenty-three will be nominated as follows:—Officials twelve, non-officials eight, Executive Council two, President one.

While accepting the proposals of the Local Government in their entirety to exclude the Shan States and all areas to which the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation 1895, the Chin Hills Regulation 1896, the Arakan Hill District Laws Regulation 1916 apply, the Committee recommend that these areas should not be excluded from the scope of the Government of India Act but that the franchise should for the present not be extended to them.

#### DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS:

Dealing with the division of functions the Committee accept the proposals of the Local Government in their note dated 25th October 1921 regarding the transfer of subjects and suggest that the transfer should take place as soon as the necessary adjustments have been made.

The Committee disagree with the view of the Government of Burma that the port of Rangoon should be excluded from the list of major ports and suggests that the Local Government should be entrusted with fuller powers in the matter of rice control and should be entitled to appeal to the Secretary of State when matters are in controversy between Rangoon and Simla.

For the encouragement of the local industry in salt the Committee suggest the transfer of the subject to the Government of Burma and also recommend the transfer of (1) Forests, (2) European and Anglo-Indian education, (3) the Regulation of betting and gambling, (4) the prevention of cruelty to animals, (5) the Protection of wild birds and animals (6) the control of dramatic performances, cinematographs etc.

Finally the Committee suggest that the number of representatives for Burma in the Indian Legislature should remain unchanged and in conclusion acknowledge the great assistance it has received from the Lieutenant Governor and the officers of the Government of Burma.

**Montagu's Indian Speeches.** Price Rs. 1-8 To Subscribers of "I. R." Rs. 1-4.

**Bureaucratic Government.** A Study in Indian Polity. By Bernard Houghton. Popular Indian Edition. Rs. 1-8. To Subscribers of the "I. R." Rs. 1-4.

**The Governance of India.** A hand-book of progressive politics by Babu Govinda Das. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the "I. R." Rs. 2-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

## The Indian Military Burden

In view of the appointment of the Retrenchment Committee the following observations made by Mr. Purushottamdas Thackurdas in the address to the Viceroy at Simla on May 30 will be read with interest:—

"India's burden of taxation to-day amounts to Rs. 6 1/8 per head; in 1913 it was well under Rs. 3 per head. I do not know if the Government of India believe that productions and average income have likewise doubled since 1913, and unless they so contend, my Chamber feel that the general conviction of the Indian public that the maximum taxable capacity of the people of India has now long been passed, should urge the Government to pursue a financial policy of the utmost caution.

"The increased burden and the harder struggle of the people of India are in great measure due to the increased cost of administration, in particular, to the cost of defence. The expenditure on the army has from the very commencement been the largest and the most burdensome of all the items in the expenditure of the Government of India. \* \* Our army has been maintained for the last two generations on a war footing and up to a standard of efficiency calculated to meet a first class European Power, but Indian statesmen have always questioned the necessity or the desirability of so costly and disproportionate a scale of defence. Without dealing with the grievances of the public from other points of view on this unbearable and crushing burden, I think I may safely say that on financial grounds alone substantial and whole-hearted retrenchment is imperative and urgently called for. The consensus of opinion amongst the richer nations of the world as to the necessity of a reduction in armaments entitles India to ask your Excellency to brook no delay in the application of this principle to her."

# UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

## Lord Reading on Retrenchment

H.E. the Viceroy, in the course of his reply to the deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce which waited on him at Simla, on the 30th of last month, gave the following assurance:—

"We realise the effect of continued deficits and borrowing operations upon trade interests. We clearly recognise that one of the first avenues to be explored, and thoroughly explored, is the question of our expenditure. As regards the latter, we are prepared to place it in the crucible and put it fully to the test with reference to each department and each of its several activities in detail. We intend to prove it by the test of whether the department as a whole and each of its activities severally are absolutely necessary and indispensable, and if the answer to the test is in the affirmative, we propose to employ further searching processes to ascertain whether its activities permit of reduction in expenditure or not, and even if the latter be the answer we will not be content to rest there but will examine whether as efficient results could not be attained by a complete change of method of treatment if that, point the way, to a saving."

"I hope you will be convinced by what I have said that we intend no half measures. We protest nothing, we conceal nothing, we reserve nothing. We do not apply any temporary measures to our bodily disease. We desire to lay our ailments and the history and fact of our constitutions frankly and without reserve before the physician and we are prepared, as far as it is compatible with efficient government and the primary necessities of safety and good administration, to submit to operation, to cautery, to the letting of blood or to rigorous diet."

## Dean Inge on the Victorians

The following extract from an address delivered by Dean Inge on "The Victorian Age," at Cambridge, is interesting. The gloomy Dean compared the present leaders to the giants of the Victorian age and draws some striking conclusions, somewhat disparaging to the Moderns. His method of comparison is somewhat novel:—

Tennyson, said the Dean, was the grandest and most fully representative figure in all Victorian literature. "Let those who are disposed to follow the present evil fashion of disparaging the great Victorians make a collection of their heads in photographs and engravings," he continued, "and compare them with those of their own little favourites."

Let them set up in a row good portraits of Tennyson, Charles Darwin, Gladstone, Manning, Newman, Martineau, Lord Lawrence, Burne-Jones and a dozen lesser luminaries and ask themselves whether men of that stature were any longer among us. Since the golden age of Greece no age could boast so many magnificent types of the human countenance as the reign of Queen Victoria. Tennyson's leonine head realised the ideal of a great poet. The longevity and unimpaired freshness of the great Victorians had no parallel in history, except in ancient Greece.

## Viscount Peel on Burma Reform

A distinguished company was present at the annual Burma dinner in London in which Viscount Peel presided and proposed the toast of prosperity to Burma. In the course of his speech, Viscount Peel referred to the splendid welcome accorded to the Prince of Wales in Burma, which had not been surpassed in any of the Dominions. He said it was a remarkable fact, in view of the long history of development of English institutions, that Burma at a bound should have been ready for such an advanced legislative system, including votes for women, which the new constitution would involve.

### India in the Councils of the Empire

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri, replying to the welcome address at Colombo, said :—In my opinion, since the question of status is one and indivisible, every possible legitimate path should be pursued vigorously and simultaneously, with a view to the establishment of the principle of equality of individual and racial status, and it is impossible to ignore any avenue by which that principle may be realized and established, for advancement along any path implies eventually progress all along the line. The admission of India to a quasi Dominion status is a long step in the direction of full Dominion status. That is why I, for one, refuse to minimise the advantage to India of her participation, even under present conditions, in international and imperial conferences. It is quite true that she cannot and does not pull her full weight; but it is absurd in the face of known facts, to contend that she does not pull any weight at all. On the contrary, depending upon the occasion and the manner in which it is seized, she sometimes pulls a very heavy weight, sufficient in fact to decide an issue in her favour even against opposing interests of great importance.

### "Why I am a Liberal"

In a recent speech Sir John Simon gave the following six reasons why he is a Liberal :—

Because it is to liberalism that we owe our political, civil, and religious freedom.

Because Liberalism has proved itself, and will prove itself, to be the best means of securing practical social reforms—education, old age pensions, insurance against sickness and unemployment, temperance, and the raising of the standards of life.

Because Liberalism stands for freedom in industrial affairs, for Free Trade, co-operation, for freedom to combine to protect the rights of workers, for a fair chance and no favours for everyone,

Because Liberalism means just taxation and thrifty expenditure, so that we may cut down waste on wasteful preparations for war, and may use our resources to benefit ourselves and our children.

Because, after the ruin and desolation caused by war, Liberalism is more than ever needed to make friends with all the world, to re-establish international relations, and to guide the steps of humanity into the ways of peace.

Because Liberalism is neither a selfish policy nor a visionary policy but is a practical creed based on principles and convictions which embrace and serve all citizens who believe in work, sympathy, progress, and fair play.

### Efficiency Vs. Economy

In reply to the ovation he received from the representatives of all denominations in the Calcutta Corporation on taking the aedile chair on the 7th instant, M. Saffrendra Nath Mallik, the first non-official Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, spoke of himself as a "mere adventitious landmark in the highway of our national destiny in which I have the deepest and most abiding faith." He concluded as follows :—

When Lord Curzon coveted the office I am holding to-day, "efficiency" was the fetish of administration. To-day the loudest cry of the market-place, as well as the forum and the senate, is "economy." Both are very desirable objects indeed for administrators, and, personally, I believe that it is no good running an administration of any kind whatever with one of these as your ideals at the expense of the other. If during the next few weeks, I am able to administer your affairs with, "economy" and without impairing the "efficiency" of your services, and if am able to elevate, even by a very small degree, the atmosphere of our municipal life to a higher standard, I shall have very good reasons to congratulate myself for having accepted this office and done my bit.

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

## Mr. Polak on Indians in Kenya

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Honorary Secretary of the Indians Overseas Association, London, who is now in India, recently gave an interview at Simla, to a representative of the Associated Press regarding the position of Indians in Kenya.

Referring to the fundamental issues involved in Kenya, he said that reasonable Indian opinion in that Colony would be satisfied; (a) if Lord Elgin's pledge was kept by taking away the Governor's power to veto the transfer of lands to Indians in the Highlands; (b) if segregation is not statutorily enforced; (c) if Indians be also enfranchised, though in the beginning, Europeans, who are one-fourth of the Indians in numerical strength, will yet have majority of seats and (d) (most important of all) if the policy of closing Kenya against Indian immigrants be given up.

Mr. Polak said he considered the case of Kenya a true test of British sincerity with regard to the doctrine of equality of citizenship for Indians abroad. Coming to India, he was greatly disappointed to find that public opinion appeared to be diverted from these acute and vital problems of the position of Indians abroad, to those who were thinking of the disappearance of disabilities, simultaneously with the grant of self-government to India.

"I want" he declared, "a ceaseless campaign, both in the press and on the platform, to show that India is alive to the gravity of the situation in Kenya, so that outsiders may not imagine that India is apathetic. I suggest that a strong deputation should wait on the Viceroy and strengthen the hands of the Government and public men in England in helping India's cause. Within the next few months, a decision, one way or the other, must be taken by His Majesty's Government, and unless Indian opinion is alive to the enormous seriousness of the issues involved, a fundamental error may be committed, having the gravest possible consequences."

## Indians in Australia

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri addressing a large gathering of Australians in the Victoria Hall, Adelaide, said in connection with the "White Australia" policy that neither the Government nor the intelligent people of India desired to question Australia's right to determine the character of her population. It was for Australia, not India, to judge the "White Australia" policy. India agreed to keep her populace from Australian territories except to the extent to which the Commonwealth chose to relax her laws.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri appealed for better conditions for those Indians already admitted which would enable him to tell malcontents that such had been remedied to give hope that as those flaws of the Empire had been got rid of, other matters causing dispute were also susceptible to adjustment. He desired to establish an understanding between East and West in the interests of the two countries and of the Empire.

## Indian Immigration into the U.S.A.

Under Article 3 of the United States of America Immigration Act of 1917 all natives of India are excluded from the United States of America unless they can prove that they hold the status or occupation of:—

Government Officers, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, lawyers, physicians, chemists, Civil Engineers, teachers, students, authors, artists, merchants and travellers for curiosity or pleasure, or are the legal wives or children (under 16) of such persons. Indians who claim to belong to the above classes must present, in support of such claim, evidence procured in their place of domicile, showing what their status or occupation has been during a period of at least the two preceding years. Such evidence must be of a convincing nature, and its authenticity must be attested by the Consular Officer of the United States of America located nearest such place of domicile.

## India's Industrial Future

India cannot afford to throw away such advantages as she possesses in her competition with other manufacturing nations, says the *Rangoon Gazette*. She has been assisted hitherto, by her freedom from harassing restrictions upon trade, in finding markets for her products. Whether she can maintain her position in the future depends upon her ability to recognise that with every addition to the charge imposed upon Capital there must be a corresponding increase of output. It may be unfortunate that we cannot both eat our cake and have it, but the fact that it is so has contributed more to the progress of the world than probably any other cause.

## Empire Exhibition

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the appointment of a Commissioner for India in connection with the British Empire Exhibition which will be held in London in the summer of 1924, and the Government of India have selected for the post Dewan Bahadur T. Vijaragava Acharya of the Madras Civil Service and the late Dewan of Cochin.

The duties of the Commissioner will include the giving of advice and assistance in the matter of selecting, despatching and arranging exhibits to the provinces, the Indian States and others who propose to participate in the exhibition, and after a short period of the deputation to England to familiarise himself with arrangements there, he will return to take up his duties in India. The Government of India are awaiting replies to their enquiry from the provinces and Indian States regarding their participation in the exhibition.

## Technological Research

It will be remembered that with a view to providing funds for the activities of the Committee and to meeting the cost of the Committee's proposal in respect of technological and agricultural research, the Central Cotton Committee recently recommended the levy of a cotton cess

at four annas per bale on the whole of the commercial crop for the period of five years, and that the Government of India should have the power to reduce it by an Executive order within that period.

Invited by the Government of Bombay to express their views on the above proposals, the Indian Merchant's Chamber and Bureau's Committee state that they approve of the levy of a cess provided the revenue from it is devoted to the objects in question and the unspent balance does not lapse to the general revenues.

They add, the collection should be made both at ports and mills and that the control of Government over the expenditure of the cess should be the minimum compatible with the interest of the Government of India as the body responsible for the collection of the cess.

## Pottery industry

India possesses the greatest natural resources in raw materials for the manufacture of the different kinds of pottery, says a writer in *Indian Industries and Labour*. As observed by Sir Thomas Holland, clays of great industrial value exist locally. They include the common or fusible clays used for cheap pottery, finer or vitrifiable clay for glazed earthenware, as well as good fire-clay for refractories and China clay, or kaolin for the manufacture of hard, fine porcelain. No systematic survey of Indian clays has, however, been made as yet, and in the interest of the future development of this great industry this should no longer be postponed.

One of the most important problems now is the provision of skilled labour. Indian potters have, so far, proved their workmanship and have been found quite efficient. With a little training, youths recruited from the middle classes can be turned into foremen. The attention of capitalists and investors should now be directed to the assistance of this important and lucrative key-industry, with the development of which the growth of various other industries is so intimately linked.



# AGRICULTURAL SECTION

## Wheat in India

Though the price of wheat is falling and at the present moment India is likely to have cheap wheat for a long time, yet a bad monsoon may alter this outlook, says the *Eastern Mail*. India must look after herself and pay no heed to dished up or cooked reports on the subject of wheat. It is true that India is not a large wheat consuming country and in this connection large exports of wheat may be advocated as a means to an end, but no notice should be taken of any arguments of this description, for they are not to India's interests. What does it concern India whether the world prices of wheat rise or fall? She has no need to import wheat from any other country and her surplus ought to be held up in case of emergencies, and in agricultural matters emergencies are common. There may be merchants that would like India's surplus to be exported for they would stand to profit by the transaction but what benefit would India gain in the aggregate by doing so? The benefit to her would be so infinitely small as to make the game, not worth the candle. There is nothing so uncertain as the harvest, and as India mainly depends upon natural irrigation she ought to religiously bear this in mind. Besides, a famine in India means so much more to her than it does to any other country. India may have available for export we are informed, six million quarters of wheat this year. Well, this is not much for a country with a population of about 320,000,000 people. We can never depend on the monsoon and irrigation.

## Bunchy-top Disease

The plantain bunchy-top disease has destroyed many small plantain areas in the Kalutara district of Ceylon. It is believed locally that bunchy-top came with the introduction of the cannas, as cannas if left unmanured for sometime are said to develop bunchy-top and ultimately stop flowering.

## Water Hyacinth

Mr. Kenneth McLean, writing on the pest of water hyacinth in Bengal in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, says that the reduction of the cost of eradication by utilization of the weed appeals to the economist. The danger lies in that the weed may not be properly destroyed if it obtains a commercial value.

"Nothing short of the complete destruction of the plant will save Bengal from this disastrous pest, and the findings of the Committee which is at present sitting in Bengal are awaited with interest. It is hoped that the recommendations will be put into immediate effect, as it is felt that there has already been too much delay in tackling this vital problem."

## Agricultural Degree

The Madras Government has approved the resolution passed by the Syndicate of the Madras University regarding the institution of the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture and has ordered that necessary alterations in the regulations be carried out. Candidates for the degree should have passed the intermediate examination in groups one and two, and should have undergone a course of study for over three years in a college of agriculture. They shall have afterwards to sit for an examination, both theoretical and practical, in several subjects, including botany, chemistry, and plant pathology.

## Agricultural Committee

The Agricultural Committee appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council has recommended that 'Sabour as an educational institution should be closed as soon as it conveniently can be' and that no new students should be admitted.

## Wheat Crop

The final memorandum of the wheat crop in India for the season 1921-22 shows the estimated area under cultivation to be 21,59,600 acres and the total outturn 4,94,200 tons.

## Literary

### Authorship of Dumas' Novels

The "Daily Chronicle" special correspondent at Paris writes on May 17:—

A lawsuit concerning the authorship of several of Alexandre Dumas' celebrated novels, such as the "Three Musketeers" and "Monte Christo," which was begun nearly three-quarters of a century ago, is coming on afresh before the Paris tribunals.

Dumas appears to have had a very useful collaborator in a modest professor of history in a Paris college, named Auguste Maquet. Maquet, in fact, in 1848, ceded all his author's rights to Dumas for £6,400, but Dumas shortly afterwards became a bankrupt and Maquet was never paid.

Ten years afterwards Maquet very timidly brought his case before the Paris Courts, which acknowledged that Auguste Maquet had given, "an intelligent and useful collaboration" to the great novelist, but that was all and the modest professor, who had largely contributed to the production of so many famous novels, died a poor man and unknown in 1888.

According to French law, the royalties of authors are paid to relatives for 50 years after death. The niece of Maquet is now demanding that not only the royalties on Dumas' books should be paid to her, but also that the name of Auguste Maquet should appear on the title page as joint author with Alexandre Dumas.

### Mohmed Ali Studying the Bible

*Young India* publishes a letter written by Mr. Mohamed Ali from Bijapur Jail to Mr. Andrews, in which he says: "While I devote, after my jail work is over, a good deal of my time to reading the Koran and memorising, I am devoting, perhaps, as much to the study of the Bible."

### What is Happening to the "Times"?

"What on earth is happening to the *Times*?" asks the *Outlook*. "The staid, old lady of Printing House Square is astonishing us all by painting her face, wearing short skirts, and conducting herself with a flippancy and vivacity that causes our eyes to pop out of our heads."

"Some of us think that while this sort of conduct is all very well for flappers, it is unbecoming in such a very old and very respectable lady. The explanation, I suppose, is that Lord Northcliffe is determined to make the *Times* 'pay'. If he is he will probably succeed. He usually does. But the paper he will be giving us then will not be the *Times*."

### Sir John Le Sage

Many congratulations were received by Sir John Le Sage, Managing Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, on the celebration of his eighty-fifth birthday. After a few years' journalistic work in the provinces, Sir John Merry Le Sage joined the staff of the *Daily Telegraph* in 1863. In 1913 his colleagues entertained him at a banquet in celebration of his fifty years' service on this journal, and, speaking in response to the toast of his health, Sir John gave some interesting reminiscences of his long journalistic career, telling of scenes which he witnessed during the Siege of Paris, at the Coronation of the Tsar Alexander III, in the bombardment of Alexandria and at many other epochs of the history of the past half century.

"Very English in his reserved, rather caustic temperament, with his close-cropped, military-looking head and white moustache, he seems the personification of common sense and shrewd judgment," says the *Times*. "He has given his long life with unsurpassed devotion to the service of a great newspaper, the welfare of which, as his friends know, is both his dearest wish and his best reward."

## Educational

### The Teaching of English

The following is from the Literary Supplement of the *London Times* :—

"Writing is an art to be acquired through self-expression, and the main business of the teacher of English is to stimulate in his pupils the creative impulse that has produced the literature which they read under his supervision. This is true, no doubt, but not, we think the whole truth about the teaching of English; at least, it needs to be put more precisely and in detail, if it is not to be misleading. Writing certainly, at its highest, is an art and being a form of self-expression, is to be acquired through self-expression. Further, the best way, at the start, is to stimulate the creative impulse in the pupil. Let him as soon as possible get the habit of saying what he really wants to say; let him find out what interests him and say that in his own language rather than try to produce what he supposes is expected of him. The great mass of bad writing by adults is bad because the writer says, not what he had to say or in language he would naturally use, but what he thinks a writer ought to say and in the language which he supposes to be proper to write. The best way to prevent this is to encourage freedom, simplicity, and the pleasure that comes of these, in the pupil, so that he will not fall into the habit of boring himself and others. But, as we are not all going to be writers by profession, we need to be taught the use of our own language for other purposes; and since we all need to think, and to think clearly, we need to be taught for purposes of thought. Now thought is by most of us employed for practical purposes; before we do anything since we are not merely animals and do not act always in obedience to instinct, we need to decide what we will do and to know clearly the reasons why we wish to do it."

### Educational Reform in Madras

In pursuance of the resolution of the Legislative Council the Ministry of Education, Madras, has constituted non-official selection committees for each of the Government colleges in Madras city and mofussil so that no community might have an undue preponderance of students in its constitution.

A Syndicate of the Madras University have forwarded to the Government recommendations for the amendment of the Madras Universities Act as a result of their consideration of the Sadler Committee report so as to democratise the government of the University.

In respect of collegiate education a committee recently appointed by Government under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu has concluded its sittings. It deals with several changes in the curricula of secondary and intermediate education and their relation to University education and authority in whom control and administration of secondary and intermediate education should rest.

### A Muslim Lady Graduate

A Calcutta correspondent to an up-country newspaper writes :—

Begum Sultan Muwayyid Zada, who passed the Senior Cambridge Local Examination at the early age of 14 and who graduated from the Calcutta University in 1920 as the youngest graduate and best lady graduate of the year, has now won the unique distinction of standing first at the last Preliminary Examination of the Bachelor of law degree of the Calcutta University. She has, besides securing the highest number of marks at the whole examination, also stood first in Hindu Law which is undoubtedly a remarkable achievement for a Moslem lady.

Begum Sultan Sahiba was examined under special 'purdah' arrangements. She is the eldest daughter of Nuwayyid-ul-Islam, the Editor of the 'Nablul Matin',

## Legal

### Mr. Bottomley's Trial.

Mr. Bottomley's trial was perhaps the most sensational trial of the season in Old Bailey. On the last day of the trial, Mr. Bottomley was seated at the outset at the solicitor's table. He listened nervously to Mr. Travers Humphrey's final speech for the prosecution alternately taking notes and staring fixedly at the jury. On the termination of the speech Mr. Bottomley rose and said:—"I will now go to the place where an accused person usually goes." With these words Mr. Horatio Bottomley entered the dock. Justice Salter summing up said that the case was not one of an uneducated person getting into muddle, but one of the most able and most efficient businessman aware of the importance of correct accounts. Mr. Bottomley's appropriations were as bad a robbery as could have been committed. The most important item was that of £57,000 sterling. The acquisition of newspaper was not for payment of any debt. There was no evidence except Mr. Bottomley's own statement that he had paid money out of his own pocket.

Justice Salter concluded by saying that the case was most important from the point of view of common morality. If defendant's mere assertions were accepted by the jury it would be difficult to see how trust funds could ever be protected.

Mr. Bottomley appeared to be unmoved at the verdict except that his face flushed.

Justice Salter addressing him said:—"You are rightly convicted of a long series of heartless frauds and of robbing the poor who trusted you of £150,000 pounds in ten months. The crime is aggravated by your position, by the number and poverty of the victims, by the magnitude of the frauds and by your callous effrontery. I see no mitigation whatever."

### The Late Sir C. Petheram

All the judges of the High Court, Calcutta, assembled on the morning of May 22 in the Chief Justice's Court-room, which was crowded by lawyers and litigants when reference was made to the death of Sir Comer Petheram, the late Chief Justice of Bengal which took place in England on the 19th ultimo. Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Chief Justice of Bengal said:—"Sir Comer's career was indeed remarkable in many respects. He was called to the bar in 1869 and was made Queen's Counsel in 1880 and was the senior in the benches of the Middle Temple. In 1814 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court and in 1886 he was appointed to the Chief Justiceship of the Calcutta High Court over which he presided for ten years till 1896, worthily upholding the great traditions of the court. He was noted for his independence, liberality of mind and even temper which was never known to be disturbed. The Advocate-General, the Senior Government Pleader and the President of the Incorporated Law Society also paid tribute to the various good qualities of Sir Comer."

### Crime in Bengal.

126 dacoities are reported to have been committed in Bengal during the month of April last, as against 142 in the preceding month and 83 in the corresponding month of last year. Of these, the Burdwan division was responsible for 42 cases, as against 23 in the corresponding month of last year, the Presidency division for 12 cases as against 19, the Bakarganj District for 11 cases against 3, the Dacca Division for 17 cases against 5 and the Rajshahi Division for 52 cases against 25.

### Coercion of Wives.

The Lord Chancellor (Great Britain) has appointed a Committee with Mr. Justice Avery as Chairman, to consider the Criminal Law regarding the presumed coercion of wives.

## Medical

### Training of Kavirajes

With a view to controlling epidemic diseases, especially cholera, arrangements have been made for training Kavirajes (Vaids) in preventive measures at the Government Sanitary School at Gulzarbagh, Patna from the beginning of April. We understand that Kavirajes from different parts of the Province are coming in batches to avail themselves of this opportunity and already a number of them have gone through the course of training. The Ministry of Local Self-Government have placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Health a sum out of which each Kaviraj attending the course of instruction is given his railway fare and a daily allowance to cover his expenses during the training. After having obtained the necessary training which lasts for a few days on disinfection and other simple duties in connection with the outbreak of epidemic diseases the Kavirajes receive a certificate from the Superintendent of the School.

### Paraffin for Skin Troubles

Medical men are finding the paraffin film useful in other ways than as a skin covering in burns. In a special case of eczema and intense itching, the eczema under the paraffin quickly vanished, says the *Popular Science* although it had resisted other treatment. Rapid growth of epithelium is promoted. Leg ulcers are also rapidly healed, and prurigo, neurodermatitis and X-ray burns soon disappear.

### Snake Serum for Consumption

An anti-tuberculosis serum, claimed to effect complete cure when injected in the early stages of consumption, is credited to a German doctor. The new material, which has resulted from experiments in South Africa, is stated to be a combination of the serum of snakes—such as the cobra, *Urocapello*—with the serum of warm-blooded animals refractory to the disease.

### The Road to Cleanliness.

"Nota Bena" draws attention in the pages of *The Hospital and Health Review* to the following "sign posts" on "The Road to Cleanliness":—

*Keep your skin clean.* Your skin is covered with millions of tiny pores through which poisonous waste matter from the body escapes. The pores soon get choked with dirt, and dirt leads to disease. To avoid this danger your whole body should be well washed with soap and water at least twice a week.

*Keep your hands and nails clean.* Dirt and germs soon collect on the hands and under the nails. It is most important that you should never sit down to a meal without having first washed your hands and cleaned your nails.

*Keep your nose clean* by learning how to use a handkerchief correctly. You should always breathe through your nose, as by doing so the air becomes purified and warmed before reaching the lungs. Your nose cannot do its work properly if you do not keep it clean and free.

*Keep your teeth clean* by brushing them every morning and every night. If you do not do this poisonous matter will form in your mouth. Some of it will ruin your teeth, and some of it will find its way into your body.

*Keep your clothes clean.* Body lice love to live in dirty clothes. You should change your under-clothes at least as often as you wash your body.

*Keep your feet clean* by preventing dirt and flies from coming into contact with it.

*Keep your room clean* and leave your windows open day and night. A dirty, stuffy room is the home of many germs which cause disease.

### New Ringworm Cure

Ringworm is now successfully treated by removing the hair with Roentgen Rays and then applying a lotion which will penetrate the hair follicles and kill the parasites that are the cause of the trouble.

## Science

### Discovery for making Cold Light.

The production of cold artificial light by chemical means has been achieved after eight years' experimenting by Professor Newton Harvey, of Princeton University, says the *Times* New York Correspondent.

The basis of the discovery is a substance which Professor Harvey calls "luciferin." It is extracted from minute shell fish. Essentially, it is stated, it is the same as that which glow-worms produce illumination which causes certain forms of decaying organic matter to glow. Isolated from insect or other organism, however, the substance soon loses its light-giving power, and Professor Harvey was obliged to seek a method of perpetuating it.

It was found that "luciferin" regained its vitality when in contact with oxygen, but prolonged contact had the effect again destroying the light-giving power. Professor Harvey and his assistants therefore turned their attention to finding a catalytic agent which would produce the desired intermittent reaction between "luciferin" and oxygen. The sure of this reaction remains his secret.

For practical purposes the light-producing composition is dissolved in water. In a dark room a flask full of the liquid presents the appearance of water burning with a dark blue flame. At a distance of 4 ft., says Professor Harvey, it is possible to read a newspaper. At the present stage of development he admits that the light has no practical use, but that no one predicts what the practical results will be.

### A discovery in Dyeing.

A discovery made in the research laboratories of the British Dyestuffs Corporation at Blackley (Manchester), it is stated, will allow a white material to be dyed in two colors at the same time.

## Wireless Telephone.

"The development of wireless telephony, writes the *Times*, opens an amazing vista. Without adding to the tangle of overhead wires, without payments for wayleaves, without disfigurement of walls, any householder can be provided with an apparatus in his house placing him within reach of the newest news. The approach of a storm, the failure of a conference, a public proclamation, or the capture of a murderer may become known to him within a few seconds of the event. Already over 800,000 sets of wireless telephony have been sold in the United States since the beginning of the year, at prices varying from £ 5 to £ 30 apiece. What a few years ago was within the reach of only a well-paid spy or a wealthy amateur is ready to be offered to all. The Post-master-General has given the idea his blessing, and an enterprising company is willing to hire the instruments."

### Royal Geographical Society.

It is announced by the Royal Geographical Society that the King has approved the award of the Founder's Medal to Colonel Howard Bury in connection with last year's Mount Everest expedition. The Council has awarded the Victoria medal to Mr. J. F. Baddeley for great work on the historical geography of Central Asia; back the grant to Khan Bahadur Sherjona for surveys on the Indian frontier and adjacent country.

Lord Ronaldshay has been elected President of the Society.

### Wireless for Malabar.

The Government of Madras have placed with the Marconi Company, London, says the *Madras Mail*, an order for seven sets of wireless for use in the rebel area in Malabar. They will be installed, one at Malappuram and the other six at various posts where the auxiliary police are to be located.

## Personal

### Some Self-Made Men

In all ages and in every land, men have won fame in spite of humble birth and poverty, and in the face of circumstances. No handicap is too great for the man who means to win. Here are some notable instances:—

Sir Richard Arkwright, inventor of the cotton spinning frame, was a barber.

John Bunyan, was a travelling tinker.

Robert Burns, was the son of a poor nursery-man, and was himself a farmer.

Christopher Columbus, discoverer of the New World, was a sailor, the son of a woolcomber.

Daniel Defoe, author of "Robinson Crusoe," was the son of a butcher.

Charles Dickens was a label sticker in a shoe blacking factory.

Ben Johnson was a poor boy, the step-son of a brick-layer.

John Keats was the son of a hostler.

Linnaeus the great Swedish naturalist, was a poor student who mended his shoes with paper and often depended on chance generosity for a meal.

Thomas Moore, author of the "Irish Melodies," was the son of a country grocer.

Napoleon was a penniless second lieutenant in 1785; in 1804 he was crowned an Emperor.

Samuel Richardson, the first famous novelist, was a journeyman printer, the son of a carpenter.

Shakespeare was the son of a glover in a little country town; both his grandfathers were husbandmen.

George Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive, was the son of a fireman at a colliery and began life as his father's helper.

James Watt, inventor of the condensing steam engine, was the son of a small merchant who failed in business.

Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII's famous Prime Minister, was the son of a butcher.

### Lord Robert Cecil

Lord Robert Cecil's conversion to Liberalism is being marked by every body. The process is reported to be very rapid. A Parliamentary correspondent writing to a home paper says:—"Lord Robert Cecil's march toward Liberalism continues. It has been a very slow progress in the past two years; there have been frequent halts and occasional glances backward; but the pace of the journey has quickened in the last six months, and it will not be surprising if Lord Robert shortly takes his stand on a Liberal platform. A haunting self-distrust impairs his capacity for action. He must master this defect if he is to become a great political force. A man who would be leader must show that he has the power to lead. Many independent Liberals find that Lord Robert expresses their views on foreign policy and on social and industrial questions better than do their nominal leaders."

### Madras Lady Councillor

The Madras Corporation has passed a resolution urging the Government to nominate a woman councillor to the City Council. The Minister has offered the Councillorship to Mrs. M. D. Devadas, wife of the Hon. Justice Devadas. Mrs. Devadas is a prominent member of the Indian Christian community, a well known worker in the Maternity and Child Welfare Society and many other institutions aiming at the amelioration of the lot of the poor Indian women and children.

### Jawaharilal's Statement

Pandit Jawaharilal Nehru who has again been sentenced to another term of imprisonment made an impressive statement before the court. He said:

I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country! What greater good fortune could befall an Indian unless it be death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream.

## Political

### The Inchcape Committee

The terms of the Inchcape Committee are:

"To make recommendations to Government of India for effecting forthwith all possible reductions in the expenditure of the Central Government, having regard to the present financial position and outlook. In so far as questions of policy are involved the expenditure under discussion these were left for the exclusive consideration of the Government but it will be open to the Committee to review the expenditure and to indicate the economies which might be effected if particular policies were either adopted, abandoned or modified."

The following gentlemen have consented to serve on the Committee: S. Thomas Cattee, Bart. C. B. E., Mr. D. M. Dalrymple, Member of the Council of India, the Hon. Sir Alexander Murray, C. B. E., Sir Ramesh Nath Mukerjee, K. C. I. E., K. C. V. O. and Mr. Purandras Thakarsay C. I. E. The Committee, including the Chairman, will thus consist of six members. Mr. H. T. Howard, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., Controller of Finance at the India Office, will be Secretary. Mr. R. A. Mant, C. S. I., I. C. S., will supervise the preliminary work, which is now being carried out by the administrative department of the Government in advance of the assembling of the Committee.

### Guzerat Political Conference

The Guzerat Provincial Conference was held at Anand on the 25th and 26th instant. Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi, wife of Mr. Gandhi, presided. She thanked Guzerat for adhering to the Congress constructive programme and brotherly unity between Hindus and Muhammadans. It was for these reasons that Guzerat was marked out by Mr. Gandhi for civil disobedience. That Guzerat had imbibed the nonviolent spirit was amply testified by the exemplary quiet it had maintained after Mr. Gandhi's and Masarat Mahani's arrests.

Although the Province had made rapid progress in overcoming untouchability, yet much remained to be done. According to her, Guzerat would be eminently fitted for civil disobedience, if people, without exception, took to khadi. Those who considered khadi dress burdensome were not fit for going to goal. The last message of Mr. Gandhi was the insistence on wearing khadi. She urged not only young men but also old men to enlist as volunteers, and appealed to the Indian womanhood to take the lead carrying out the Congress programme.

### The New Arms Rules

On the 8th February, 1922, a resolution was carried in the Legislative Assembly recommending to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to appoint a Committee with a non-official majority to examine the Arms Rules, 1920, and to submit their report before the next session making specific recommendations with a view further to amend them. The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to accept this recommendation subject to adherence to the two principles (1) that there should be no racial discriminations in the rules, and (2) that the Government must retain the power to impose restrictions to prevent arms and particularly firearms from falling into the possession of lawless or dangerous persons and has decided to appoint a Committee, of which the personnel will be as follows:

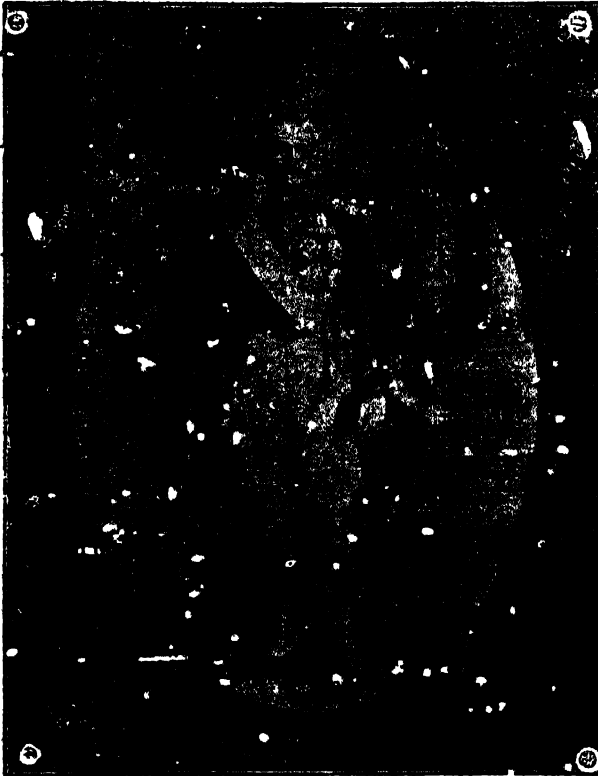
The Hon. Sir William Vincent, K. C. S. I., (President), Members: the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi, M. L. A., Mr. Darcy Lindsay, C. B. E., M. A. L., Mr. Muhammad Faiyaz Khan, M. L. A., Moulvi Abdul Kareem, M. L. A., Rao Bahadur Pandit Sankar Prasad Bajpai, M. L. A., Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, C. I. E., M. L. A., Lieut. Col. R. A. J. Gidney, M. L. A., and the Hon. Khan Bahadur A. K. G. Ahmed Tharabi Maricair. Mr. C. W. Gwynne, C. B. E., I. C. S., will act as Secretary of the Committee.



## General

### Lord Hardinge's Message

Lord Hardinge has sent the following reply to the Government of Bombay's message bidding esteem and affection from those who had assembled to witness the unveiling of Hardinge's



LORD HARDINGE

statue: I am very grateful to Your Excellency for your telegram and for the honour you have done me in unveiling the statue so generously erected by the Ruling Princes and by the City and Presidency of Bombay to commemorate my Viceroyalty. I am deeply touched by the spontaneous expression of friendship on the part of all who either contributed to the statue, or took part in the ceremony, and I only wish I could feel I had done more to be worthy of so great an honour

on the part of all in Bombay, and elsewhere, whether Englishmen or Indians, for all of whom I have the warmest recollection of affection and esteem. Bombay and its people will always have a very warm corner in my heart and I shall never forget them.

### American Episcopal Commission

The American Episcopal Church Commission, which recently proposed to eliminate "obey" from the Marriage Service, has now prepared a new version of the Commandments. Everything in the second commandment is left out after the words, "Thou shalt not bow down to them or worship them." The third is cut to read "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," while in the fourth, the only part retained reads "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day." The fifth commands merely, "Honour thy Father and thy Mother." The tenth is made the shortest of all. It reads simply, "Thou shalt not covet." It is recommended that both versions be printed in the Prayer Book, so that ministers may use which they prefer.

### Indian Troops

At the dinner given by the Cloth-workers Company in London, Sir William Robertson paid a tribute to the admirable work of the Imperial Forces in India, many of whom were living a hard life. He said that as far as he could see, the Indian troops were behaving faithfully despite the insidious attempts to wean them from their loyalty. The Native Indian Army had emerged from a trying ordeal with very great credit.

### Prince's Indian Collection

It is expected in London that the Prince's Indian collection of animals and birds will reach Britain from Singapore in time to be placed on exhibition at the Gardens in Regent's Park before the close of the present summer. They will be housed in a special quarter of the menagerie, and will, it is believed, prove as great an attraction as did those of the Prince's father and grandfather.





